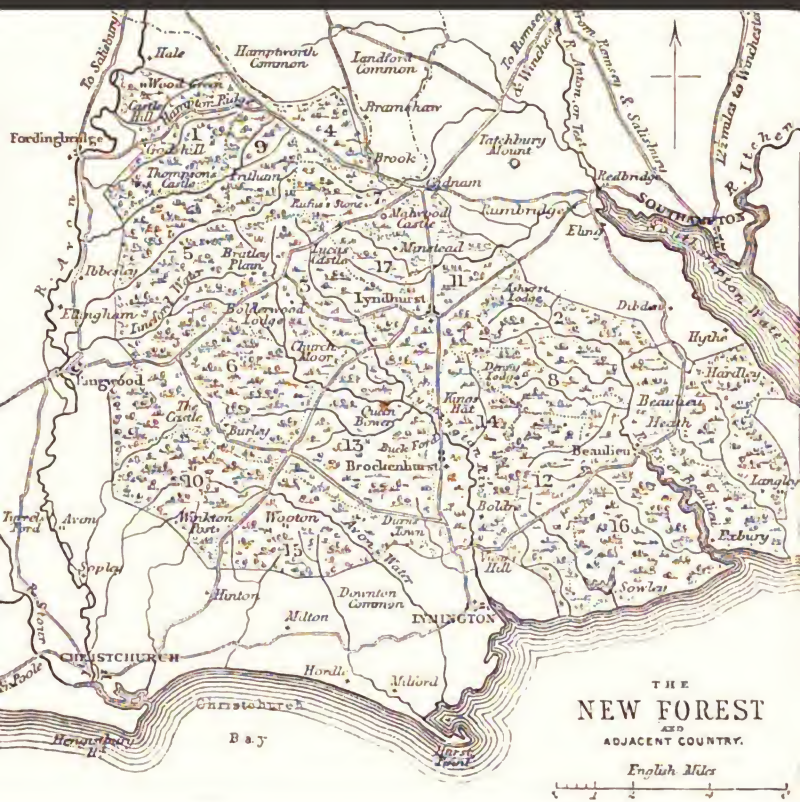




The comprehensive history of England

Charles MacFarlane, Thomas Thomson



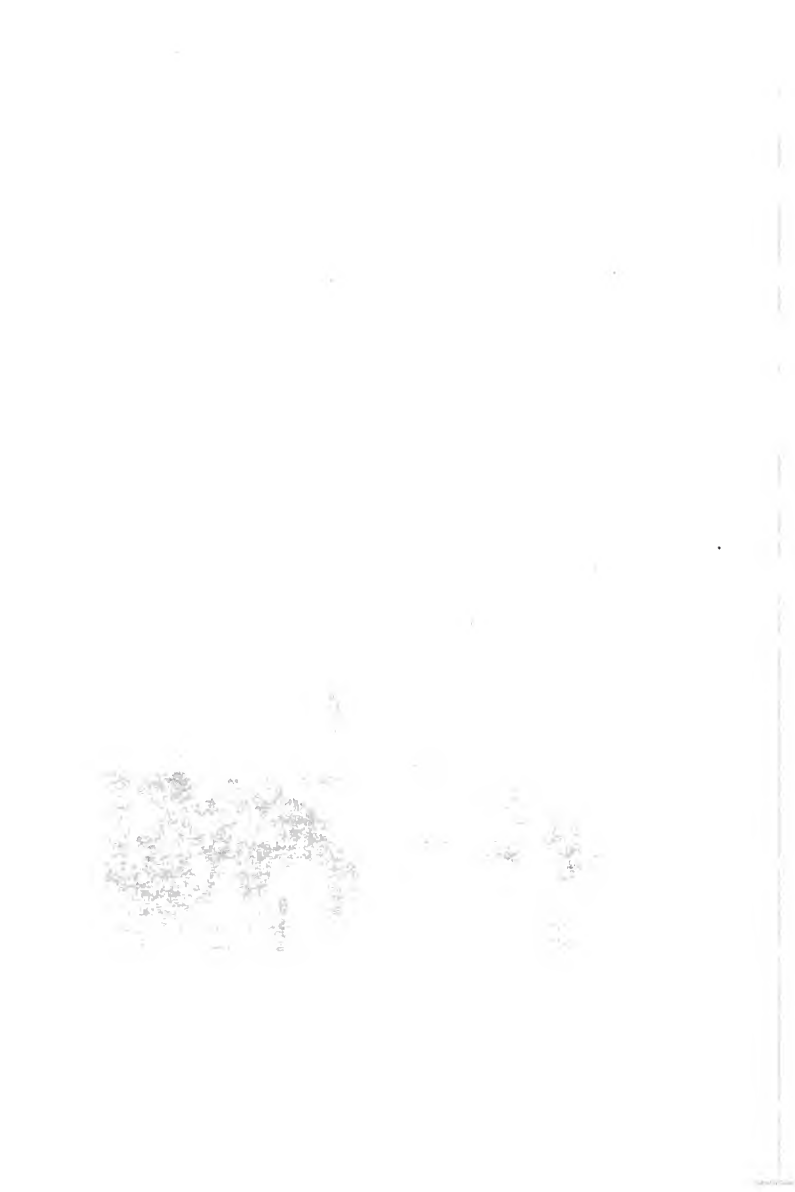
THE COMPREHENSIVE
HISTORY OF ENGLAND.



THE CORONATION OF KING HENRY THE THIRD.

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THE
COMPREHENSIVE
History of England.
CIVIL, MILITARY, RELIGIOUS, INTELLECTUAL,
AND SOCIAL.

VOL. I.



The Houses of Parliament.
FROM HUNGERFORD BRIDGE.

BY
J. G. THOMPSON, ESQ.
OF THE MIDDLE TEMPLE, ESQ.

THE
COMPREHENSIVE
HISTORY OF ENGLAND;
CIVIL AND MILITARY,
RELIGIOUS, INTELLECTUAL, AND SOCIAL,

FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO

THE SUPPRESSION OF THE SEPOY REVOLT.

BY

CHARLES MACFARLANE,
AUTHOR OF "OUR INDIAN EMPIRE," "TRAVELS IN
TURKEY," ETC., ETC.

AND THE

REV. THOMAS THOMSON,
AUTHOR OF "HISTORY OF SCOTLAND," SUPPLEMENT TO
"LIVES OF EMINENT SCOTSMEN," ETC., ETC.

THE WHOLE REVISED AND EDITED BY THE REV. THOMAS THOMSON.

ILLUSTRATED BY ABOVE ONE THOUSAND ENGRAVINGS.

VOLUME I.



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PREFACE.

THE COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY OF ENGLAND being, as its title-page intimates, the production of more than one author, a brief notice of its origin is due to the reader and the public. As the basis of this History, the Publishers adopted "The Cabinet History of England," in twenty-six small volumes, consisting of the Civil and Military portion of "The Pictorial History of England," condensed and abbreviated by its author, Charles Macfarlane, and of a brief abstract of the Religious History of England, condensed from the same work, the narrative of events being brought down only to the year 1816. On this original portion the following changes have been made. Incidents omitted, but judged necessary for a clearer understanding of the narrative, have been restored. Events of importance too summarily treated, have been amplified into greater fullness and distinctness. In other cases where the detail was too minute, the narrative has been shortened, but still with due regard to completeness and perspicuity, and the relative proportion of each part to the whole. A careful editorial survey has been exercised over every page and every sentence of the original work, and whatever might be deemed unnecessary or offensive has been cancelled or altered. The narrative, which was divided merely by historical periods or epochs, some of them of great length, has been also subdivided into chapters, with a copious table of contents prefixed to each. And upon those portions of the national history on which a variety of opinions are at issue, or to which superior importance is attached, notes have been appended from the works of the most distinguished historical writers of the present age, such as Bruce, Giles, Turner, Palgrave, Kemble, Lappenberg, Pauli, Hallam, Guizot, Carlyle, Macaulay, Bancroft, &c.

While this editorial labour alone has materially changed the original Work, the amount of new writing has still further tended to transform it into the COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY OF ENGLAND. Of these additions we need only to particularize the chief. The early history of Britain before the Roman invasion has been introduced as a fitting preface to the general narrative. Of the chapters containing the History of Religion, some have been partly and others wholly re-written. From the Peninsular campaign and battle of Waterloo to the close of 1845, nearly one-half of the narrative has been supplied by the Editor, while all since that period consists wholly of fresh material. But the most important of all the additions, from which the present Work chiefly claims its title of "Comprehensive," are the chapters constituting the History of Society with which each Book is terminated. Upon this department we offer the following observations.

Until lately the history of a nation consisted of little else than a record of its wars, and the political movements upon which they depended. On this account the individual elements that compose the life of a people, the formation of the national character, and the true sources of a kingdom's rise, prosperity, and decay, were either wholly lost sight of or but briefly mentioned. The stir and glitter of warlike achievements, the exploits of heroes, and the

sayings and doings of sovereigns, were more attractive for the purposes of eloquent detail, than the records of peace, the condition of the people, and the gradual unobtrusive development of their powers and resources. Such a plan of historical writing, however, was only tolerable when the public mind was but partially awakened, and when a country had little else than the tale of its wars to offer. But an age of reflectiveness has succeeded, and this contracted spirit has passed away. The onward course of intellectual and moral progress under which society has ripened into manhood, can no longer be satisfied merely with a narrative of battles, sieges, and picturesque mutations: these are only effects of which the causes have now become the chief subjects of inquiry. A people were brave; but how did they become so? They resisted a foe or an usurper to the death; but what had they worth dying for? From barbarians they became a people civilized, learned, accomplished; but by what other causes than those of war, and through whom, independently of their military heroes, was this progress carried on and this character matured? These and other such questions, the utterances of a new and more intellectual life, are now propounded to the historian, and if he fails to answer them his task is unfulfilled. And of all countries none is so deeply interested in such questions as our own. Her industrial energies are the wonder, and their fruits the envy of every people. Her political constitution is the model to every state that struggles into freedom; while her eminence in science, in literature, in art, has made her the instructress of those countries which she has controlled by her armies, or enriched with her commerce, or strengthened by her alliance. But whence all this? and how did it grow? We go back to the days when the germ of such a glorious futurity was a handful of Saxon barbarians upon the Isle of Thanet; and the steps by which their children have grown into the great nation of the modern world, is the most important of inquiries as well as the most wonderful of narratives.

Under such impressions, the introduction of what is called the philosophy of history was judged especially necessary for our national record. But the mode of introducing it was the prevailing difficulty; and it was felt that to interweave it into the body of the Work would only perplex the reader, and break the continuity of the narrative. The merit of solving this difficulty is due to the Rev. Dr. Robert Henry, the first volume of whose *History of Britain* was published in 1771. He divided his work into periods of time, each period consisting of seven chapters. Of these chapters the first contained what had hitherto constituted the entire of a history—the narrative of civil and military transactions. This, however, was but a part of his task, and the other six chapters were devoted to the following departments:—1. The ecclesiastical history of the period, and the condition of its religious belief; 2. The history of its government, laws, and administration of justice; 3. The state of its learning and general intelligence; 4. That of its arts and manufactures; 5. Of its commerce, shipping, coin, and price of commodities; and, 6. Its manners, customs, amusements, and costume. Under these divisions the history of the people as well as the nation, and their moral, intellectual, and social progress, were fully and minutely comprised. In 1837, the plan of Dr. Henry in its full extent was resumed in “*The Pictorial History of England*,” and with such improvements as an increased experience had suggested. The plan of seven chapters to each book or period was still retained; but, while the whole details of industrial arts, manufactures, commerce, shipping, &c., were comprised in a single chapter, a seventh was devoted to the “*History of the Condition of the People*.” But the most important change introduced into the *Pictorial History of England*, was the division of labour under which the work was conducted, each chapter being assigned to a separate writer supposed to be best acquainted with its particular subject, while the several sections were combined and harmonized into a continuous narrative under the superintendence of an efficient editorship. The result was the fullest, completest, and most useful history of England that had yet appeared.

Even here, however, the great *desideratum* was not absolutely fulfilled. There was still ample room for a COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY OF ENGLAND, in which the excellencies of its illustrious predecessor might serve for example, and its errors for warning; and this, chiefly, in the numerous and important departments in which the course of progress is detailed. Might not the plan devised by Henry, and improved in the Pictorial History, be susceptible of still further improvement? In the last-mentioned work, it was generally felt that the chapters appended to the Civil and Military narrative were too much detached from each other, as well as too minute and diffuse. These faults, however, were more or less inevitable, from the employment of so many different writers, each attending solely to his own department. The only remedy in this case was to return to the original plan of Dr. Henry, but with several important modifications, by which the multifarious history of national progress should be the work of a single mind, directed by the experience of past examples, and furnished from those new sources of knowledge which recent researches have so largely supplied. This accordingly has been attempted; and the result has been, the "History of Society" that closes each book or era. The wide and varied subject of national progress during each period has been condensed into a single chapter. Its diversified materials have been combined and welded into a continuous narrative. The salient points have been brought into full view, so that the individual form and character of each period might be understood, and every successive step of progress distinctly recognized. By this plan of condensation, it is hoped, that while the subject as a whole is so simplified as to make it more generally intelligible and interesting, nothing which a history of society during its several stages might materially require has been omitted.

Having thus explained so fully the origin of this historical Work, and the processes by which it has been carried on to the close, we may now briefly state the character that was sought for it, and the purposes it was designed to serve. The great aim was to produce a family and household book—a national history fitted for the use of every British home. To be such, if not free from party predilections, it must at least be free from party violence and misrepresentation. It must be so complete as to include the whole national narrative, from the earliest period to the present day. It must be so full, as to comprise not only every important circumstance, but also minor accessories; and, at the same time, so compendious as not to dismay ordinary readers by its unmanageable bulk and too minute detail. And, with all this, a living spirit must breathe throughout the whole. Past ages and their facts must be treated, not as hard dry abstractions, but vital realities with which the present generation are connected, and in which they ought to sympathize; while the style of the narrative—clear, concise, and intelligible to general readers—should, at the same time, be consistent with the dignity of history and importance of the theme. And even this is not all. A work so written, and for so high a purpose, must strictly adhere to truth throughout, even though party or national feeling should seek to colour or suppress it; and the inculcation of sound knowledge and virtuous principles be a higher object with the writer than the dramatic interest of his facts, or the poetical graces of which they are susceptible. Such has been the aim, and such have been the requirements kept steadily in view throughout the progress of these volumes; such is the criterion by which they await the public judgment, and upon which their character and fate must depend. To reach such a standard of excellence could scarcely be expected; but the attempt has not the less been made, and even to have neared such a standard will scarcely be accounted a failure.

Independently, however, of research, arrangement, treatment, and style, something more was found necessary for the general acceptance and usefulness of a national history. The resources of language alone are insufficient to embody past events, or delineate the changes

of society with full distinctness; and in reading the history of these, especially if the period is remote, something more is required than mere verbal description, however full and accurate. Not only the aspects and fashions of social life, but the very localities in which great events occurred, have passed away or assumed new forms. In this case, the resources of the pencil complete what the pen cannot fully describe, and the pictorial art becomes the effectual ally of historical writing. And how amply this aid has been used, the following volumes will attest. The scenes of important deeds, the mouldering ruins of buildings which remain as their monuments, the portraits of distinguished men—the homes, furniture, weapons, costume of every successive period—maps of districts historically remarkable, plans of battle-fields, naval engagements, fortifications, and interesting localities—everything, in short, that could throw light upon each era, and its manifold events, personages, and character, has been introduced to give specific distinctness to the narrative. None are mere fancy sketches, but all of them veritable pictures of past or present realities. The care and research bestowed on the selection of these illustrations, are sufficiently attested by the authorities given along with their titles. It will be seen, also, that the frontispieces and engraved title-pages of these volumes have been designed to symbolize the four great phases of British history, of which the illustrations in the text are the minute details. Thus, in Volume I. the Investiture of the Black Prince with the Order of the Garter typifies the age of Chivalry and the dignity of the feudal nobility, while the engraved title, the Houses of Parliament, indicates the representative system on which the government of our country is founded. The Supremacy of Law, the origin of our individual liberty and source of national comfort and prosperity, with royalty as its guardian and administrator, is symbolized in Volume II. by the well-known story of Prince Henry and the Lord Chief-justice, and the view in the engraved title of the ancient palace of Windsor. In Volume III. the Reformation of Religion, by the translation of the Scriptures into English, and the right accorded to every one to read them—the origin and source of our religious liberty, by which our political freedom has been completed and confirmed—is announced in the presentation of the English Bible to Henry VIII. by Chancellor Cromwell; while the view of Oxford, in the opposite engraving, suggests how learning, which first promoted the Reformation, was itself enfranchised and advanced by the religious movement. And in Volume IV. the Opening of the Great Exhibition of 1851 betokens the progress of civilization and the industrial arts, and the present maturity of elegance and refinement; while the “Pool of the Thames”—the mighty heart of British commerce, whose life-blood circulates throughout the whole earth—tells of the height we have now attained in mercantile power and prosperity. Thus, something more than mere ornament has been attempted: the spirit of the work itself has been transfused into the embellishments.

With these explanations, the “*COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY OF ENGLAND*” is now committed to the public award, in the hope that the popular favour with which it has been hitherto received will still continue to follow it.

THOMAS THOMSON.

EDINBURGH, *February*, 1861.

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THE COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

INTRODUCTION.

ENGLAND BEFORE THE ROMAN INVASION.

Claims of the fabulous part of British history to our attention—Its commencement—Samothes, the first sovereign of Britain, and his four successors—Albion conquers the island—Marriage of his giants with the Danaides—Arrival of Brutus and the Trojans—Their conquest of Britain—Successors of Brutus—The reigns of Ebranc, Bladud, Lear, and Cordelia—Brennus declared to have been a Briton—Laws of Queen Mertia—Romantic history of King Elidure—Reigns of Hely and Lud—They are succeeded by Cassivellaunus—Causes of the remote antiquity claimed in the fabulous history of Britain—Power of the Druids—Influence of the sovereigns—Evidences of a superior race having lived among the Britons—Merchandise of the Britons—Their tin—Resort of Phœnician traders to the Tin Islands—The secret of these islands carefully concealed—People of the Cassiterides—Remissness of the Britons in navigation—Their measure of civilization, as attested by buried remains of weapons, tools, utensils, &c.—Account of funeral depositories and their contents—Beacon stations, Druidical structures, and fortresses of the Britons—Their sailing vessels—Their ornaments.



IN commencing the history of a country, the mythic or fabulous portion of it is commonly treated by modern writers as a ravelled skein, wherein truth is so mingled with error, as to defy extrication. But in the legendary records of our land, however garbled by the allegories of early fabulists and bards, and the accidents of oral tradition, we may discover traces of the origin of the people, and the changes that operated upon their habits and character up to the period at which these became associated with authentic history. The fabulous history of Britain continued to be an article of faith during the time of the Plantagenets, and it supplied Edward I. with arguments for his aggressions upon Scotland, and the commencement of the longest and most important warfare in which England was ever engaged. It continued to be received in the Elizabethan age, and was studied as veritable historic truth by the brightest intellects which this country has produced. Even at a still later period, also, the same pen that wrote *Paradise Lost* did not disdain to illustrate those shadowy ages in which a

Trojan rule was established in England. With these reflections we are justified in glancing at those early legends upon which Milton employed his learning, and from which Shakspeare himself derived some of his happiest illustrations.

The collectors of these earliest traditions who first adventured upon a written history of England, after alluding to the people by whom England was inhabited before the Deluge—and about the records of whom they modestly profess their ignorance—are contented to begin as late as 200 years after that memorable event. It was then that Samoths or Dis, who was either the fourth or the sixth son of Japheth, planted Gaul and Britain with the Celtic race, and from him the island was originally called Samothea. This Samoths is also alleged, upon the authority of Berosus, to have taught his people the arts of government and the use of letters. After him succeeded Magus, who was not only a learned scholar, but a mighty magician; Sarron, a founder of schools and colleges; Druid, the originator of the order of Druids; and Bardus, the father of the Bards. In this way, four great stages of improvement are comprised within four short generations, and impersonated in as many names: it was,

perhaps, a desperate attempt to comprise within a brief intelligible sketch whole centuries of general progress, about which no record existed beyond the fact that such changes had actually occurred. It was necessary for the earliest writers of the records of these four reigns to give them a historic aspect, and, therefore, they quote Berossus for their authority. But where is this record of Berossus? It was evidently nothing better than a historic forgery, in the absence of authentic documents; and, while it sufficed for present inquiry, it only enveloped truth in deeper darkness, and increased the difficulties of research.

Having thus peopled the island with a Celtic race, and described those institutions by which the people were distinguished, a change occurred, under which the ancient name of Samothra, that was first affixed to Britain, was to pass away, and be superseded by that of Albion. This was in consequence of an arrival of hostile strangers, who landed in Britain during the reign of Bardus, and became masters of the island. These victorious invaders, who have been described as giants, were under the command of Albion, the son of Neptune; and on winning possession of the country, they commemorated the valour and good fortune of their chief by giving his name to the island at large. But the career of Albion was brief; for Hercules, the destroyer of giants, was abroad, and the gigantic sons of Neptune were his especial enemies. Bergion, King of Ireland and the Orkneys, having been assailed by this formidable wanderer, Albion, his brother, hastened to his assistance; but in an engagement that followed, the two brethren fell, with the greater part of their army. In this story, Hercules, instead of going forth alone with his club and lion's skin, is at the head of a host, and makes war in regular fashion, and with the ordinary weapons, while the provocations that have moved him are such as any ancient chief would have made the ground of a warlike enterprise. The whole narrative, indeed, is evidently nothing more than that of a hostile invasion which was made upon Britain at a very early period, while the rude chroniclers who first reduced the report to writing, invested the successful assailant with the well-known classical name of Hercules, to give additional interest to the story.

The success of this story of Hercules upon the credulous minds of the British nobles and priests of the early ages, was not lost sight of; and the next arrival of strangers into the island was allegorized in the same spirit of classical license. It was the old Greek story of Danaus and his daughters, naturalized into the annals of England. This Danaus, whom our early writers by mistake call Dioclesian, King of Syria, had fifty daughters, whom as many of his nephews sought in marriage,

and that, too, at the sword's point. Compelled to submit, but still resolved that his nephews should not profit by his submission, he gave a sword to each of his daughters, with which she was to murder her husband on the wedding night. With this they all complied, except one, who saved her husband, Lynceus; and, in requital of their barbarity, this young prince caused the forty-nine faithless brides to be put on board a ship, and set adrift to the mercy of the waves. The vessel was borne by the winds to Britain, and the giants, whom the death of Albion had set free to follow their own devices, were so delighted with the arrival of these congenial spirits, that they took them in marriage, and became fathers of an offspring more gigantic and tyrannical than themselves. In this way, it may be, the arrival of a foreign female influence, and the origin of an unpopular aristocracy in Britain, were embodied under the guise of the old Greek story.

In such a fashion as this, the mythic history of England is carried onward through the earliest periods of antiquity to the era of the Trojan war. It is well known how eagerly this event was laid hold of by the Roman poets and historians, to aggrandize the origin of their countrymen, as well as that of their noblest families. But in spite of these fables, by which historic truth was so much obscured, we also know how greatly a Pelasgic, if not a Trojan ancestry belonged to the founders of Rome. The idea of such an honoured derivation was not confined exclusively to the Romans; the Britains also claimed a similar paternity, and Geoffrey of Monmouth, who was its chief recorder and advocate, continued to be copied by his successors until the beginning of the seventeenth century. It was only then that they dismissed it indignantly as a pious fraud, without inquiring as to what particles of truth it may have contained, or even what important change or era in our ancient history it may have obscurely symbolized.

The commencement of the strange story, by which a Trojan ancestry is secured for the ancient Britons, is thus told by Giovanni Villani, a Florentine, in his *Universal History*, as quoted by Holinshed: "Sylvius, the son of Æneas by his wife Lavinia, fell in love with a niece of his mother, the same Lavinia; and by her he had a son, of whom she died in travail, and therefore he was called Brutus; who after, as he grew in some stature, and hunting in a forest, slew his father at unawares; and thereupon, for fear of his grandfather, Sylvius Posthumus, he fled the country, and with a retinue of such as followed him, passing through diverse seas, at length he arrived in the isle of Britain."

Such is the earlier portion of the tale, embel-

lished with many a strange circumstance, partly of the classical, and partly of the chivalrous ages. On arriving in Albion (not yet called Britain) the roving Trojan had been directed in his choice by a dream, in which Diana had delivered to him an oracle in Greek, afterwards rendered into Latin, and finally translated by Milton into English, to the following effect:—

"Brutus, far to the west, in the ocean wide,
Beyond the realm of Gaul, a land there lies;
Begirt it lies, where giants dwelt of old;
Now void, it fits thy people; thither bend
Thy course—there shalt thou find a lasting seat,
There to thy sons another Troy shall rise;
And kings be born of thee, whose dreaded might
Shall awe the world, and conquer nations bold."

On landing, Brutus found the promised island wasted of its ancient inhabitants; none now dwelt in it except a remnant of those giants, the descendants of the Danaides, whose ferocious rule had been so sanguinary, that they are termed "devils" in the ancient legends. The strangers on commencing their exploration, had roused the Titanic brood, who sallied out from their caves and dens to give the intruders battle; but it fared with them as it has done with every other people who have exceeded the standard measure of humanity, for they were quickly put to the rout, and cut down with ease by their puny antagonists. One of the strongest of these giants, called Gogmagog, who was twelve cubits high, having been preserved alive, either as a specimen or a trophy, Corineus, a gallant champion of the Trojans, longed to wrestle a fall with him; but at the outset was encountered with such a hug, that three of his ribs were broken. Nothing daunted, however, by this unpromising embrace, he heaved the giant up by main force upon his shoulders, carried him to the next high rock, and there hurled him into the sea. That part of the cliffs of Dover from which the unfortunate Gogmagog was thus thrown, as Milton writes, "has been called ever since Langoemagog, which is to say, the Giant's Leap." To reward him for his valour, Brutus bestowed upon Corineus the whole county of Cornwall. These events, which are stated to have taken place about the time that Eli the high-priest governed Israel, betoken the monkish origin of this part of the legend, and show how its author must have thought of the occupation of Canaan by the Israelites, and the destruction of the gigantic race of Anak. On becoming undisputed lord of the island, Brutus erected his capital city of Troia Nova, afterwards called Trinovantum, and now London; parted Britain among his three sons, and, after a reign of twenty-four years, died in peace.

After Brutus succeeded a line of kings as long, and withal as shadowy, perhaps, as those which passed before the bewildered eye of Macbeth in

the cave of Hecate. These different sovereigns love and hate, make peace and war, build cities and subdue provinces, in the usual fashion of ancient history, until their very names as well as deeds are confounded with each other; but amidst the throng, who might otherwise have passed into utter oblivion, are some whom accident, strangely enough, has exalted into full immortality. Of these, Ebranc, the fifth King of Britain after Brutus, was the first of British sovereigns who invaded France, where he seems to have been as successful as Edward III. more than 2000 years afterwards; he also built Mount Agued, or the Castle of the Maidens, round which Edinburgh was to grow in future years. The fourth in succession to him was Bladud, who had the singular merit of discovering the medicinal virtues of the hot springs of Bath, and of founding that famous city, which was originally called Caerbad. The end of this king, which was truly dolorous, supplied, in future ages, an important chapter to Johnson's *Rasselas*. "This Bladud," says Holinshed, "took such pleasure in artificial practices and magic, that he taught the art throughout all his realm. And to show his cunning in other points, upon a presumptuous pleasure which he had therein, he took upon him to fly in the air; but he fell upon the temple of Apollo, which stood in the city of Troynovant, and there was torn in pieces, after he had ruled the Britons by the space of twenty years." [Here we find a temple of Apollo in London before Rome itself was founded!]

Bladud was succeeded by his son Lear—and what a name to British memory and British feeling! It seems as if King Lear had died but yesterday; and that our own eyes had seen him, first as an arrogant sovereign, and unreasonable exacting father, and afterwards as a disrowned king, wandering helpless and unattended upon the heath, with his white locks beaten by the tempest, and streaming in the wind. The whole story of his dotage, in which his daughters duped him with a show of fulsome and flattering affection, and the manner in which they stripped him of the last relics of his royalty, and cast him loose into the world, were presented to Shakspeare in all the bald, dry, circumstantial narrative of the legendary scroll—and with a touch he lighted its letters into living fire, and made it a tale that shall live for ever. According to the original story, however, the old king left the land in which he had no longer a hovel to shelter him, and betook himself to France, of which his rejected Cordelia was queen. And then it was that she showed the full meaning of that simple reply for which he had disinherited her, when she said to him, after her sisters had done speaking: "Father, my love towards you is as my duty bids; what

should a father seek, what can a child promise more? They who pretend beyond this, flatter." For, with the permission of her husband she raised an army, passed over to England, and replaced Lear upon the throne. This close is different from that of Shakspeare; but heart-rending as is that of the poet, it would have been the best after all, compared with the sequel as it exists in the original history. For we are there informed, that after the death of Lear, Cordelia, now a widow, succeeded to the sovereignty of England, where she ruled in peace, until two sons of her unnatural sisters, having now grown to man's estate, conceived themselves defrauded of their inheritance, and made war against her. She was defeated, deposed, and imprisoned; "wherewith," we are told, "she took such grief, being a woman of a manly courage, and despairing to recover liberty, there she slew herself, when she had reigned the term of five years." The two victors, who were the veritable children of such mothers as Goneril and Regan, after having parted the island between them, soon quarrelled about their share of the spoil, and Margan, the elder, in a battle that ensued in Wales, was slain by Cunedag, his cousin, who became sole sovereign of Britain.

We now pass over an interval during which Rome was built, reigned over by its seven kings, and finally changed into a republic. We might well wonder what Britain could have to do with such remote events; but so it was; for Brennus and his formidable troops were not Gauls, as the Roman historians have erroneously reported, but true-born Britons. This Brennus, it appears, according to British chroniclers, was the younger son of Dunwallo Molmutius; and being discontented with his inheritance, which comprised the whole of England north of the Humber, he made war upon his elder brother, Belinus, to obtain the sovereignty of the whole realm. But being defeated, he afterwards joined his forces to those of his brother, overran Gaul and part of Italy, and finally approached the gates of Rome. Having thus settled the most essential part of the story, which was to convert the Gaulish invaders into Britons, the narrative falls into the track of the Roman writers, in the capture of the city and the final defeat of Brennus by Camillus. This was surely enough to console the wounded pride of the Britons for the subsequent conquest of their island by the Romans! Their countrymen had been a civilized people when their proud enemies had been mere barbarians; and had entered as masters the city gates of the world's metropolis, and compelled it to purchase their forbearance. At this point, however, Milton shows his incredulity, and professes himself unable to reconcile the different parts of the story, so that he dismisses it with this brief statement: "Thus much

is more generally believed, that both this Brennus, and another famous captain, Britomarus, whom the epitomist Florus and others mention, were not Gauls but Britons; the name of the first in that tongue signifying a king, and of the other, a great Briton."

After this feat of the sacking of Rome, we have another long array of kings, of whom the early annalists had by this time begun to grow weary, for their deeds are very briefly recorded. During this course, also, if these early legends are to be believed, England must already have been over-spread with those stately cities which the Romans had afterwards the credit of founding, and been governed by those wise laws which are usually referred to a Saxon origin. Thus the Mercian law, which has usually been attributed to Alfred the Great, is represented to have been actually devised and formulated by Mertia, wife of King Guithelin or Guintolin; but here Milton, who admits the fact of such an early origin of the Mercian law, while he scorns the thought of a female legislator, thus gets out of the difficulty: "In the minority of her son, she [Mertia] had the rule, and then, as may be supposed, brought forth these laws, not herself, for laws are masculine births, but by the advice of her sagest counselors; and therein she might do virtuously, since it befell her to supply the nonage of her son: else nothing more awry from the law of God and nature, than that a woman should give laws to men." Among the kings who followed, was Elidure, whose fate as a sovereign was a rarity in royal annals; for he was thrice deposed, and as often replaced on his throne. He was also a very paragon of justice and generosity, as may be learned from the following romantic incident. His elder brother, Archigallo, who had reigned oppressively, having been displaced, and himself advanced in his room, it happened that one day, after having reigned five years, Elidure, while hunting in a forest, met his deposed brother, now an impoverished wanderer, and meanly attended, after he had vainly roamed about through the different courts of Europe in search of aid to replace him in his kingdom. The forlorn Archigallo was recognized; but Elidure, instead of sweeping such a dangerous rival from his path, as the kings of that period would have done without scruple, took him privately to the city Alclud, and hid him in his own bed-chamber. He then feigned himself to be grievously sick; and, as if unable to endure a crowd, he summoned his nobles one by one to his bedside, that he might consult with them about the affairs of his kingdom. The nobles singly repaired to him, and then the apparently dying Elidure prevailed upon them to swear allegiance to Archigallo. Having in this way obtained the consent of the whole

nobility, the dying king quickly got well again, summoned a council to meet him at York, and there so handled the matter, that Archigallo was received by the commons as he had been by the lords; after which, Elidure, with his own hands, placed the royal crown upon his brother's head, and was the first to hail him as king. Penetrated to the heart's core by such a wondrous instance of justice, generosity, and brotherly love, the now restored wanderer became one of the best of kings, and dying childless after a reign of ten years, was succeeded once more by Elidure.

We now gladly rush to the close of this array of shadows and phantoms, and hasten into the dawn which begins with the period of Caesar's Cassivellaunus. The father of this last-mentioned king was Eli or Hely, who reigned forty years, and the most distinguished event of whose reign is thus specified by Holinshed, on the authority of the old British historians:—"Marry, this is not to be forgotten, that of the aforesaid Hely, the last of the said thirty-three kings, the Isle of Ely took the name, because that he most commonly did there inhabit, building in the same a goodly palace, and making great reparations of the sluices, ditches, and causeways about that isle, for conveyance away of the water, that else would sore have endomaged the country." Nineteen years before the arrival of the Romans, Hely was succeeded by his eldest son, Lud, who is described in high terms as a jolly feaster, warrior, legislator, and reformer of abuses, and also a great builder, repairing many of the old towns and stately edifices that had gone to decay. He also enlarged the city of Troynovant, and surrounded it with a strong wall of stone, in consequence of which it thenceforth obtained the name of Lud-town, or London. Among those architectural undertakings with which he aggrandized the capital, are particularly mentioned Lud's Gate, afterwards called Ludgate; the palace in its neighbourhood, afterwards the Bishop of London's palace; and a temple, which subsequently became St. Paul's Church. Such were but a few of his many undertakings, which are recorded by the old British historians with careful circumstantiality and most praiseworthy gravity.

On the death of Lud, whose two sons were still minors, Cassivellaunus, his brother, succeeded to the royal power. And now it is that the old British annalists, feeling themselves hampered between the *Commentaries* of Caesar on the one hand, and the fanciful traditions of the country on the other, proceed in their course with unwonted caution. On this account they are unable precisely to determine whether Cassivellaunus was raised to the throne, or merely appointed regent. By their statement, however, his administration was so just and able that he

was worthy of the esteem of the Britons, who set aside the claims of his nephews, and recognized him as their only king. Cassivellaunus acted a generous part towards these orphans, by investing the elder with the sovereignty of London and Kent, and the younger with that of Cornwall. And here the Muse of ancient British history abruptly retires, like one detected in falsehood, and gives place to a more credible witness, after having fabled for the long course of 1058 years. And here also Milton, who had followed the narrative, frequently in doubt, and sometimes in utter disbelief, thus welcomes the approaching change:—"By this time, like one who had set out on his way by night, and travelled through a region of smooth or idle dreams, our history now arrives on the confines, where daylight and truth meet us with a clear dawn, representing to our view, though at a far distance, true colours and shapes. For albeit Caesar, whose authority we are now first to follow, wanted not who taxed him of misreporting in his *Commentaries*, yea, in his *Civil Wars against Pompey*, much more may we think in the British affairs, of whose little skill in writing he did not easily hope to be contradicted; yet now, in such variety of good authors, we hardly can miss from one hand or other to be sufficiently informed as of things passed so long ago."

In the foregoing history of Britain, which we have so briefly passed over, the first thought that strikes us is the long series of kings, whose characters and deeds are as confidently sketched as if they had been men of yesterday; and the extended period of time which they necessarily occupy, stopping short only within a brief distance of the Deluge itself. But this difficulty is easily got rid of, when we remember the nature of that government which prevailed among the Celtic people. Among them a king was but the chieftain of his own tribe, and not of the nation at large; and, therefore, sometimes not less than a dozen of sovereigns might have been found reigning in Britain at one and the same time. Nothing was more natural at a later period, than to mistake these *reguli* for sole kings of the whole country, and to arrange their histories into successive periods, instead of making them contemporaneous. Such has been the case in the early annals of many other countries where this patriarchal system of government prevailed; and the great perplexity of antiquaries and historians, in such instances, has been occasioned by a long course of life and action, to which the earliest antiquity could afford no room.

By keeping, then, the fact in mind, that our island was divided into many families and septs, each of which had its own ruler, several kings may be comprised within a single generation, and a whole century condensed into a few years. In

this way, the mythic history of Britain before the Roman invasion can be reduced, in point of time, within a very reasonable compass, and the wonderful achievements, stripped of their poetical embellishments, may become sober realities. And keeping in mind the evidence of a mixed population set forth by these writers, corroborated, moreover, by the veritable authors who succeeded them, it is to be conceived that there existed within the compass of the island many peoples—not a community: some in a degree of civilization approaching that of the nations of antiquity; others, and by far the greater number, in a rude and barbarous state. The Druid priesthood, indeed, who were likewise the lawgivers, by their superior knowledge, as well as through the superstitious deference of their votaries, maintained a community of power in all affairs, civil and religious; but in other respects we see no evidences of that combination of classes which constitutes a nation. In most parts of the island the king or military chief of a tribe, and his principal warriors, usurped the lion's share in the resources of his dominion; while the herd, the tiller of the soil, and the hunter, stood in much the same relation as that of an Irish kerne of the fifteenth century to his feudal superior. On parts of the coast, however, communities of a more settled and more uniform character were held together by the mutual interest of traffic, and the benefits ensuing from an intercourse with strangers from the opposite shores, as in the instance of the Trinobantian mart of London, which is described by Tacitus (A.D. 62) as a place most renowned for the concourse of merchants, and for its stores of goods. The period quoted is only nineteen years after the Romans had got possession of South Britain, and were still struggling to maintain it, and therefore not likely to have had a part in the establishment of this early seat of British commerce. Allowing for this, and taking a broad view of the fabulous relations, we may observe the growth of a population fed by the incursions of wandering and adventurous bands, who flowed on these shores in successive waves of population. Striving for a footing in the land, the conquerors or colonists still brought in an accession of strength or diversity of character, such as, by a view of subsequent annals, we observe to have been infused down to the period of the Norman conquest. Hence, it may be conceived, was derived that spirit of enterprise which has obtained for the British race such a wide geographical extension, and so potent a predominance. The original colonists, a branch of the Celtic family, to whom, as the descendants of Japheth, were given the isles of the Gentiles, were replenished by successive offshoots of the same prolific stock, carrying with them such modifi-

cations of character as had been induced by the influences of climate and situation, and the nature of their resources. Hence, whatever features of barbarism may appear in our first view of the Britons, as they are delineated by the authenticated writers of antiquity, these may be looked upon rather as proper to a condition declined from early civilization, than as the signs of a primitive state. If, for instance, they were incapable of steering their wicker, hide-covered vessels any distance beyond that of a mere coasting voyage, or, at the furthest, to the neighbouring islands, they must have, then, been in a worse condition than when they first effected a landing on these shores;—and if they be found dwelling in holes and caves, or in miserable huts of daub and wattle, and we contrast with such mean fabrics the colossal and symmetrical structures of Stonehenge, Avebury, and other similar monuments, whose vast relics seem the production of a race of giants and sorcerers—these must appear, in such a point of view, the vestiges of a vastly superior age, or the memorials of a race elevated far above those who surrounded them.

But respecting these considerations there is but slight footing even for speculation; for the few authentic authors of antiquity who treat of the Celtic Britons, evidently do so upon very partial information. That Britain had become the seat of several tribes differing greatly in many respects, and bringing with them the characteristics of their race, is evident in the observations of authors of the period, especially those of Tacitus, who, in his *Life of Agricola*, thus writes:—"Now what manner of men the first inhabitants of Britain were, foreignly brought in, or born in the land as among a barbarous people, it is not certainly known. Their complexions are different, and thence many some conjectures be taken; for the red hair of the dwellers in Caledonia, and mighty limbs, import a German descent. The coloured countenances of the Silures,¹ and hair most commonly curled, and site against Spain, seem to induce that the old Spaniards passed the sea and possessed those places. The nearest to France likewise resemble the French, either because they retain of the race from which they descended, or that in countries abutting together, the same aspects of the heavens do yield the same complexions of bodies. But, generally, it is most likely the French, being the nearest, did people the land."² Diodorus Siculus, whose *Bibliotheca Historica* is considered to have been written shortly after the death of Julius Cæsar, places the Britons somewhat on a parallel with the

¹ The inhabitants of South Wales (Dehenbarth). The qualification appears here to mean naturally swart or dark, and not the artificial appearance produced by dyeing the skin, said to have been practised by the Britons. ² Grenney's *Trans.*

Homeric warriors. After describing the position and bearings of the island—"Further," he continues, "they say that its original tribes inhabit Britain, in their usages still preserving the primitive modes of life; for in their war they use chariots, as the ancient Greek heroes are reported to have done in the Trojan war."

The people of the Cape of Cornwall are distinguished by the same author as "singularly partial to strangers; and, from their intercourse

with foreign merchants, civilized in their habits." "These people," he continues, with reference to their traffic, "obtain the tin by skilfully working the soil which produces it. This, being rocky, has earthy interstices, in which working the ore, and then fusing, they reduce to metal, and when they have formed it into cubical shapes, they convey it to a certain island, lying off Britain, named Ictis; for at the low tides, the intervening space being laid dry, they carry thither in waggons



THE LAND'S END, CORNWALL.—Drawn from nature and on wood, by J. S. Prout.

the tin in great abundance." But previous to that era this production, so valuable before the art of tempering iron was discovered, had attracted the Phœnicians to our shores. A history of early Britain would be incomplete without a fuller notice of the subject. This trade of the Phœnicians may be considered the beginning of that British commerce which has outlived its ancient teachers, extinguished every successive rivalry, and secured a main part of the wide world's traffic, in all its numberless departments, up to the present day.

It is now generally allowed, that what the Greeks termed *chalcus*, although translated brass, was not the metal commonly known under that name. It was rather that composition of copper and tin which we denominate bronze. It was with this bronze that the Greeks and Romans composed their statues, and many of their implements and ornaments; and of this also the Carthaginians, and even the early Homeric heroes, fashioned their swords and spears, as well as their defensive armour. Tin was likewise used, as is supposed, by the Tyrians, in producing the rich purple dye for which they were famous, and was known to the Israelites, before the Babylonish captivity, under the name *bedil*. But going still further back, we find that brass (that is,

bronze) was not only an important material in the construction of Solomon's temple, but a metal precious as gold, with which the Israelites, who must have obtained it from the Egyptians, adorned their tabernacle in the wilderness. In the former instance, we learn from the Sacred Writings that the artificer employed by Solomon in the decoration of the temple was Hiram, a native of Tyre, one of the cities of the Phœnicians, the early traders in tin. Here we trace the use of bronze up to the Mosaic period, and consequently of tin also, without which bronze cannot be made. And where was this tin obtained? At such early periods it was only to be found in two countries—Spain and Britain. These were, then, the valued sources from which the nations of earliest antiquity derived a metal that ministered so largely to their wealth, their luxury, and convenience. And these countries, perhaps, were that mysterious Tarshish, lying somewhere beyond the pillars of Hercules, from which such precious shipments returned, and whose locality our biblical commentators and able hydrographers have so long endeavoured to discover.

In such an important fact, it matters little whether the hidden treasures of Spain or of Britain had the honour of the first discovery. It is

sufficient for us to know that that portion of the British territory called the Scilly Islands was known to the Carthaginians ages before the Christian era. This is pretty distinctly intimated in the account given to us by Festus Avienus of the voyage of Hamilco, an ancient Carthaginian navigator. In this voyage, we are told, Hamilco reached the islands of the *Cæstryrnides* within less than four months after he had set sail from Carthage, and from the description of Avienus we are compelled to conclude that these *Cæstryrnides* could be no other than our Scilly Islands. They were, he tells us, in the neighbourhood of Albion and of Ireland, and within two days' sail of the latter, which he terms the Sacred Island. He describes those islands as abounding in tin and lead, and inhabited by a bold, active, trafficking people, who, having no timber for the building of ships, made adventurous voyages in boats made of hides. These islands, also, he intimates, were not first discovered by Hamilco, but had previously been visited for traffic by the people of Tartessus and Carthage. They were afterwards explored with such industry, that their tin was at length exhausted, and nothing apparently remains of it except the traces of the ancient mines; but Cornwall was not far off as a field for fresh operations. It was probably this peninsula which afterwards obtained the name of *Cassiteros* (from the Greek word *cassiteron*, signifying tin), while the Scilly Isles, described as ten in number, of which only one was uninhabited, were called *Cassiterides*, or the Tin Islands. Under this name they are mentioned by Herodotus, the father of history, nearly 500 years before the Christian era, although their geographical position he was unable to discover.

The causes of this ignorance in so important a matter it is not difficult to explain. In their knowledge of these Tin Islands the Carthaginians possessed a treasure which they were resolved to monopolize, and hence their particular locality was carefully concealed from all the world, and especially from their formidable and enterprising rivals, the Romans, who were anxious to learn the secret. The latter, therefore, lay on the watch, and were ready to give chase, while the former studied to out-manœuvre or out-sail them. At length, as we are informed by Strabo, a ship of Carthage having set out on a voyage to the *Cassiterides* for tin, the captain of a Roman galley, who had been appointed to observe him, followed in close pursuit. The Carthaginian tried every expedient to elude his adversary, but being closely pressed, and finding escape impossible, he ran his vessel aground, and thus sacrificed both ship and cargo. His fidelity in thus concealing the route to the Tin Islands was so highly appreciated by his countrymen, that on

returning home he was repaid, to the full value of his loss, out of the public treasury.

But cunning although the Carthaginians were, it was impossible that such a profitable route, pursued for centuries, could always remain exclusively their own. The Greek colonists of Marseilles had turned their attention to the subject; and from their superior intelligence and nautical skill, they were at length enabled to discover the whereabouts of this rich *terra incognita*. Accordingly we are told, that only a century after the time of Herodotus, Pytheas, a Marseillais navigator, was the first of his countrymen who penetrated into the British seas. This enterprise appears to have been so successfully followed, that the secret of the *Cassiterides* was at length laid open to the Roman colonies on the south coast of Gaul; and thus, even before the arrival of Julius Caesar, a brisk trade in tin had been carried on between them and the people of the Scilly Islands and Cornwall. The effects of this traffic were exhibited in the superior comfort and civilization of those parts of the British coast which the strangers visited. Diodorus informs us that the Britons inhabiting the Land's End (*Bolerium*) were much more civilized than the rest of their countrymen, in consequence of their traffic with the foreigners. Such was also the case with the natives of the *Cassiterides*, although they are pictured of a somewhat strange appearance, not unlike that of figures upon some of the earlier Etruscan vases. According to Strabo, they wore comfortable dresses, and these also of cloth, while most of their inland countrymen had nothing but their own painted skins. He tells us that they wore long black cloaks, which reached to their ankles, and were girded about the waist; that they walked about with staves in their hands, and that their long beards gave them the appearance of goats. He is careful especially to mention the lead and tin mines with which these islands abounded, and their traffic with foreign traders in these metals and skins, in return for bronze articles, earthenware, and salt.

It might be asked why Rome herself, who had been so solicitous to discover these wealthy mines, was afterwards contented to purchase their treasures at second hand from her own tributaries? But the Romans were no navigators, and cared little for commerce, unless it was brought to their doors; and as for wealth in general, they regarded every country as their storehouse, which they could empty at their own good pleasure. While the sword could procure tin at any time, they would neither condescend to sail in quest of it, nor labour in digging it; and hence, until they conquered Britain, they regarded its people as "*toto orbe divitios*."

And why, it might also be asked, were the Bri-

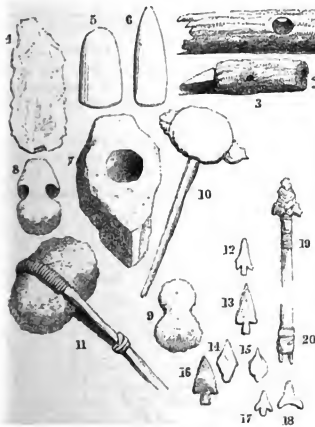
tions themselves so remiss in improving to the full those advantages of intercourse with foreigners, which they had enjoyed for so many centuries! They had been visited successively by the most enterprising and civilized of the nations, and yet had learned comparatively so little! It may be answered that civilization had entered, but had not pervaded the land. Even the most important, and yet most obvious step in advance which the Britons might have been expected to adopt—that of constructing good barks for themselves, modelled from those of the strangers, and thus carrying on such a gainful trade on their own account—appears incomprehensible. This discrepancy, however, is to some extent met by the statement of Festus Avienus, that the islands frequented by the Phœnician mariners did not produce wood for the construction of ships. Further, the peculiar genius and circumstances of the people may be taken into account—the influence of superstition under the rule of the Druids so similar to that of the Egyptian priesthood. The ancient Egyptians had the same commercial temptations, and the ability to build ships; but it appears from

Where tradition and history are both insufficient to enlighten our inquiries into the origin and condition of our early population, we have buried beneath the soil, a history which a high state of intellectual cultivation enables the inquirer to discover; and to read in obscure caverns—the places of sepulture—a lesson on the condition of those early tribes, whose record we might otherwise have abandoned in despair.

In the endeavour to comprehend the bearing of those vestiges upon our pre-historic era, a classification has been adopted, by which the implements, weapons, &c., found in barrows and excavations, are arranged under the Stone, the Bronze, and the Iron periods. This formula, however convenient, is not founded upon such sufficient authority that it can be adopted as an arbitrary rule, and instead of periods, it is more prudent to say conditions; for, with regard to the use of the materials of bronze and stone, it is probable that the one appertained to the great, and the other to the lowly, in the same way that the rich man of the present day eats his fish with the silver fork, and the poor man with an implement

of Sheffield hardware. In advert-
ing to the stone condition of the Celtic Britons, we find a great variety of weapons and implements, along with the buried remains, as the things most valued by the departed, or

adapted to his use in a future state. Among these the stone hammer appears in a variety of forms, from that of a rude stone to those in which it has been fashioned into a shapely and convenient instrument, such as is represented in the accompanying cut, No. 8. In Nos. 1, 2, 3, we see implements in their original handles of deer's horn, one a rude flake of flint, the other two chisel-shaped, and suitable for flaying the carcasses of animals, &c. No. 4 is a large flake of flint, found in a tumulus at Alfriston, in Sussex, which has been chipped into an imperfect shape. Nos. 5 and 6 are composed of a hard greenish flint, symmetrically formed and finely polished, but of a shape unsuited for handles. In No. 9 we observe a stone with a flexure in the sides, by which it could be held by a pliable handle bent round it, and tied at the junction, like No. 11, a stone hammer used by the natives of Northern Australia. In No. 7 the stone implement is perforated for the insertion of a handle, like No. 10, a stone hammer from Western Australia, in which a wooden handle is inserted, and further secured by a cement of native gum; but in No. 8 the sides of the stone are scooped as well as pierced, for the purpose of binding the handle with thongs or ozers. There are likewise found a variety of javelin heads, Nos. 12, 13, 16, and

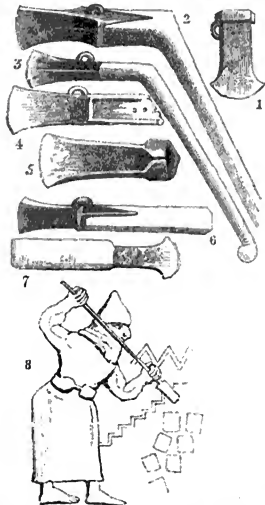


STONE CELTS AND ARROW HEADS.—DRAWN BY J. W. Archer, from examples in the British Museum.

Herodotus that they abstained, from a loathing of the sea, looking upon it as the domain of the abhorred Typhon. The Britons evidently did not possess those national qualities that are needful for patient and enduring sailors. It was not until the Saxon and the Dane had become settled inhabitants, that the "meteor flag of England" was to float in undisputed ascendancy.

arrow heads, Nos. 14, 15, 17, 18, of flint, for war or the chase, and which, in dexterous hands, may have served to knock down the deer or beaver, but are scarcely of sufficient deadliness for the capture of the urus or mountain bull, or the wolf and boar of the great British forests. Nos. 19 and 20 are the flint pile and knock of a Patagonian arrow, the former showing the manner in which the pile is bound to the shaft with vegetable fibre, probably resembling the mode of attachment employed by the ancient Britons. In the British tumuli are likewise found flint knives and daggers, and weapons of bone and horn. Of this description were the lances or harpoons which have been found alongside the relics of stranded whales, pins and bodkins of bone and wood, with a variety of ornaments, such as beads, bits of amber, &c.; the drinking cup of the departed Briton; and, where cremation has been practised, the funeral urn, containing the ashes of the deceased, wrapped in a linen cloth, and secured by a pin of bone, wood, or bronze.

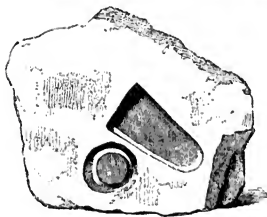
Articles of bronze found in British barrows



BRONZE CELTS.—Drawn by J. W. Archer, from examples in the British Museum.—1, Bronze Celt; 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, Bronze Celts with handles speculatively adapted; 8, Ditto, various; 8, Figure using Celt, from Nimroud Sculptures.

have been subjected to analysis, and found to contain, in the instance of a spear head, one part of tin to six parts of copper; in an axe head, one of tin to ten of copper; and in a knife, one of tin to

seven and a half of copper.¹ Among these are found a variety of the hatchet-shaped instruments commonly denominated celts. In the accompanying cut is represented a selection of those instruments, some of which are speculatively adapted to handles, together with the representation of an Assyrian sapper and miner employed in reducing the wall of a beleaguered city by means of an instrument precisely similar to the British celt, No. 1, which is shaped for the longitudinal insertion of a handle. Moulds for casting these implements, as well as swords and spear heads, have



MOULD FOR CASTING CELTS AND RINGS, found near Wallington, Northumberland, now in the British Museum.

been found both in Britain and Ireland—in some instances together with lumps of metal and quantities of cinders—and hence it is concluded that the Britons were in the practice of casting their own tools and weapons.

Of the funeral depositories in which these articles are discovered, the stone cist appears to have been the earliest. This is made evident, by the series of subsequent interments in the mounds



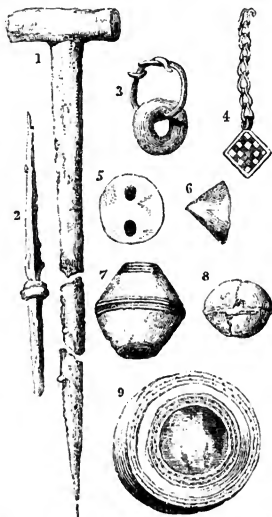
CIST CONTAINING A SKELETON.—From the Archaeologia.

beneath which the cist is found. The accompanying cut represents a cist found under such an ac-

¹ Meysie's *Original Inhabitants*, and *Phil. Trans.* for 1796.

accumulation, near Driffield, in the East Riding of Yorkshire. This rude sarcophagus was reached after the removal of the remains of superincumbent interments. It was found sunk in the ground, till the upper edges of the sides, which were formed of four slabs of sandstone, came on a level with the natural surface, and was paved with small irregular pieces of the same kind of stone. The dimensions were, on the north side three feet nine inches, on the south four feet two inches, on the east two feet five inches, and on the west two feet eleven inches. It was two feet six inches in depth. On the floor lay a skeleton of large size, the thigh bones measuring nineteen inches. It was placed, as is common in cist burial, with the knees drawn up, and lying on the left side, the arms bent, and the palms of the hands together; the bones of the right arm were laid in a very singular and beautiful armlet, No. 4, made of some large animal's bone, about six inches long, and the extremities (which were a little broader than the middle), neatly squared. In this were two perforations, about half an inch from each end, through which were bronze pins or rivets, with gold heads, most probably to attach it to a piece of leather, which had passed round the arm, and been fastened by a small bronze buckle, that was found underneath the bones. Immediately behind the vertebrae, as if it had fallen from the waist, was a small bronze dagger in a wooden sheath, having a handle of the same, No. 2; round the neck were three large amber beads of conical form, No. 1, having the under side flat, and which were pierced by two holes, running upwards in a slanting direction, until they met at the centre. At the lower end of the vault, between the extremity of the spine and the feet, was a highly ornamented drinking cup, No. 5, completely covered with rows of marks and indentations, each row being divided by ridges or bands. About the centre of the pavement, in front of the body, was the upper part of a hawk's head and beak, No. 3. A mass of what seemed to be linen cloth lay under the entire length of the skeleton.¹ In some instances it is observed that bodies were inclosed in wooden coffins, composed of planks rivetted together with bronze, or of a length cut from the stem of a tree, and hollowed out for their reception. In the southern parts of the country the burial repositories are barrows or tumuli; in the north, piled-up heaps of stones, called cairns. The former are mounds of a diversity of shapes, some extending to the great length of 400 feet. On being opened some of these large tumuli were found to contain but few bones, and are supposed to have been dedicated to great chiefs; others are conical or bell-shaped, which latter, from contain-

ing trinkets and articles of female use, are taken to have been appropriated to women of high rank.



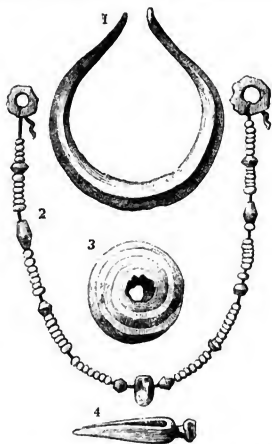
TRINKETS AND ARTICLES OF THE TOILET, found in barrows on the Wiltshire Downs.—From Hoare's Ancient Wiltshire.—Nos. 1, 2, Pins; 3, 4, Gold Ear-rings; 5, 6, Beads; 7, 8, Gold Beads; 9, Ornament of amber set in gold, to be worn suspended.—All actual size.

A classification of the various shapes and destinations of these mounds has been attempted, but the formula is not entirely satisfactory. A cromlech on the plain of L'Ancresee, in the Island of Guernsey, is described² as a vault formed of vertical single stones, or shafts, in close lateral approximation, or actual contact, supporting a roof of large transverse blocks, the flatter surface of which, as of the shafts, is turned toward the interior. The area is usually of a long triangular shape, having the apex directed toward the east; the capstones lie from north to south. The eastern narrow end of the cromlech is prolonged into a contracted avenue, rarely more than three feet high. The difficulty of conveying the dead by the depressed passage into the penetralia, is explained by the fact that bones only, burned or otherwise, were conveyed there. The western end is closed like the sides. This large cromlech is forty-five feet in length, by fifteen feet wide, and nearly eight feet in height within the area at the western end. This space is covered by five

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. xxxiv.

² *Archæologia*, vol. xxxv.

larger and two smaller blocks of granite. The western is computed to weigh about thirty tons;



ARTICLES OF JEWELLERY,¹ found in barrows on the Wiltshire Downs.—From Hoare's Ancient Wiltshire.

it is nearly seventeen feet long, ten and a half wide, by four and a half in thickness. The second is sixteen feet long, the third again smaller, and so they gradually diminish to the seventh. The cromlech contains two layers or burial floors, on which were human bones, urns of coarse red and black clay, amulets and beads, pins, &c., the layers being separated by flat fragments of granite; the first stratum lay on a rude pavement, placed on the natural soil. The remains were disposed in the following remarkable manner:—Unburned bones covered either end of the floor, the middle third being allotted to those which had been submitted to the action of fire. The urns in this part were of remarkably rude shape and material.

The bones were heaped together confusedly, and each heap surrounded by a ring of small flat pebbles. The urns were near or within the rings. Some heaps consisted, as it were, of parents' and children's ashes mingled together, for within the same ring of pebbles were the bones of individuals of all ages. In this cromlech was an abundance of the bones of very young children. The next stratum contained only burned bones, among which were interspersed the tusks of boars. Be it remarked, that in no instance was the urn found to contain the ashes of the dead, but had, no doubt, been filled with food or liquor. Four flat discs, from six to twelve inches in diameter, and one inch in thickness, were found formed of the same ware as the urns, and doubtless they served as lids to some which had broad flat edges. As these lids are furnished with central handles, it may be inferred that the urns were visited and replenished from time to time. About 150 urns—some whole—were removed from this vault. When these repositories had become filled by successive deposits, it is found that additions were made of collateral cists, to supply room for further interments. The custom of cremation and urn burial appears, by the independent style of many vessels containing burned funeral remains, to have prevailed before the intercourse of the Romans with Britain. A very large and fine series of sepulchral urns, discovered by Sir Richard Colt Hoare, Bart., attest the variety of pattern used in the formation of these vessels: one in particular,



INTERIOR OF A CROMLECH ON THE PLAIN OF L'ANCRENEY, GUERNSEY. From the Archaeologia.

which was found in a tumulus near Stonehenge, is of entirely unique pattern, and from this pecu-

¹ No. 1, Ornaments of bronze plated with gold, to be worn suspended—full size; 2, Necklace—half size; 3, Glain Neidyr, or Adder-stone—full size; 4, Tweezers.—The Glain Neidyr was found in a bell-shaped barrow—for reasons adverted to in the text, supposed to have been reserved for women of consequence. The Gemme Anguinæ, or Glain, were sacred to the Druid order; and the fact of this specimen having been found in a barrow of the kind conjectured to have been set apart for the interment of women, corroborates in some measure the conjecture, founded upon some ancient writers, that females were

likewise initiated into the Druid rites and mysteries. These insignia are small glass amulets, commonly about as wide as our finger-rings, but much thicker, of a green colour usually, though some of them are blue, as in the present specimen, and others curiously waved, with blue, red, and white. Mr. Owen (Owen's Dict.), says they were worn by the different orders of Bards, each having its appropriate colour. The blue ones belonged to the prosiding Bards, the white to the Druids, the green to the Ovates, and the three colours blended to the disciples.

liarity, as well as on account of its large size—fifteen inches in diameter at the top, and twenty-two inches in height—it is distinguished as the Stonehenge Urn, and contained an interment of burned



CELTIC FUNERAL URNS.—From Sir R. Colt Hoare's *Ancient Wiltshire*.

bones. It forms the largest figure in the accompanying wood-cut. The vessels on either side are a richly ornamented drinking cup, found with a skeleton (primary deposit), in a barrow at Amesbury Downs, and a small urn inverted over an interment of burnt bones. Other kinds of vessels discovered, two examples of which are here represented, are supposed to have been used as incense cups. They are about three inches in diameter, one of them is studded over with projecting knobs, which seem to have been first made in the form of glass stoppers to a bottle, and afterwards inserted into circular holes in the cup, which appear to have been previously drilled for receiving them. Between these grape-like protuberances are other perforations which remain open. This curious vessel was found in a tumulus near Haytesbury.

The dwellings of the dead have proved more permanent than those once appropriated to the living. "What they," the Britons, "call a town," Caesar says, "is a tract of woody country, surrounded by a vallum and

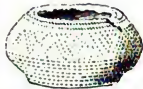
a ditch, for the security of themselves and cattle against the incursion of their enemies;" and Strabo corroborates this in the following words:—"The forests of the Britons are their cities; for when they have inclosed a very large circuit with felled trees, they build within it houses for themselves, and hovels for their cattle. These buildings are very slight, and not designed for permanence."

It is conjectured that these notices refer only to the winter habitations of the Britons, and that the circumvallated hills called British camps, were in summer the residences and sanctuaries of the Celtic rural populations. These are the *caer* of the Welsh and the Gaelic *dun*. A lengthy range of these intrenched hills appears on the downs of the Sussex coast, and interspersed with them are a series of hills which present a smaller surface at the top, and their site so chosen that where one occurs between two of the larger hills, the next in succession is situated on a spur of the downs, at an angle with the preceding one, so as to be visible clear of the chain of hills to the next eminence of a similar kind. These are surmised to have been adapted as beacons, for spreading



MOUNT CORNBILL BEACON, near Lewes, Sussex.—Drawn from nature and on wood, by H. G. Hine.

an alarm in case of invasion, or for the rites and observances of fire worship. The Herefordshire Beacon, one of the Malvern Hills, is a conspicuous example, being surrounded by a triple rampart; and with others of a similar kind, bears a striking analogy to the presumed original form of the great tower of Babel, of which, perhaps, its construction was a tradition, and its purpose a similar temple of Belus, for the adoration of the sun and fire, its type and symbol. We have the authority of Caesar for the skill of the Britons in the art of castrametation; and he instances the capital of Cassivellaunus, which he describes as "admirably defended, both by nature and art." A Celtic stronghold in Cornwall, called Chun Castle, may be cited as a remarkable specimen of this kind of fortified habitation. It is girt about by two circular walls, each separated by a space of thirty feet; the walls are of the kind of masonry called Cyclopean, being constructed of granite masses of



INCENSE VESSELS.—From Hoare's *Ancient Wiltshire*.

various forms and sizes, some of which are five or six feet long, fitted together without cement, so artificially as to offer an equal external surface. The outer wall was surrounded by a ditch nineteen feet wide. A portion of the wall is ten feet high, and about five feet in thickness. It is surmised by Eorlase that the inner wall must have been at least fifteen feet high, in consideration of its bulk, which is full twelve feet in thickness. This stronghold has only one entrance, which is towards the south-west; and it attests great proficiency in the art of defence. This opening is six feet wide in the narrowest part, and sixteen where the walls diverge and are rounded off on either side. There are also indications of steps up to the level of the area within the castle; and the remains of a wall, which crossed the terrace from the outer wall, divided the entrance into two parts at its widest end. The inner wall of the castle comprehends an area of 175 feet north and south, by 180 feet east and west. No indication of buildings appears in the centre, but all round the inner side of the wall are the bases of circular inclosures, which appear to have been the chambers or habitable parts of the castle, similarly disposed to those in the walls of the Saxon castle at Coningsburgh in Yorkshire, and the subsequent early Norman castles. These chambers are from eighteen to twenty feet in diameter, but on the northern side there is a larger apartment, measuring thirty feet by twenty-six.¹ Other vestiges of Celtic castles of a similar kind exist in Cornwall and Wales. The remains found within these inclosures throw but little light upon the habits of their ancient occupants; deer horns, heaps of bones, and the quern or hand-mill,



ANCIENT QUERN, from an example in the British Museum.

for grinding meal, only attest the pursuit of the hunter, and the produce of agriculture, by which the lords of those ancient strongholds employed the time which was not engrossed in the more stirring affairs of defence and warlike aggression.

The observation of these vestiges serves to prepare us for the contemplation of the more august remains connected with the faith of our early progenitors, among which the monuments of Stonehenge and Avebury are conspicuous. The symbolism of the sun and the serpent, it is conjectured, was betokened in their mystic order

and disposition, as well as in the kindred monument of Carnac in Brittany, in which land many of the tribes of Britain found a retreat on the departure of the Romans, and the inroad of Hengist and Horsa—the Teutonic Castor and Pollux. The dolmen or quoit—the witch stone of the scared rustic—is conceived to have been the Druid altar on which the human offering was immolated, when the Vates took their prediction from the convulsion of the limbs, and the particular direction in which the blood of the victim flowed. Whatever may have been its purpose, the dolmen abounds in Armorica, as here, and is to be found in most parts of the Old World. In the ship temples of Ireland, the tradition of the ark is thought to have been symbolized. The hare stone² is associated with the patriarchal boundary and memorial stones, and may be relics of a tribe who reached this island at a period prior to the Celtic inroad, and among whom there shone a ray from the dawning of the light now spread over the world in the books of Moses. But while indulging in many a surmise conjured up by the evidence of those monuments, whose interpretation lies buried in the depth of ages, we are awakened by the question of by what means of transport those ancient tribes made their way to the shores of Britain.

It has been inferred, from some passages in Cæsar, that the Britons were in possession of a navy. In one of these passages he states that his enemies, the Veneti of Western Gaul, having taken into alliance other neighbouring tribes, sent for aid from Britain, which lay directly over against their coast; but while it is not stated that the aid thus sought was of shipping, no other account indicates that such was the case; and we find no remains of vessels, but those of the simplest and most rude description, to inform us of the attainments of the Britons in the naval art. The canoes that still continue to be dug up from the alluvial beds of our rivers, and the antiseptic depths of our mosses, both in England and Scotland, are of the rudest description. They are made of the entire trunk of a tree, and have been partly hollowed by fire, and partly by the operation of the stave adze, while the outside exhibits no trace of ornament, and very little even of close lopping and smoothness. Of the canoes thus discovered, the length of the smallest varies from seven to eleven feet, and, like those of the Indians, they have been impelled by paddles. One of the largest, now in the British Museum, measures thirty-five feet four inches in length, one foot ten inches in depth, and four feet six inches in width

² Hoar or hare stones, signifying border or boundary stones, the *maen hir* or *menie geyr* of Wales; *men hars* in Armorica, a bound-stone.—A Letter by the late William Hamper, F.S.A., *Archæologia*, vol. xxvi.

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. xxii. p. 300.

at the centre. Another vessel of similar character is described by Sir John Clark as having been exhumed in the Carse of Falkirk, in May, 1726. It measured thirty-six feet in length, and four in extreme breadth, and was finely smoothed and polished, both inside and outside, having the usual pointed stem and square stern. It was in such vessels as these that the ruder Britons carried on their coasting and river navigation; and in these also they fished with hooks of bone, and even ventured to attack the whales that happened to get stranded on their coasts or in their estuaries. As such vessels were evidently not intended for adventurous voyages, they required little labour or ingenuity of construction, beyond the mere hollowing of a pine, to render it more buoyant upon the waters. The circumstance of locality, or the genius of a different tribe, may have pro-



WELSH FISHERMAN OF THE PRESENT DAY WITH CORACLE.

duced the variety of canoes of lighter but more fragile materials. These were the barks of ozier, covered with the skins of animals, which were of more ample stowage and lighter draught, but which also required a greater degree of skill to manage, as well as to construct them. The Britons, at the arrival of the Romans, were famed for their ingenuity in basket-work, and this they had turned to the purposes of navigation, when they substituted for the clumsy log a large floating basket. In such, we are told, they could make a six days' voyage, and maintain a close connection with Ireland. These vessels, upon a small scale, and for the purposes of fishing and river navigation, are still used in Wales under the name of *cerbygl*, or coracles; and are so light and portable that, on leaving the stream, the fisherman commonly carries off his boat on his back.

At the period of Cæsar's invasion a great change had taken place in the transition of the export trade of the Britons, from the western to the southern shores of the island; and an exten-

sive intercourse with the Gauls, together with the intermixture of Germanic tribes, had greatly assimilated the manners and resources of the inhabitants of South Britain to those of the opposite coasts. Their land produced grain in abundance, and they possessed numerous flocks and herds; whereas the people of the interior, according to Cæsar, grew no grain, but lived on the milk and flesh of their cattle. The inland people, living among their forests and marshes, and in the course of intestine wars of tribe against tribe, had lapsed into a state calculated to develop only the ruder energies; and the more northern parts of the island were yet lower in the scale, procuring a sustenance from the milk of their flocks, and wild fruits, and whatsoever they could procure in hunting; but when these resources failed, they eked out a sustenance by devouring roots and leaves, and in extremity they had recourse to a certain composition, by which, it is said, when they had eaten about the quantity of a bean, their spirits were so admirably supported, that they no longer felt hunger or thirst.¹

In addition to the abundance of fuel possessed by the Britons in their vast forests, they appear to have been acquainted with the use of coal, quantities of which have been found in British deposits. According to Strabo, they had in use cups, and other vessels of glass, probably imported. Many articles, fashioned in gold and silver of great purity, have been found, which attest the possession and appreciation of those metals. A fine specimen in gold was discovered in a cairn at Mold, in Flintshire. It is a gold breastplate or gorget, embossed with a figured pattern in various degrees of relief. It was



REMAINS OF BRITISH BREASTPLATE OR GORGET, found at Mold, and now in the British Museum.

found, with bones of the former owner, as it had been worn, with remnants of coarse cloth or serge, amber beads, and pieces of copper, upon which the gold had been probably fastened. Its extreme length is three feet seven inches, being made apparently to pass under the arms, and meet in the centre of the back, and its width in front, where it is shaped to fit the neck, eight inches.

Such are a few of the specimens of early British life that have survived the wreck of eighteen centuries, and which a growing spirit of inquiry,

and greater diligence in exploration, are continually enriching with many and valuable additions. It is by such antiquarian researches, be it remembered, however lightly they may be esteemed, that the conditions of a race who have departed are made accessible to the world. The buildings which constitute the homes of a people, and the household utensils that minister to the comforts of daily life, have passed away; the costume by which one nation is distinguished from another, and the personal ornaments by which the different ranks of the same people are indicated, have been more perishable still; even the weapons that were forged for the violence of mortal hatred, and the endurance of hereditary feuds, have become so dimmed and deformed by the rust of ages that their original uses are sometimes matter of question. But, even in the relics of a barbarous people, this utter decay seldom extends to the shrines of their devotion and the dwellings of the dead. The tomb and the temple—the sacred repose of death, and the cheering promise of immortality—excite a stronger solicitude than even that which suffices for the erection of ramparts and

palaces, and are manifested in grander and more enduring memorials. And hence it is that in every country they have survived the monuments of active every-day life, and still remain, not only in all their original solemn silence, but with much of their primitive entireness. It is in these mausoleums of buried ages that we are often left to read the history of a people who have passed away; and it is in this manner that we are obliged to study the modes of life and condition of character that prevailed among the early Britons. Their own legends, as we have already seen, are of little avail to guide us; the more consistent accounts that were reduced to writing, and embodied in classical history, were the testimonies of their enemies, and therefore to be received with suspicion, and only in part. But in the circle of stones and its crumbling altars—in the barrow and its funeral urns—we learn, as from safe though very limited resources, how our earliest ancestors may have lived, and worshipped, and warred, and died, before the destroying enemy had arrived among them, or the doom of extinction been carried into effect.

BOOK I.

BRITISH AND ROMAN PERIOD.—504 YEARS.

FROM B.C. 55 TO A.D. 410.

CHAPTER I.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.

INVASION BY JULIUS CÆSAR.—B.C. 55—A.D. 43.

Early inhabitants of Britain—Motives of Julius Cæsar for invading it—Gallant resistance of the natives—Cæsar's second invasion—His successes and progress—Submission of the Britons, and its terms—Means of resistance possessed by the Britons—Their war-chariots, cavalry and infantry, weapons—Superior discipline and appointments of the Roman legions.

THE conquests of Julius Cæsar in Gaul brought him within sight of the coast of Britain; and, having established the Roman authority in the nearest countries on the Continent, which are now called France and Belgium, it was almost as natural for him to aim at the possession of our island, as for the masters of Italy to invade Sicily, or the conquerors of India the contiguous island of Ceylon. The disjunction of Britain from the rest of the world, and the stormy but narrow sea that flows between it and the main, were circumstances just sufficient to give a bold and romantic character to the enterprise, without being real barriers to a skilful and courageous general. But there were other motives to impel Cæsar. Britain, or the far greater part of it, was inhabited by a people of the same race, language, and religion as the Gauls; and during his recent and most arduous campaigns, the islanders had assisted their neighbours and kindred of the Continent, sending important aid more particularly to the Veneti, who occupied Vannes in Bretagne, and to other people of Western Gaul who lived near the sea-coast. Cæsar, indeed, says himself that in all his wars with the Gauls the enemies of the Republic had always received assistance from Britain, and that this fact made him resolve to pass over into the island. This island, moreover, seems to have had the character of a sort of Holy Land among the Celtic nations, and to have been considered the great centre and stronghold of the Druids, the revered priesthood of an iron superstition, that bound men, and tribes, and nations together, and inflamed them far more than

patriotism against the Roman conquerors. With respect to Druidism, Britain perhaps stood in the same relation to Gaul that the Island of Mona or Anglesey bore to Britain; and when the Romans had established themselves in Gaul, they had the same motives for attacking our island that they had, a century later, when they had fixed themselves in Britain, for falling upon Anglesey, as the centre of the Druids and of British union, and the source of the remaining national resistance.

It is to be remembered, also, that, whatever may have been the views of personal ambition from which Cæsar principally acted, the Romans really had the best of all pleas for their wars with the Gauls, who had been their constant enemies for centuries, and originally their assailants. Their possession of Italy, indeed, could not be considered as secure until they had subdued, or at least impressed with a sufficient dread of their arms, the fierce and restless nations both of Gaul and Germany, some of whom—down almost to the age of Cæsar—had not ceased occasionally to break through the barrier of the Alps, and to carry fire and sword into the home territories of the Republic. These, and the other Northern barbarians, as they were called, had had their eye upon the cultivated fields of the Italic peninsula ever since the irruption of Bellovesus, in the time of the elder Tarquin; and the war the Gauls were now carrying on with Cæsar was only a part of the long contest, which did not terminate till the Empire was overpowered at last by its natural enemies, nearly five centuries afterwards. In the meantime, it was the turn of the Gauls to find the Roman valour, in its highest condition of discipline and efficiency, irresistible;

and the Britons, as the active allies of the Gauls, could not expect to escape sharing in their chastisement.

According to a curious passage in Suetonius, it was reported that Cæsar was tempted to invade Britain by the hopes of finding pearls.¹ Such an inducement seems scarcely of sufficient importance, although we know that pearls were very highly esteemed by the ancients; and Pliny, the naturalist, tells us that Cæsar offered or dedicated a breastplate to Venus, ornamented with pearls, which he pretended to have found in Britain. But Cæsar might be tempted by other real and more valuable productions, and he could not be ignorant of the existence of the British lead and tin which the Phœnicians had imported into the Mediterranean ages before his time, and in which the Phœcean colony of Massilia or Marseilles was actually carrying on a trade. Cæsar himself, indeed, says nothing of this; but within a few miles of our coasts, and among a people with whom the British had constant intercourse, he must have acquired more information than appears respecting the natural fertility of the soil, and the mineral and other productions of the island. From



JULIUS CÆSAR.—FROM A MARBLE IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

evident reasons, indeed, the Gauls in general might not be very communicative on these subjects; but among that people Cæsar had allies and some steady friends, who must have been able and ready to satisfy all his inquiries. His subservient instrument, Comius, who will presently appear upon the scene, must have possessed much of the information required. His love of conquest and glory alone might have been sufficient incentive to Cæsar, but a recent and philosophic writer assigns other probable motives for his expeditions into Britain—such as his desire of dazzling his countrymen, and of seeming to be absorbed by objects remote from internal ambition, by expedi-

tions against a new world, or of furnishing himself with a pretence for prolonging his provincial command, and keeping up an army devoted to him, till the time should arrive for the execution of his projects against liberty at Rome.²

Whatever were his motives, in the year B.C. 55, Cæsar resolved to cross the British Channel, not, as he has himself told us, to make *then* a conquest, for which the season was too far advanced, but in order merely to take a view of the island, learn the nature of the inhabitants, and survey the coasts, harbours, and landing-places. He says that the Gauls were ignorant of all these things; that few of them, except merchants, ever visited the island; and that the merchants themselves only knew the sea-coasts opposite to Gaul. Having called together the merchants from all parts of Gaul, he questioned them concerning the size of the island, the power and customs of its inhabitants, their mode of warfare, and the harbours they had capable of receiving large ships. He adds, that on none of these points could they give him information; but, on this public occasion, the silence of the traders probably proceeded rather from unwillingness and caution than ignorance, while it is equally probable that the conqueror received a little more information than he avows. He says, however, that for these reasons he thought it expedient, before he embarked himself, to despatch C. Volusenus, with a single galley, to obtain some knowledge of these things, commanding him, as soon as he had obtained this necessary knowledge, to return to head-quarters with all haste. He then himself marched with his whole army into the territory of the Morini, a nation or tribe of the Gauls, who inhabited the sea-coast between Calais and Boulogne—"because thence was the shortest passage into Britain." Here he collected many ships from the neighbouring ports.

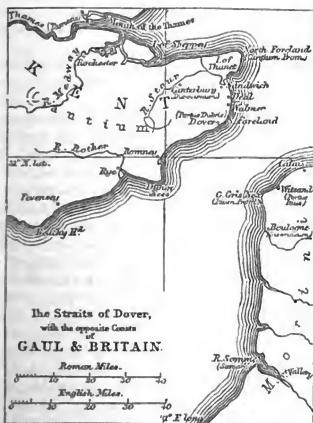
Meanwhile many of the British states, having been warned of Cæsar's premeditated expedition, by the merchants that resorted to their island, sent over ambassadors to him, with an offer of hostages and submission to the Roman authority. He received these ambassadors most kindly, and, exhorting them to continue in the same pacific intentions, sent them back to their own country, despatching with them Comius, a Gaul whom he had made King of the Atrebatians, a Belgic nation then settled in Artois. Cæsar's choice of this envoy was well directed. The Belge, at a comparatively recent period, had colonized, and they still occupied all the south-eastern coasts of Britain; and these colonists, much more civilized than the rest of the islanders, no doubt held frequent com-

¹ *Vit. Jul. Cæs. c. xlvii.*

² Sir James Mackintosh, *Hist. Eng.*

mercial and friendly intercourse with the Atrébations in Artois, and the rest of the Belgic stock settled in other places.¹ Cæsar himself says, not only that Comius was a man in whose virtue, wisdom, and fidelity he placed great confidence, but one "whose authority in the island of Britain was very considerable." He therefore charged Comius to visit as many of the British states as he could, and persuade them to enter into an alliance with the Romans, informing them, at the same time, that Cæsar intended to visit the island in person as soon as possible.

C. Volusenus appears to have done little service with his galley. He took a view of the Bri-



tish coast, as far as was possible for one who had resolved not to quit his vessel or trust himself into the hands of the natives, and on the fifth day of his expedition returned to head-quarters. With such information as he had, Cæsar embarked the

infantry of two legions, making about 12,000 men, on board eighty transports, and set sail from Portus Itius, or Witsand, between Calais and Boulogne. The cavalry, embarked in eighteen other transports, were detained by contrary winds at a port about eight miles off, but Cæsar left orders for them to follow as soon as the weather permitted. This force, however, as will be seen, could never make itself available; and hence, mainly, arose the reverses of the campaign.

At ten o'clock on a morning in autumn (Haley the astronomer, in a paper in the *Philosophical Transactions*, has almost demonstrated that it must have been on the 26th of August), Cæsar reached the British coast, near Dover, at about the worst possible point to effect a landing in face of an enemy; and the Britons were not disposed to be friends. The submission they had offered through their ambassadors was intended only to prevent or retard invasion; and seeing it fail of either of these effects, on the return of their ambassadors with Comius, as Cæsar's envoy, they made that prince a prisoner, loaded him with chains, prepared for their defence as well as the shortness of time would permit; and when the Romans looked from their ships to the steep white cliffs above them, they saw them covered all over by the armed Britons. Finding that this was not a convenient landing-place, Cæsar resolved to lie by till the third hour after noon, in order, he says, to wait the arrival of the rest of his fleet. Some laggard vessels appear to have come up, but the eighteen transports bearing the cavalry were nowhere seen. Cæsar, however, favoured by both wind and tide, proceeded at the appointed hour, and sailing about seven miles further along the coast, prepared to land his forces on an open, flat shore, which presents itself between Walmer Castle and Sandwich.² The Britons on the cliffs, perceiving his design, followed his motions, and sending their cavalry and war-chariots before, marched rapidly on with their main force, to oppose his landing anywhere. Cæsar confesses that the opposition of the natives

¹ "It is almost impossible, at this distance of time, to ascertain how far the Belgic settlements extended inland in Britain; though there are strong reasons for supposing that they covered a large portion of the south of England. The narrative of Cæsar would lead us to infer that the Britons with whom he came in contact were not of two distinct races. He must, therefore, as is evident from his own account, have fought against the Belgic settlers, and have had nothing to do with the more ancient Celtic population. The Belgæ were at that time, as they are at present, a busy, commercial people; and had spread, even in the time of Cæsar, as far as the Seine, towards the west of France. If this view of the extent of the Belgic settlements in Britain be correct, it removes a great deal of the difficulty which surrounds the story of the Britons having been exterminated in after ages by the Saxons. It is not likely that military invaders like the Saxons, would either slay all the peasants of the country, or drive them into Wales; and it is morally certain that so poor a country as Wales would suffer from famine, both then and now, from the sudden influx of 100,000 foreigners. The

Saxons would be more likely to retain the original British population as servants to till their grounds; and if that population were of Belgic or German descent, as were the Saxons themselves, their amalgamation with a kindred race would be speedy and complete. But it is, as yet, uncertain how far the Celts themselves were originally of German descent also."—Giles' *History of the Ancient Britons*, vol. i. p. 37. It is remarkable that the islands of North-Western Europe should have presented in Cæsar's time what we find in those of Eastern Asia at this day—many tribes divided generally into two different races, the one inhabiting the interior and mountainous parts, short in stature, averse to the sea, and addicted to hunting; the other ranged along the shores, tall, and addicted to navigation, commerce, and agriculture.—Ed.

² Horsley (*Brit. Rom.*) shows that Cæsar must have proceeded to the north of the South Foreland, in which case the landing must have been effected between Walmer Castle and Sandwich. Others, with less reason, think he sailed southward from the South Foreland, and landed on the flats of Romney Marsh.

was a bold one, and that the difficulties he had to encounter were very great, on many accounts; but superior skill and discipline, and the employment of some military engines on board the war-galleys, to which the British were unaccustomed, and which projected missiles of various kinds, at last triumphed over them, and he disembarked his two legions. We must not omit the act of the standard-bearer of the tenth legion, which has been thought deserving of particular commemoration by his general. While the Roman soldiers were hesitating to leave the ships—chiefly deterred, according to Caesar's account, by the depth of the water—this officer, having first solemnly besought the gods that what he was about to do might prove fortunate for the legion, and then exclaiming, with a loud voice, "Follow me, my fellow-soldiers, unless you will give up your eagle to the enemy!—I, at least, will do my

ing the blame of the harsh treatment his envoy had met with upon the multitude or common people, and entreating Caesar to excuse a fault which proceeded solely from the popular ignorance. The conqueror, after reproaching them for sending of their own accord ambassadors into Gaul to sue for peace, and then making war upon him, *without any reason*, forgave them their offences, and ordered them to send in a certain number of hostages, as security for their good behaviour in future. Some of these hostages were presented immediately, and the Britons promised to deliver the rest, who lived at a distance, in the course of a few days. The native forces then seemed entirely disbanded, and the several chiefs came to Caesar's camp to offer allegiance, and negotiate or intrigue for their own separate interests.

On the day that this peace was concluded, and not before, the unlucky transports with the Roman cavalry were enabled to quit their port on the coast of Gaul. They stood across the channel with a gentle gale; but when they neared the British coast, and were even within view of Caesar's camp, they were dispersed by a tempest, and were finally obliged to return to the port where they had been so long detained. That very night, Caesar says, it happened to be full moon, when the tides always rise highest



DOVER CLIFFS.—From Turner's *England and Wales*.

duty to the Republic and to our general!" leaped into the sea as he spoke, and dashed with his ensign among the enemy's ranks. The men instantly followed their heroic leader; and the soldiers in the other ships, excited by the example, also crowded forward along with them. The two armies were for some time mixed in combat; but at length the Britons withdrew in disorder from the well-contested beach. As their cavalry, however, was not yet arrived, the Romans could not pursue them, or advance into the island, and thus render the victory complete.

The native maritime tribes, thus defeated, sought the advantages of a hollow peace. They despatched ambassadors to Caesar, offering hostages, and an entire submission. They liberated Comius, and restored him to his employer, throw-

—“a fact at that time wholly unknown to the Romans”¹—and the galleys which he had with him, and which were hauled up on the beach, were filled with the rising waters, while his heavier transports, that lay at anchor in the roadstead, were either dashed to pieces, or rendered altogether unfit for sailing. This disaster spread a general consternation through the camp; for, as every legionary knew, there were no other vessels to carry back the troops, nor any materials with the army to repair the ships that were disabled;

¹ The operations of the Roman troops had hitherto been almost confined to the Mediterranean, where there is no perceptible tide. Yet during their stay on the coast of Gaul, on the opposite side of the Channel, they ought to have become acquainted with these phenomena. Probably they had never attended to the irregularities of a spring-tide.

and, as it had been from the beginning Cæsar's design not to winter in Britain, but in Gaul, he was wholly unprovided with corn and provisions to feed his troops. Suetonius says, that during the nine years Cæsar held the military command in Gaul, amidst a most brilliant series of successes, he experienced only three signal disasters; and he counts the almost entire destruction of his fleet by a storm in Britain, as one of the three.

Nor were the invaded people slow in perceiving the extent of Cæsar's calamity, and devising means to profit by it. They plainly saw he was in want of cavalry, provisions, and ships; a close inspection showed that his troops were not so numerous as they had fancied, and probably familiarized them in some measure to their warlike weapons and demeanour; and they confidently hoped that, by defeating this force, or surrounding and cutting off their retreat, and starving them, they should prevent all future invasions. The chiefs in the camp having previously held secret consultations among themselves, retired, by degrees, from the Romans, and began to draw the islanders together. Cæsar says, that though he was not fully apprised of their designs, he partly guessed them, from their delay in sending in the hostages promised from a distance, and from other circumstances; and instantly took measures to provide for the worst. He set part of his army to repair his shattered fleet, using the materials of the vessels most injured to patch up the rest; and as the soldiers wrought with an indefatigability suiting the dangerous urgency of the case, he had soon a number of vessels fit for sea. He then sent to Gaul for other materials wanting, and probably for some provisions also. Another portion of his troops he employed in foraging parties, to bring into the camp what corn they could collect in the adjacent country. This supply could not have been great, for the natives had everywhere gathered in their harvest, except in one field; and there, by lying in ambush, the Britons made a bold and bloody attack, which had well nigh proved fatal to the invaders. As one of the two legions that formed the expedition were cutting down the corn in that field, Cæsar, who was in his fortified camp, suddenly saw a great cloud of dust in that direction. He rushed to the spot with two cohorts, leaving orders for all the other soldiers of the legion to follow as soon as possible. His arrival was very opportune, for he found the legion, which had been surprised in the corn-field, and which had suffered considerable loss, now surrounded and pressed on all sides by the cavalry and war-chariots of the British, who had been concealed in the neighbouring woods. He succeeded in bringing off the engaged legion, with which he withdrew to his intrenched camp, de-

clining a general engagement for the present. Heavy rains that followed confined the Romans for some days within their intrenchments. Meanwhile the British force of horse and foot was increased from all sides, and they gradually drew round the intrenchments. Cæsar, anticipating their attack, marshalled his legions outside of the camp, and, at the proper moment, fell upon the islanders, who, he says, not being able to sustain the shock, were soon put to flight. In this victory he attaches great importance to a body of thirty horse, which Comius, the Atrebatian, had brought over from Gaul. The Romans pursued the fugitives as far as their strength would permit; they slaughtered many of them, set fire to some houses and villages, and then returned again to the protection of their camp. On the same day the Britons again sued for peace, and Cæsar, being anxious to return to Gaul as quickly as possible, "because the equinox was approaching, and his ships were leaky," granted it to them, on no harder condition than that of doubling the number of hostages they had promised after their first defeat. He did not even wait for the hostages, but a fair wind springing up, he set sail at midnight, and arrived safely in Gaul. Eventually only two of the British states sent their hostages; and this breach of treaty gave the Roman commander a ground of complaint by which to justify his second invasion.

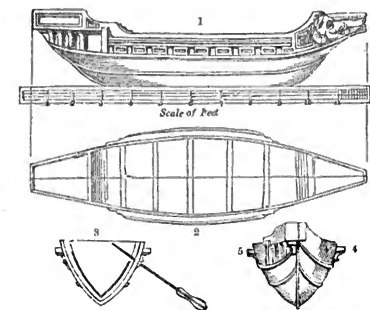
In the spring of the following year (B.C. 54) Cæsar again embarked at the same Portus Itius for Britain. This time peculiar attention had been paid to the build and equipment of his fleet: he had 800 vessels of all classes, and these carried five legions and 2000 cavalry—an invading force in all not short of 32,000 men.¹ At the approach of this formidable armament the natives retired in dismay from the coast, and Cæsar disembarked, without opposition, at "that part of the island which he had marked out the preceding summer as being the most convenient landing-place." This was probably somewhere on the same flat, between Walmer Castle and Sandwich, where he had landed the year before. Having received intelligence as to the direction in which the Britons had retired, he set out about midnight in quest of them, leaving ten cohorts, with 300 horse, behind him on the coast, to guard his camp and fleet. After a hurried night-march, he came in sight of the islanders, who were well posted on some rising grounds behind a river—probably the Stour, near Canterbury. The confederate army gallantly disputed the passage of the river with their cavalry and chariots; but being repulsed by the Roman horse, they retreated to-

¹ In this calculation an allowance of 500 is made for sickness, casualties, and deficiencies. At this period the infantry of a legion, when complete, amounted to 6100 men.

wards the woods, to a place strongly fortified both by nature and art, and which Cæsar judged had been strengthened before, on occasion of some internal native war; "for all the avenues were secured by strong barricades of felled trees laid upon one another." This stronghold is supposed to have been at or near to the spot where the city of Canterbury now stands. Strong as it was, the soldiers of the seventh legion (the force that had suffered so much the preceding campaign in the corn-field) carried it, by means of a mound of earth they cast up in front of it; and then they drove the British from the cover of the wood. The evening closed on their retreat, in which they must have suffered little loss; for Cæsar, fearful of following them through a country with which he was unacquainted, strictly forbade all pursuit, and employed his men in fortifying their camp for the night. The Roman eagles were scarcely displayed the following morning, and the trumpets had hardly sounded the advance, when a party of horse brought intelligence from the coast that nearly all the fleet had been driven on shore and wrecked during the night. Cæsar flew to the sea-shore, whither,

within his fortified camp. Although the ancient galleys were small and light compared to our modern men-of-war, and the transports and tenders of his fleet in all probability little more than sloops and barges, this was a laborious operation, and occupied the soldiers ten days and nights. Having thus secured his fleet, he set off in pursuit of the enemy, who had made a good use of his absence, by increasing their army, and appointing one chief to the supreme command of it. The choice of the confederated states fell upon Cassivellaunus (his Celtic name was perhaps Casswallon), whose territories were divided from the maritime states of the river Thames, at a point which was between seventy and eighty miles from Cæsar's camp on the Kentish coast. This prince had hitherto been engaged in almost constant wars with his neighbours, whose affection to him must have therefore been of recent date, and of somewhat doubtful continuance; but he had a reputation for skill and bravery, and the dread of the Romans made the Britons forget their quarrels for a time, unite themselves under his command, and intrust him with the whole conduct of the war. Cæsar found him well posted at or

near to the scene of the last battle. Cassivellaunus did not wait to be attacked, but charged the Roman cavalry with his horse, supported by his chariots. Cæsar says that he constantly repelled these charges, and drove the Britons to their woods and hills; but that, after making great slaughter, venturing to continue the pursuit too far, he lost some men. It does not appear that the British retreated far; and some time after these skirmishes they gave the Romans a serious check. Sallying unexpectedly from the wood, they fell upon the soldiers, who were employed, as usual, in fortifying the camp or station for the night, and cut up the advanced guard. Cæsar sent two cohorts to their aid, but the Britons charged these in separate parties, broke through them, routed them, and then retired without loss. A military tribune was slain; and, but for the timely arrival of some fresh



ROMAN GALLEY, from the model presented by Lord Anson to Greenwich Hospital. — 1, Side Elevation; 2, Plan; 3, Midship Section; 4, Elevation of Stern; 5, Elevation of Stem.

he was followed by the legions in full retreat. The misfortune had not been exaggerated: forty of his ships were irretrievably lost, and the rest so damaged that they seemed scarcely capable of repair. With his characteristic activity, he set all the carpenters of the army to work, wrote for more artisans from Gaul, and ordered the legions stationed on that coast to build as many new ships as they could. Apprehensive alike of the storms of the ocean and of the fierce attack of the natives, Cæsar ordered that all his ships should be drawn up on dry land, and inclosed

cohorts, the conflict would have been very disastrous. Even as it was, and though Cæsar covers the fact by a somewhat confused narrative, it should appear that a good part of his army was beaten on this occasion. He says that from this action, of which the whole Roman army was spectators, it was evident that his heavy-armed legions were not a fit match for the active and light-armed Britons, who always fought in detachments, with a body of reserve in their rear, which advanced fresh supplies when needed, and covered and protected the forces when in retreat;

that even his cavalry could not engage without great danger, it being the custom of the Britons to counterfeits a retreat, until they had drawn the Roman horse a considerable way from the legions, when, suddenly leaping from their chariots, they charged them on foot, and, by this *unequal* manner of fighting, rendered it equally dangerous to pursue or retire.

The next day the Britons only showed small bodies on the hills at some distance from the Roman camp. This made Cæsar believe they were less willing to skirmish with his cavalry; but no sooner had he sent out *all his cavalry* to forage, supported by *three legions* (between horse and foot this foraging party comprised considerably more than half the forces he had with him), than the Britons fell upon them on all sides, and even charged up to the solid and impenetrable legions. The latter bold step was the cause of their ruin: the superior arms, the defensive armour, and the perfect discipline of those masses, rendered the contest too unequal; the British warriors were repulsed—thrown off like waves from a mighty rock—confusion ensued, and Cæsar's cavalry and infantry, charging together, utterly broke the confederate army. The conqueror informs us that after this defeat the auxiliary troops, which had repaired from all parts to Cassivellaunus' standard, returned severally to their own homes; and that during the rest of the campaign the enemy never again appeared against the Romans with their whole force.

These severe contests had not brought Cæsar far into the interior of the island; but now he followed up Cassivellaunus, who retired, for the defence of his own kingdom, beyond the Thames. Marching through Kent and a part of Surrey, or the beautiful country which now bears those names, the Romans reached the right bank of the Thames, at Coway Stakes, near Chertsey,¹ in Surrey, where the river was considered fordable. The passage, however, was not undisputed. Cassivellaunus had drawn up his troops in great numbers on the opposite bank; he had likewise fortified that bank with sharp stakes, and driven similar stakes into the bed of the river, yet so as

to be concealed or covered by the water. Of these things Cæsar says he was informed by prisoners and deserters. It should appear that he overcame the obstacles raised at the ford with great ease; he sent the horse into the river before, ordering the foot to follow close behind them, which they did with such rapidity that, though nothing but their heads appeared above water, they were presently on the opposite bank, where the enemy could not stand their charge, but fled.

The rest of his army having disbanded, Cassivellaunus now retained no other force than 4000 war-chariots, with which he harassed the Romans, always keeping at a distance from their main body, and retiring, when attacked, to woods and inaccessible places; whither also he caused such of the inhabitants as lay on Cæsar's line of march to withdraw with their cattle and provisions. Being perfectly acquainted with the country, and all the roads and defiles, he continued to fall upon detached parties; and the Romans were never safe, or masters of any ground, except in the space covered by their intrenched camp or their legions. On account of these frequent surprises, Cæsar would not permit his horse to forage at any distance from the legions, or to pillage and destroy the country, unless where the foot was close at hand to support them.

The fatal want of union among the petty states into which the island was frittered, and the hatred some of them entertained against their former enemy, Cassivellaunus, now began to appear, and to disconcert all that chief's measures for resistance. The Trinobantes, who dwelt in Essex and Middlesex, and who formed one of the most powerful states in those parts, sent ambassadors to Cæsar. Of this state was Mandubratius, who had fled into Gaul to Cæsar, in order to avoid the fate of his father, Imanuentius, who had held the sovereignty of the state, and whom Cassivellaunus had defeated and put to death. The ambassadors entreated Cæsar to restore their prince, who was then a guest in the Roman camp, to defend him and them against the fury of Cassivellaunus, promising, on these conditions, obedience and entire submission in the name of all the Trinobantes. Cæsar demanded forty hostages, and a supply of corn for his army. The general does not confess it, but it is very probable that, through the wise measures of Cassivellaunus, the Romans were at this time sorely distressed by want or provisions. The Trinobantes delivered both the corn and the hostages, and Cæsar restored to them their prince. Immediately upon this, other tribes, whom Cæsar designates the Cenimagni, Segontiaci, Ancelites, Bibroci, and Cassi, also sent in their submission. Some of these people informed Cæsar that he was not far from the capital of Cassivellaunus, which was situated amidst woods

STAKE.²

¹ This point, like most of the other localities mentioned by Cæsar, has been the subject of dispute. We venture to fix it where we do on the authority of Camden, and Mr. Gale, a writer in the *Archæologia*, vol. i. p. 163.

² Stake drawn from the bed of the Thames at Coway Stakes, presumed to be one of those planted by Cassivellaunus; now in the British Museum. A number of similar stakes still remain in the bed of the river.

and marshes, and whither multitudes of the British had retired with their cattle, as to a place of safety.¹ This town is supposed to have been near to the site of St. Alban's, and on the spot where the flourishing Roman colony of Verulamium arose many years after. Though called a town and a capital, it appears from Cæsar to have been nothing but a thick wood or labyrinth, with clusters of houses or villages scattered about it; the whole being surrounded by a ditch and a rampart, the latter made of mud or felled trees, or probably of both materials mixed.

Cæsar soon appeared with his legions before the capital of Cassivellaunus; and he says, that though the place seemed very strong both by art and nature, he resolved to attack it in two several points. He was once more successful; the Britons fled to another wood, after a short stand, and the Romans took many prisoners and vast numbers of cattle. Though thus defeated in the inland districts, Cassivellaunus still hoped to redeem the fortunes of his country by a bold and well-conceived blow, to be struck on the sea-coast. While the events related were passing beyond the Thames, he despatched messengers to the four princes or kings of Cantium (Kent), to instruct them to draw all their forces together, and attack the camp and ships of the Romans by surprise. The Kentish Britons obeyed their instructions; but, according to Cæsar, the Romans, sallying from their intrenchments, made a great slaughter of their troops, took one of the princes prisoner, and returned in safety to the camp. At the news of this reverse, the brave Cassivellaunus lost heart; he sent ambassadors to sue for peace, and availed himself of the mediation of Comius, the King of the Atrebatians, with whom, at one time or other, he appears to have had friendly relations. The Roman general, as we have noticed, states that the authority or influence of Comius in the island was very considerable. It would be curious to see how he exercised it in favour of his Roman patron; but here we are left in the dark.

¹ "If we may implicitly trust the report of Cæsar, a British city in his time differed widely from what we understand by that term. A spot difficult of access, from the trees that filled it, surrounded with a rampart and ditch, and which offered a refuge from the sudden incursions of an enemy, could be dignified by the name of an *oppidum*, and form the metropolis of Cassivellaunus. Such, also, among the Slavonians, were the *vici*, encircled by an *abbatis* of timber, or at most a paling, proper to repel not only an unexpected attack, but even capable of resisting for a time the onset of practised forces: such in our own time have been found the stockades of the Burmese, and the *pah* of the New Zealander; and if our skillful engineers have experienced no contemptible resistance, and the lives of many brave and disciplined men have been sacrificed in their reduction, we may admit that even the *oppida* of Cassivellaunus, or Carnatae, or Galgæus, might, as fortresses, have serious claims to the attention of a Roman commander." "It is, however, scarcely possible that Cæsar and Strabo can be strictly accurate in their reports, or that there were from the first only such towns in Bri-

tannia as Cæsar turned a ready ear to the overtures of Cassivellaunus, and granted him peace on such easy conditions, that some writers have been induced to believe he was heartily tired of the harassing war. For himself, he only says that he was in a hurry to return to Gaul, on account of the frequent insurrections in that country. He merely demanded hostages, appointed a yearly tribute (the amount of which is nowhere named, and which was probably never paid), and charged Cassivellaunus to respect Mandubratius and the Trinobantes. Having received the hostages, he led his troops back to the Kentish coast, and, crowding them into his ships as closely and quickly as he could, he set sail by night for Gaul, fearing, he says, the equinoctial storms, which were now at hand. He tells us he had many prisoners; but he certainly did not erect a fort, or leave a single cohort behind him, to secure the ground he had gained in the island.²

Tacitus, writing 150 years later, says distinctly, that even Julius Cæsar, the first who entered Britain with an army, although he struck terror into the islanders by a successful battle, could only maintain himself on the sea-coast—that he was a discoverer rather than a conqueror.

We have dwelt more particularly on these campaigns, as we have the accomplished general's own account to guide us; and as many of his details may be applied to explain the other Roman wars which followed, when there was no Cæsar to describe in the closet his exploits in the field. The sequel, indeed, when we must follow professional historians, who were never even in Britain, is comparatively uninteresting and monotonous. We shall, therefore, set down the great results, without embarrassing the reader with unnecessary details; but at this point it will be well to pause, in order to offer a few general remarks, which will equally elucidate the past and future campaigns of the Romans in our island.

The contest which had thus taken place between the British bands and the famed Roman legions,

tain as these authors have described. It is not consonant to experience that a thickly-peopled and peaceful country should long be without cities. A commercial people always have some settled stations for the collection and interchange of commodities, and fixed establishments for the regulation of trade. Cæsar himself tells us that the buildings of the Britons were very numerous, and that they bore a resemblance to those of the Gauls, whose cities were assuredly considerable. Moreover, a race so conversant with the management of horses as to use armed chariots for artillery, are not likely to have been without an extensive system of roads, and where there are roads towns will not long be wanting. Hence when, less than eighty years after the return of the Romans to Britain, and scarcely forty after the complete subjugation of the island by Agricola, Ptolemy tells us of at least fifty-six cities in existence here, we may reasonably conclude that they were not all due to the efforts of Roman civilization."—*Kemble's Saxons in England*, vol. i. pp. 264-5.

² For the preceding part of our narrative, see *Cæsar de Bello Gallico*, from book iv. ch. xviii. to book v. ch. xix. (inclusive).

at a period when the discipline of those corps was most perfect, and when they were commanded by the greatest of their generals, was certainly very unequal; but less so (even without taking into account the superiority of numbers and other advantages, all on the side of the invaded) than is generally imagined and represented. A brief examination of the arts and practices of war of the two contending parties may serve to explain, in a great measure, what is past, and render more intelligible the events which are to ensue. The first striking result of such an examination is a suspicion, and, indeed, a proof, that the Britons were much farther advanced in civilization than the savage tribes to which it has been the fashion to compare them. Were this not the case, the somewhat unsuccessful employment against them of so large an army as that of Cæsar, would be disgraceful to the Roman name. Their war-chariots, which several times produced tremendous effects on the Romans, and the use of which seems at that time to have been peculiar to the Britons, would of themselves prove a high degree of mechanical skill, and an acquaintance with several arts. These cars were of various forms and sizes, some being rude, and others of curious and even elegant workmanship. Those most commonly in use, and called *essedæ* or *essædæ* by the Romans, were made to contain each a charioteer for driving, and one, two, or more warriors for fighting. They were at once strong and light; the extremity of their axles and other salient points were armed with scythes and hooks, for cutting and tearing whatever fell in their way, as they were driven rapidly along. The horses attached to them were perfect in training, and so well in hand that they could be driven at speed over the roughest country, and even through the woods, which then abounded in all directions. The Romans were no less astonished at the dexterity of the charioteers than at the number of the chariots. The way in which the Britons brought the chariots into action was this: at the beginning of a battle they drove about the flanks of the enemy, throwing darts from the cars; and, according to Cæsar, the very dread of the horses, and the noise of the rapid wheels, often broke the ranks of his legions. When they had succeeded in making an impression, and had winded in among the Roman cavalry, the warriors leaped from the chariots, and fought on foot. In the meantime the drivers retired with the chariots a little from the combat, taking up such a position as to favour the retreat of the warriors in case of their being overmatched. "In this manner," says Cæsar, "they perform the part both of rapid cavalry and of steady infantry; and, by constant exercise and use, they have arrived at such expertness, that they can stop their horses when at full speed, in the most steep and

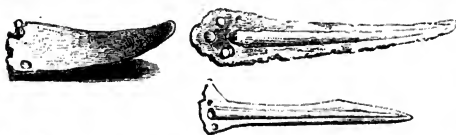
difficult places, turn them which way they please, run along the carriage-pole, rest on the harness, and throw themselves back into their chariots with incredible dexterity."

For a long time the veteran legions of Rome could not look on the clouds of dust that announced the approach of these war-chariots, without trepidation. The Gauls had once the same mode of fighting, and equally distressed the Romans with their war-chariots. Nearly 300 years before the invasion of Britain, when the Gauls were established in parts of Italy, and in close alliance with the Samnites, a successful charge of the Roman cavalry was repulsed, and the whole army thrown into dismay, by a mode of fighting to which they were utter strangers. "A number of the enemy," says Livy, "mounted on chariots and cars, made towards them with such a terrible noise, from the trampling of the horses and the rolling of the wheels, as affrighted the horses of the Romans, unaccustomed to such operations. By this means the victorious cavalry were dispersed, and men and horses, in their headlong flight, were thrown in heaps to the ground. The same cause produced disorder even in the ranks of the legions: through the impetuosity of the horses, and the carriages they dragged through the ranks, many of the Roman soldiers in the van were trodden or bruised to death; and the Gauls, as soon as they saw the enemy in confusion, followed up the advantage, nor allowed them breathing-time." The use of war-chariots, however, seems to have fallen out of fashion among the Gauls during the long period that had intervened; for Cæsar never makes mention of them in describing his many battles with that people on the Continent.

The existence of the accessories—the hooks and scythes attached to the wheels or axles—has been questioned, as neither Cæsar, nor Tacitus, nor any early writer, with the exception of the geographer Pomponius Mela (who wrote, however, in the first century), expressly mentions them in describing the war-chariots. Weapons answering to the description have, however, been found on the field of some of the most ancient battles. Between the Roman invasion under Cæsar, and that ordered by the Emperor Claudius, the cars or chariots of the British attracted notice, and were exhibited in Italy. They were seen in the splendid pageantry with which Caligula passed over the sea from Puteoli to Baie, on his mole of masonry and bridge of boats. The emperor, Suetonius tells us, rode in a chariot drawn by two famous horses, and a party of his friends followed, mounted in British chariots. Probably Cæsar had carried some of the native war-cars to Rome as curiosities,

just as our navigators brought the canoes of the Indians and South Sea Islanders to England. At subsequent periods, the war-chariots of the Bri-

This, indeed, was so much the case in the ensuing wars, that the turn of a battle was often left to depend, not on the legions, but on their barbarian auxiliaries, some of whom were as lightly equipped as the Britons themselves. In coming to their offensive arms, we reach a point where they were decidedly inferior to the Romans; and a cause, perhaps, as principal as any other, of their invariable defeat when they



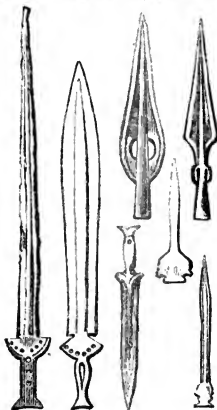
BRONZE WEAPONS, answering to the description of hooks or scythes appended to the axle of British war-chariots.—Drawn by J. W. Archer, from specimens in the British Museum.

tons were frequently alluded to by the poets as well as historians of Rome.

The ancient Britons were well provided with horses, of a small breed, but hardy, spirited, and yet docile. Their cavalry were armed with shields, broad-swords, and lances. They were accustomed, like the Gauls, and their own chariot-men, to dismount, at fitting seasons, and fight on foot; and their horses are said to have been so well trained, as to stand firm at the places where they were left, till their masters returned to them. Another common practice among them was, to mix an equal number of their swiftest foot with their cavalry, each of these foot-soldiers holding by a horse's mane, and keeping pace with him in all his motions. Some remains of this last custom were observed among the Highland clans in the last century, in the civil wars for the Pretender; and in more modern, and regular, and scientific warfare, an advantage has often been found in mounting infantry behind cavalry, and in teaching cavalry to dismount, and do the duty of foot-soldiers. A great fondness for horses, and a skill in riding them, and breaking them in for cars and chariots, were observable in all the nations of the Celtic race. The scythe-armed cars of the Britons may be assumed as one of the many links in that chain which seems to connect them with Persia and the East, where similar vehicles were in use in very remote ages.

The infantry of the Britons was the most numerous body, and, according to Tacitus, the main strength of their armies. They were very swift of foot, and expert in swimming over rivers and crossing fens and marshes, by which means they were enabled to make sudden attacks and safe retreats. They were slightly clad; throwing off in battle the whole, or at least the greater part, of whatever clothing they usually wore, according to a custom which appears to have been common to all the Celtic nations. They were not encumbered with defensive armour, carrying nothing of that sort but a small light shield; and this, added to their swiftness, gave them, in some respects, a great advantage over the heavily armed Romans, whose foot could never keep pace with them.

came to close combat. Their swords were unwieldy, awkward, and offenceless weapons, compared to the compact, manageable, cut-and-thrust swords of their enemies, which could be used in the closed *mêlée*. But an important circumstance, which throws the advantage still more on the side of the Romans, is, that while their weapons were made of well-tempered steel, the swords and dirks of the Britons were, in all probability, only made of copper, or of copper mixed with a little tin. We are told that the swords of their neighbours, the Gauls, were made of copper, and bent after the first blow, which gave the Romans a great advantage over them. In addition to their clumsy sword, the British



BRITISH SWORDS, DAGGER, SPEAR HEADS, AND JAVELIN HEADS, of bronze.—Drawn by J. W. Archer, from examples in the British Museum.

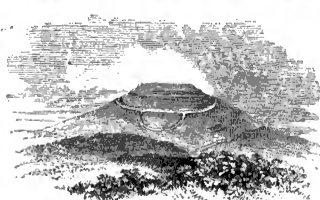
infantry carried a short dirk and a spear. The spear was sometimes used as a missile weapon, having a leather thong fixed to it, and retained in the hand when thrown, in order that it might be recovered again: at the butt-end of this spear

was sometimes a round hollow ball of copper, or mixed copper and tin, with pieces of metal inside; and, shaking this, they made a noise, to frighten the horses when they engaged with cavalry.

With the exception of the Druids, all the young men among the Britons and other Celtic nations were trained to the use of arms. Frequent hostilities among themselves kept them in practice; and hunting and martial sports were among their principal occupations in their brief periods of peace. Even in tactics and strategies, the more difficult parts of war, they displayed very considerable talent and skill. They drew up their troops in regular order; and if the form of a wedge was not the very best for infantry, it has been found, by the Turks and other Eastern nations, most effective for cavalry appointed to charge. They knew the importance of keeping a body in reserve; and in several of their battles they showed skill and promptitude in outflanking the enemy, and turning him by the wings. Their infantry generally occupied the centre, being disposed in several lines, and in distinct bodies. These corps consisted of the warriors of one clan, commanded each by its own chieftain; they were commonly formed in the shape of a wedge, presenting its sharp point to the enemy; and they were so disposed, that they could readily support and relieve each other. The cavalry and chariots were placed on the wings, but small flying parties of both manœuvred along the front. In the rear and on their flanks they fixed their travelling-chariots and their waggons, with their respective families in them, in order that those vehicles might serve as barriers to prevent attack in those directions, and that their courage might be inflamed by the presence of all who were most dear to them.

Some of the native princes displayed eminent abilities in the conduct of war. According to the Roman writers, Cassivellaunus, Caractacus, and Galgacus, all formed combined movements and enlarged plans of operation, and contrived stratagems and surprises which would have done honour to the greatest captains of Greece and Rome. Their choice of ground for fighting upon was almost invariably judicious, and they availed themselves of their superior knowledge of the country on all occasions. In the laborious arts of fortifying, defending, or attacking camps, castles, and towns, they were, however, deficient. Their strongest places were surrounded only by a shallow ditch and a mud wall, while some of their towns had nothing but a parapet of felled trees placed lengthwise. While the Roman camps, though made to be occupied only for a night, were strongly fortified, the British camps were merely surrounded by their cars and waggons—a mode of defence still common among the Tartar and other nomadic tribes in Asia. But, as the Roman

war proceeded, we frequently find them giving more attention to the defence of their night camps;



BRITISH FORTIFIED CAMP,¹ in Strathmore, called White Cather-thun.—From Roy's Military Antiquities.

and some of the more permanent positions they took up were strengthened with deep ditches and stone walls.

The armies of the ancient Britons were not divided into bodies, mixed, but distinct as a whole, consisting each of a determinate number of men, recruited from different families and in different places, and commanded by appointed officers of various ranks, like the Roman legions and our modern regiments; but all the fighting-men of each particular clan or great family formed a separate band, commanded by the chieftain or head of that family. By this system, which had other disadvantages, the command was frittered away into minute fractions. All the several clans which composed one state or kingdom were commanded in chief by the sovereign of that state; and when two or more states formed an alliance, and made war in conjunction, the king of one of these states was chosen to be generalissimo of the whole. These elections gave rise to jealousies and dissensions; and all through the system there were too many divisions of command and power, and too great a disposition in the warriors to look up only to the head of their own clan, or at furthest to the king of their own limited state.

Far different from these were the thoroughly organized and inter-dependent masses of the Roman army, where the commands were nicely defined and graduated, and the legions (each a small but perfect army in itself) acted at the voice of the consul, or its one supreme chief, like a complicated engine set in motion by its main-wheel. As long as Rome maintained her military glory, the legions were composed only of free Roman citizens, no allies or subjects of conquered nations being deemed worthy of the honour of fighting in their ranks. Each legion was divided into horse and foot, the cavalry bearing what is considered, by modern scientific writers, a just proportion, and not more, to the infantry. Under the old

¹ This camp is 1480 ft. long, and 830 ft. wide.

kings a legion consisted of 3000 foot, and 300 horse; under the consuls, of 4200 foot, and 400 horse; but under Caesar and the emperors it amounted to 6100 foot, and 726 horse. Like our regiments, the legions were distinguished from each other by their number; being called the first, the second, the third, &c. In the early ages of the Republic they had no more than four or five legions kept on foot, but these were increased with increase of conquest and territory, and under the Empire they had as many as twenty-five or thirty legions, even in time of peace. The infantry of each legion was divided into ten cohorts. The first cohort, which had the custody of the eagle and the post of honour, was 1105 strong; the remaining nine cohorts had 555 men each.

Instead of a long, awkward sword of copper, every soldier had a short, manageable, well-tempered Spanish blade of steel, sharp at both edges as at the point; and he was always instructed to thrust rather than cut, in order to inflict the more fatal wounds, and expose his own body the less. In addition to a lighter spear, the legionary carried the formidable *pilum*, a heavy javelin, six feet long, terminating in a strong triangular point of steel, eighteen inches long. For defensive armour they wore an open helmet with a lofty crest, a breastplate or coat of mail, greaves on their legs, and a large strong shield on their left arms. This shield or buckler, altogether unlike the small, round, basket-looking thing used by the Britons, was four feet high, and two and a half broad; it was framed of a light but firm wood, covered with bull's hide, and strongly guarded with bosses or plates of iron or bronze.

The cavalry of a legion was divided into ten troops or squadrons; the first squadron, as destined to act with the strong first cohort, consisting of 132 men, while the nine remaining squadrons had only sixty-six men each. Their principal weapons were a sabre and a javelin; but at a later period they borrowed the use of the lance and iron mace or hammer from foreigners. For defensive armour they had a helmet, a coat of mail, and an oblong shield.

The legions serving abroad were generally attended by auxiliaries raised among the provinces and conquests of the Empire, who for the most part retained their national arms and loose modes of fighting, and did all the duties of light troops. Their number varied according to circumstances, being seldom much inferior to that of the legions;

but in Britain, where mention of the barbarian auxiliaries constantly occurs, and where, as we have intimated, they performed services for which the legions were not calculated, they seem to have been at least as numerous as the Roman soldiers. Three legions, say the historians, were competent to the occupation of Britain; but to this force of 20,478 we must add the auxiliaries, which will swell the number to 40,956. Gauls, Belgians, Batavians, and Germans were the hordes that accompanied the legions in our island.

Such were the main features and appointments of the Roman legions in their prime, and such they continued during their conflict with the Britons, and long after all the southern parts of our island were subjugated by their might. They were afterwards sadly diminished in numbers and in consideration. They lost their discipline; the men threw off their defensive armour as too heavy for them to wear; changes were made in their weapons; and, not to notice many intermediate variations, a legion, at the final departure of the Romans from Britain, consisted only of from 2500 to 3000 indifferently armed men.

After Caesar's departure, Britain was left undisturbed by foreign arms for nearly 100 years.¹ But few of the events that happened, during that long interval, have been transmitted to us. We can, however, make out in that dim obscurity that the country, and more particularly those maritime parts of it occupied by the Belgæ, and facing the coast of Gaul, made considerable advances in civilization, borrowing from the Gauls, with whom they were in close communication, some of those useful and elegant arts which that people had learned from the Roman conquerors, now peaceably settled among them. Besides their journeys into Gaul, which are well proved, it is supposed that during this long interval not a few of the superior class of Britons, from time to time, crossed the Alps, and found their way to Rome, where the civilization and arts of the world then centred.

This progress, however, does not appear to have been accompanied by any improvement in the political system of the country, or by any union and amalgamation of the disjointed parts or states. Internal wars continued to be waged; and this disunion of the Britons, their constant civil dissensions, and the absence of any steady system of defence, laid them open to the Romans whenever those conquerors should think fit to revisit their fair island, and renew the struggle in earnest.

¹ "The slow progress of the Romans in the reduction of Britain, is a fact which has not been sufficiently considered by historians. It forms a remarkable deviation from the ancient policy, and, indeed, a striking contrast to the conquest of Gaul, though that country was the last great acquisition in the West, and defended by a people as brave as the Britons, more improved, and far more numerous. It is an instance of the sudden change produced in their foreign policy by a revolution in

their internal government. The patriciate steadily advanced to universal dominion, by adherence to the traditional policy of their body. The measures of each emperor fluctuated with his temper and his personal circumstances. . . . Wise and good emperors, desirous of securing a civil and legal government, reasonably avoided conquests which might once more tempt victorious commanders to overthrow their work."—*Sir J. Mackintosh*, vol. i. p. 20.

CHAPTER II.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.

THE INVASION UNDER CLAUDIUS TO THE ARRIVAL OF THE SAXONS.—A.D. 43—449.

Roman invasion of Britain in the reign of the Emperor Claudius—Progress of the Roman generals Plautius, Vespasian, Ostorius—Brave resistance and defeat of Caractacus—Capture of Mona by Suetonius—Revolt of the Britons under Boadicea—Her defeat and death—Agricola appointed governor of Britain—His successful and wise administration—His northern campaigns and their progress—His victory at *Mons Grampius* over the Caledonians—Operations of his fleet, and its voyage round the island—Inconclusive result of his victories over the Caledonians—The Caledonians, after a long peace, attack the province of South Britain—Graham's Dyke built to repress them—Unsuccessful northern campaign of Severus—Builds a new wall of stone to protect the province—Carausius governor of Britain—Decay of the Roman power in Britain—Invasions of the Scots and Picts—Weakness of the South Britons and its causes—Their feeble resistance to the Scots and Picts—Their religious controversies—Their appeal to Rome in vain for military assistance—They invite the Saxons to their aid—Arrival of Hengist and Horsa.



IN the ninety-seventh year after Cæsar's second expedition (A.D. 43), the Emperor Claudius¹ resolved to seize the island of Britain, and Aulus Plautius, a skilful commander, landed with four complete legions, which, with the cavalry and auxiliaries, must have made above 50,000 men. The Britons, who had made no preparations, at first offered no resistance; and when they took the field under Caractacus and Togodumnus, sons of the deceased Cunobelinus, who is supposed to have been King of the Trinobantes, they were thoroughly defeated in the inland country by the Romans. Some states or tribes detaching themselves from the confederacy, then submitted; and Aulus Plautius, leaving a garrison in those parts which included Gloucestershire and portions of the contiguous counties, followed up his victories beyond the river Severn, and made considerable progress in subduing the inhabitants. After sustaining a great defeat on the right bank of the Severn, the Britons retreated eastward to some marshes on the Thames, where, availing themselves of the nature of the ground, they made a desperate stand, and caused the Romans great loss. In these campaigns Plautius made great use of his light-armed barbarian auxiliaries (chiefly Germans), many of whom, on this particular occasion, were lost in the deep bogs and swamps. Though Togodumnus was slain, it does not appear that the natives were defeated in this battle; and Plautius, seeing their determined spirit, withdrew his army to the south of the Thames, to await the arrival of the Emperor Claudius, whose presence and fresh forces he earnestly solicited. Claudius embarked with reinforcements at Ostia at the mouth

of the Tiber, landed at Massilia (Marseilles), and proceeded through Gaul to Britain. It is said that some elephants were included in the force he brought, but we hear nothing of those animals after his arrival in the island. There is some confusion as to the immediate effect of the emperor's arrival, the two brief historians² of the events contradicting each other; but we believe that, without fighting any battles, the pusillanimous Claudius accompanied his army on its fresh advance to the north of the Thames, was present at the taking of Camalodunum, the capital of the Trinobantes, and that then he received the proffered submission of some of the states, and returned to enjoy an easily-earned triumph at Rome, whence he had been absent altogether somewhat less than six months.

While Vespasian, his second in command, who was afterwards emperor under the same name, employed himself in subduing Vectis (the Isle of Wight), and the maritime states on the southern and eastern coasts, Aulus Plautius prosecuted a long and, in great part, an indecisive warfare with the inland Britons, who were still commanded by Caractacus. Between them both, Plautius and Vespasian thoroughly reduced no more of the island than what lies to the south of the Thames, with a narrow strip on the left bank of that river; and when Plautius was recalled to Rome, even these territories were overrun and thrown into confusion by the Britons. Ostorius Scapula, the new pretor, on his arrival in the island (A.D. 50), found the affairs of the Romans in an all but hopeless state; their allies, attacked and plundered on all sides, were falling from them, the boldness of the unsubdued states was rapidly increasing, and the people they held in subjection were ripe for revolt. But Ostorius, who had pro-

¹ Pomponius Mela, who wrote in the time of Claudius, expresses a hope that the success of the Roman arms will soon make the island and its savage inhabitants better known.

² *Dio Cass.* (in the abridgment by Xiphilinus), lib. lx.; Suetonius in *C. Claud.* c. xlvii.

bably brought reinforcements into the island, was equal to this emergency: knowing how much depends on the beginning of a campaign, he put himself at the head of the light troops, and advanced against the marauding enemy by rapid marches. The Britons, who did not expect he would open a campaign in the winter, were taken by surprise, and defeated with great loss. It should appear from Tacitus that Ostorius at once recovered all the country, as far as the Severn, that had been conquered, or rather temporarily occupied, by his predecessor Plautius; for the great historian tells us, immediately after, that he erected a line of forts on the Sabrina (Severn) and the Antona (Nene); but it is more probable that this advance was made by a series of battles rather than by one hasty blow struck in the winter by the light division of his army. Ostorius was the first to cover and protect the conquered territory by forts and lines; the line he now drew cut off from the rest of the island nearly all the southern and south-eastern parts, which included the more civilized states, who had either submitted or become willing allies, or been conquered by Plautius and Vespasian. It was by the gradual advance of lines like these that the Romans brought the whole of England south of the Tyne under subjection. Ostorius also adopted the cautious policy of disarming all such of the Britons within the line of forts as he suspected. This measure, always odious, and never to be carried into effect without shameful abuses of power, particularly exasperated those Britons within the line who, like the Iceni, had not been conquered, but, of their own good and free will, had become the allies of the Romans. Enemies could not treat them worse than such friends—the surrender of arms was the worst consequence that could result from defeat in a war which they had not yet essayed. It would also naturally occur to them, that if the Romans were permitted to coop them up within military posts, and sever them from the rest of the island, their independence, whether unarmed or armed, was completely sacrificed.

The Iceni, a brave tribe, who are supposed to have dwelt in Norfolk and Suffolk, took up arms, formed a league with their neighbours, and chose their ground for a decisive battle. They were beaten by Ostorius, after having fought obstinately to the last, and giving signal proofs of courage. After the defeat of the Iceni and their allies the Romans marched beyond their line of demarcation against a people called the Cangii; and, Tacitus says, they got within a short march of that sea that lies between Britain and Ireland. From the pursuit of this timid enemy, Ostorius was recalled by a rising of the Brigantes, who occupied Yorkshire, with parts of Lancashire and the adjoining counties. Having subdued these

in their turn, and drawn a camp and fixed a colony of veterans among them, Ostorius marched rapidly against the Silures—the inhabitants of South Wales—the fiercest and most obstinate enemies the Romans ever encountered in South Britain. To their natural ferocity, says Tacitus, these people added the courage which they now derived from the presence of Caractacus. His



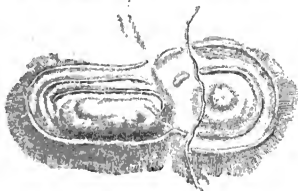
BARBARIAN PRISONER.¹—Drawn by J. W. Archer, from a marble in the British Museum.

valour, and the various turns of his fortune, had spread the fame of this heroic chief throughout the island. His knowledge of the country, and his admirable skill in the stratagems of war, were great advantages; but he could not hope, with inferior forces, to beat a well-disciplined Roman army. He therefore retired to the territory of the Ordovices, which seems to have included within it nearly all North Wales. Having drawn thither to his standard all who considered peace with the Romans as another word for slavery, he resolved to wait firmly the issue of a battle. According to the great historian, he chose his field with admirable art. It was rendered safe by steep and craggy hills. In parts where the mountains opened, and the easy acclivity afforded an ascent, he raised a rampart of massy stones. A river which offered no safe ford flowed between him and the enemy, and a part of his forces showed themselves in front of his ramparts.

As the Romans approached, the chieftains of the confederated British clans rushed along the ranks, exhorting their men, and Caractacus animated the whole. There is a lofty hill in Shropshire, near to the confluence of the rivers Colne and Teme, which is generally believed to be the

¹ This fine head, remarkable from its expression of heroic melancholy, is conjectured to represent the image of Caractacus, and is figured, accordingly, in the Dilettanti Society's publication of *Antique Marbles and Bronzes*, with a description by R. P. Knight.

scene of the hero's last action. Its ridges are furrowed by trenches, and still retain fragments of a loose stone rampart, and the hill for many centuries has been called by the people *Caer-Caradoc*, or the castle or fortified place of *Caradoc*, supposed to be the British name of *Caractacus*. *Ostorius* was astonished at the excellent arrange-



Plan of BRITISH CAMP on COXAL KNOLL.¹—From Roy's Military Antiquities.

ment and spirit he saw, but his numbers, discipline, and superior arms, once more gained him a victory. *Tacitus* says that the Britons, having neither breastplates nor helmets, could not maintain the conflict—that the better Roman swords and spears made dreadful havoc—that the victory was complete. *Caractacus* escaped from the carnage; but his wife and daughter were taken prisoners, and his brothers surrendered soon after the battle. The hero himself did not, however, escape long, for having taken refuge with his step-mother, *Cartismandua*, Queen of the *Brigantes*, that heartless woman caused him to be put in chains, and delivered up to the Romans. From the camp of *Ostorius* he was carried, with his wife and all his family, to the foot of the emperor's throne. All Rome—all Italy were impatient to gaze on the indomitable Briton, who for nine years had bidden defiance to the masters of the world. His name was everywhere known, and he was everywhere received with marked respect. In the presence of *Claudius* his friends and family quailed and begged for mercy; he alone was superior to misfortune: his speech was manly without being insolent—his countenance still unaltered, not a symptom of fear appearing—no sorrow, no mean condescension; he was great and dignified even in ruin. This magnanimous behaviour no

doubt contributed to procure him milder treatment than the Roman conquerors usually bestowed on captive princes; his chains and those of his family were instantly struck off. At this crisis *Tacitus* leaves him, and his subsequent history is altogether unknown.

Their sanguinary defeat and the loss of *Caractacus* did not break the spirit of the *Silures*. They fell upon the Romans soon after, broke up their fortified camp, and prevented them from erecting a line of forts across their country. The prefect of the camp, with eight centurions and the bravest of his soldiers, was slain; and, but for the arrival of reinforcements, the whole detachment would have been sacrificed. A foraging party, and the strong detachments sent to its support, were routed; this forced *Ostorius* to bring his legions into action, but, even with his whole force, his success was doubtful. Continual and most harassing attacks and surprises followed, till at length *Ostorius*, the victor of *Caractacus*, sunk under the fatigue and vexation, and expired, to the joy of the Britons, who boasted that though he had not fallen in battle, it was still their war which had brought him to the grave. The country of the *Silures*, intersected by numerous and rapid rivers, heaped into mountains, with winding and narrow defiles, and covered with forests, became the grave of many other Romans; and it was not till the reign of *Vespasian*, and more than twenty years after the death of *Ostorius*, that it was conquered by *Julius Frontinus*.

For some time the Roman power in Britain was stationary, or, at most, it made very little progress under *Aulus Didius* and *Veranius*, the immediate successors of *Ostorius*. Indeed, under these governors, the Emperor *Nero*, who had succeeded his father *Claudius*, is said to have seriously entertained the thought of withdrawing the troops, and abandoning the island altogether—so profitless and uncertain seemed the Roman possession of Britain.

But the next governor, *Paulinus Suetonius*, an officer of distinguished merit (A.D. 59-61), revived the spirit of the conquerors. Being well aware that the Island of *Mona*, now *Anglesey*, was the chief seat of the *Druids*, the refuge-place of the defeated British warriors, and of the disaffected generally, he resolved to subdue it. In order to facilitate his approach, he ordered the construction of a number of flat-bottomed boats; in these he transported his infantry over the strait which divides the island from the main (the *Menai*), while the cavalry were to find their way across, partly by fording and partly by swimming. The Britons added the terrors of their superstition to the force of their arms for the defence of this sacred island. "On the opposite shore," says

¹ *Caer-Caradoc* was supposed by *Camden* to be the scene of the final struggle between *Caractacus* and *Ostorius*; but, from various circumstances mentioned by *Tacitus* referring clearly to the geography of the spot, and with which the site of *Coxal Knoll* alone corresponds, *Roy*, supported by other good authorities, believes that locality to have been the true scene of the action, and *Caer-Caradoc* to have been merely the castle of *Caractacus*. *Coxal Knoll* is situated on the river *Teme*, between *Knighton* and *Lentwardine*, some miles distant from *Caer-Caradoc*. Here the remains of a British camp still exist, measuring 1700 ft. in length; with a breadth, where widest, of 730 ft., and, where narrowest, of 600 ft.

Tacitus, "there stood a widely diversified host: there were armed men in dense array, and women running among them, who in dismal dresses, and with dishevelled hair, like furies, carried flaming torches. Around were Druids, pouring forth curses, lifting up their hands to heaven, and striking terror, by the novelty of their appearance, into the hearts of the Roman soldiers, who, as if their limbs were paralyzed, exposed themselves motionless to the blows of the enemy. At last, aroused by the exhortations of their leader, and stimulating one another to despise a frantic band of women and priests, they make their onset, overthrow their foes, and burn them in the fires which they themselves had kindled for others. A garrison was afterwards placed there among the conquered, and the groves sacred to their cruel superstition were cut down."

But while Suetonius was engaged in securing the sacred island, events took place in his rear which went far to commit the safety of the entire empire of the Romans in Britain. His attack on the Druids and the grove of Mona could not fail to exasperate all the British tribes that clung to their ancient worship: other and recent causes of provocation were particular to certain of the states. The Romans, in the colonies they had planted in the island, indulged too freely in what are called the rights of conquest: they treated the Britons with cruelty and oppression; they drove them from their houses, and, adding insult to wrong, called them by the opprobrious name of slaves. In these acts the veterans or superiors were actively seconded by the common soldiery—a class of men who, in the words of Tacitus, are by their habits of life trained to licentiousness. The conquerors, too, had introduced priests of their own creed; and these, "with a pretended zeal for religion, devoured the substance of the land." Boadicea, widow of King Prasutagus, and now Queen of the Iceni, probably because she remonstrated against the forcible seizure of the territory her husband bequeathed her, or possibly because she attempted to resist the Romans in their plunder, was treated with the utmost barbarity: Catus, the procurator, caused her to be scourged, her daughters to be violated in her presence, and the relations of her deceased husband to be reduced to slavery. Her unheard-of wrongs, the dignity of her birth, the energy of her character, made Boadicea the proper rallying point; and immediately an extensive armed league intrusted her with the supreme command. Boadicea's own subjects were joined by the Trinobantes; and the neighbouring states, not as yet broken into a slavish submission, engaged in secret councils to stand forward in the cause of national liberty. They were all encouraged by the absence of Suetonius, and thought it no diffi-

cult enterprise to overrun a colony undefended by a single fortification. Tacitus says (and the statement is curious, considering their recent and uncertain tenure) that the Roman governors had attended to improvements of taste and elegance, but neglected the useful—that they had embellished the province, but taken no pains to put it in a state of defence. The storm first burst on the colony of Camalodunum, which was laid waste with fire and sword, a legion which marched to its relief being cut to pieces. Catus, the procurator, terrified at the fury his own enormities had mainly excited, fled, and effected his escape into Gaul. On receiving the news of these disasters, Suetonius hurried across the Menai Strait, and, marching through the heart of the country, came to London, which city, though not yet dignified with the name of a Roman colony, was a populous, trading, and prosperous place. He soon found he could not maintain that important town, and therefore determined to evacuate it. The inhabitants, who foresaw the fate of the fair town, implored him with tears to change his plan, but in vain. The signal for the march was given, the legions defiled through the gates, but all the citizens who chose to follow their eagles were taken under their protection. They had scarcely cleared out from London when the Britons entered: of all those who, from age, or weakness, or the attractions of the spot, had thought proper to remain behind, scarcely one escaped. The inhabitants of Verulamium were in like manner utterly annihilated, and, the carnage still spreading, no fewer than 70,000 Romans and their confederates fell in the course of a few days. The infuriated insurgents made no prisoners, gave no quarter, but employed the gibbet, the fire, and the cross, without distinction of age or sex.

Suetonius, having received reinforcements which made his army amount to about 10,000 men, all highly disciplined, chose an advantageous field, and waited the battle. The Britons were also reinforced, and from all quarters: Tacitus says they were an incredible multitude, but their ranks were swelled and weakened by women and children. They were the assailants, and attacked the Romans in the front of their strong position.

Previously to the first charge, Boadicea, mounted in a war-chariot, with her long yellow hair streaming to her feet, with her two injured daughters beside her, drove through the ranks, and harangued the tribes or nations, each in its turn.¹ She reminded them that she was not the first woman that had led the Britons to battle; she spoke of her own irreparable wrongs, of the wrongs of her

¹ Dio has described her costume as being a plaited tunic of various colours, a chain of gold round her waist, and a long mantle over all.—*Dio Nic. apud Xiphil.*

people and all their neighbours, and said whatever was most calculated to spirit them against their proud and licentious oppressors. The Britons, however, were defeated with tremendous loss, and the wretched Boadicea put an end to her existence by taking poison. As if not to be behind the barbarity of those they emphatically styled barbarians, the Romans committed an indiscriminate massacre, visiting with fire and sword not only the lands of those who had joined the revolt, but of those who were only suspected of having wavered in their allegiance to the emperor. Tacitus estimates the number of the Britons who were thus destroyed at 80,000; and in the train of war and devastation followed famine and disease. But the despondence of sickness and the pangs of hunger could not induce them to submit; and though Suetonius received important reinforcements from the Continent (according to Tacitus, by the directions of the Emperor Nero, 2000 legionary soldiers, eight auxiliary cohorts, and 1000 horse, were sent to him from Germany), and retained the command some time longer, he left the island without finishing this war; and, notwithstanding his victories over the Druids and Boadicea, his immediate successors were obliged to relapse into inactivity, or merely to stand on the defensive, without attempting the extension of their dominions.

Some fifteen or sixteen years after the departure of Suetonius, the Romans recommenced their former movements (A.D. 75–78), and Julius Frontinus at last subdued the Silures. This general was succeeded by Cnæus Julius Agricola, who was fortunate, as far as his fame is regarded, in having for his son-in-law the great Tacitus, the partial and eloquent recorder of his deeds. Exaggeration and favour apart, however, Agricola appears to have had skill in the arts both of peace and war. He had served under Suetonius during the Boadicean conflicts, he was beloved by his army and well acquainted with the country, and now, before he left the supreme command, he completed the conquest of South Britain, and showed the victorious eagles of Rome as far north as the Grampian Hills. One of his first operations, which proves with what tenacity the Britons held to their own, was the reconquest of Mona; for scarcely had Suetonius turned his back, when they repossessed themselves of that most holy island. Having made this successful beginning, and also chastised the Ordovices, who had cut a division of cavalry to pieces, he endeavoured, by mild measures, to endear himself to the acknowledged provincials of Rome, and to conciliate the British tribes generally by acts of kindness. "For," says Tacitus, "the Britons willingly supply our armies with recruits, pay their taxes without a murmur, and perform all

the services of government with alacrity, provided they have no reason to complain of oppression. When injured, their resentment is quick, sudden, and impatient: they are conquered, not spirit-broken; they may be reduced to obedience, not to slavery."

At the same time, Agricola endeavoured to subdue their fierceness and change their erratic habits, by teaching them some of the useful arts, and accustoming them to some of the luxuries of civilized life. He persuaded them to settle in towns, to build comfortable dwelling-houses, to raise halls and temples. It was a capital part of his policy to establish a system of education, and give to the sons of the leading British chiefs a tincture of polite letters. He praised the talents of the pupils, and already saw them, by the force of their natural genius, outstripping the Gauls, who were distinguished for their aptitude and abilities. Thus, by degrees, the Britons began to cultivate the beauties of the Roman language, which they had before disdained—to wear the Roman toga as a fashionable part of dress—and to indulge in the luxuries of baths, porticoes, and elegant banquets.

In the second year of his government (A.D. 79), Agricola advanced into the north-western parts of Britain, and partly by force, and more by clemency, brought several tribes to submission. These are not named by Tacitus, but they probably dwelt in the heart of the country, to the east of the Ordovices and the Silures. Wherever he gained a district he erected fortifications, composed of castles and ramparts.

In his third campaign (A.D. 80) Agricola led his army still farther north; but the line of march, and the degree of progress made in it, are not easily ascertained. The outlines presented to us by Tacitus are vague and indistinct, which may be ascribed both to the generality of that writer's language, and to the limits of his information.

It is the opinion of a late writer,¹ however, that Agricola, setting out from Mancunium, the Manchester of present times, led his army towards the north-western coasts, and not towards the north-eastern, as is commonly stated; and that, after traversing parts of Lancashire, Westmoreland, and Cumberland, he came to the *Tau*, which this writer contends was not the river Tay, but the Solway Frith. The *Tau*, he says (the *Taus* of Tacitus), was a British word, signifying an estuary, or any extending water; it might equally imply the Solway, the Tay, or any other estuary. Besides, it was the plan of this cautious general, it is argued, to advance by degrees, and fortify the country as he advanced; and we accordingly find him spending the remainder of this season in

¹ Chalmers, *Caledonia*.

building a line of forts, in the most convenient situations for keeping possession of the territory he had gained. The raising of a part, if not of the whole of that rampart drawn right across the island, from the Solway near to the mouth of the Tyne, and called Agricola's Wall, is supposed to have taken place in this year. It must be confessed, however, that the tenor of Tacitus' narrative, and some of his expressions in particular, require considerable straining before we can reconcile them with this account. In the first place, it is to be observed, that he speaks of Agricola's march to the Taus in his third summer as merely an inroad, the effects of which were to discover the country, to lay it waste, and to strike terror into the inhabitants. It appears to be clear that the occupation of it was not at that time attempted or thought of. Then, when the historian proceeds to relate the operations of the next campaign, he expressly informs us that the country which Agricola employed this fourth summer in taking possession of and fortifying, was that which he had thus in the preceding summer overrun. No words are used which can imply that he penetrated into any new country in his fourth campaign; the statement distinctly is, that he only occupied and secured what he had already surveyed and laid waste.

According to the view, however, which supposes him not till now to have ever been beyond the Solway, his fourth summer (A.D. 81) was employed in exploring and overrunning the country extending from that arm of the sea to the Friths of Clyde and Forth, and in securing, as usual, the advance he had thus made. Tacitus describes the place where the waters of the Glotta and Bodotria (the Friths of Clyde and Forth) are prevented from joining only by a narrow neck of land, and tells us that Agricola drew a chain of forts across that isthmus. These forts are supposed to have stood in the same line where Lollius Urbicus afterwards erected his more compact rampart, and not far from the modern canal which connects the two estuaries.

But in making this advance Agricola seems to have neglected the great promontory of Galloway, which lay between the Solway and the Clyde, and was then occupied by the Novantæ, and, in part, by the Selgovæ and Damnii; we mean more particularly the country now included in Wigton, Kirkcudbright, Dumfries, and Ayrshire. In his fifth campaign (A.D. 82), therefore, he thought it prudent to subdue these tribes, who, in the advance he contemplated for the next year beyond the Frith of Forth, would, from their western position, have been in his rear. He accordingly invaded "that part of Britain," says Tacitus, "which is opposite to Ireland;" being the whole extent of Galloway; and, to do this, he is sup-

posed to have sailed from Kilbride Loch, in Cumberland, and on the Solway, and to have landed on the estuary of Locher.¹ From the Galloway coast he saw the distant hills of Ireland, and the sight is said to have suggested the idea of a fresh invasion, to which, moreover, he was incited by an Irish chieftain, who, being expelled from his native country, had taken refuge with the Roman commander. Having, after various engagements, cleared the south-west of Scotland as far as his fortified works on the Frith of Clyde, he seems to have put the mass of his army into winter quarters, along the line he had drawn from that estuary to the Frith of Forth, so as to have them ready for next year's campaign.

In his sixth year (A.D. 83) Agricola resolved to extend his conquests to the north-east, beyond the Frith of Forth. His fleet had already surveyed the coasts and harbours, and his naval officers showed him the most commodious passage—at Inchgarvey, as it is supposed—where he seems to have been met by a part of his fleet, and to have been wafted over to the advancing point in Fife, now called Northferry.² Other writers, however, suppose that he marched along the southern side of the Forth, to a point where the river was narrow and fordable, and crossed it somewhere near Stirling. It is possible that both courses may have been adopted by different divisions of the troops. On the north side of the Forth the troops were attended and supported by the ships, so that their march must have been along the east coast. The fleet kept so near the shore that the mariners frequently landed and encamped with the land forces; each of these bodies entertaining the other with marvellous tales of what they had seen and done in these unknown seas and regions.³

Having crossed the Frith of Forth, Agricola found himself, for the first time, fairly engaged with the real Caledonians—a people at the least as fierce and brave as any he had hitherto contended with. They were not taken by surprise, nor did they wait to be attacked. Descending from the upper country, as Agricola advanced into Fife, strong bands of them fell upon the new Roman forts on the isthmus between the Forth and Clyde, which had been left behind without sufficient defence. Soon after they made a night attack on the ninth legion, one of the divisions of the main army, and nearly succeeded in cutting it to pieces, in spite of the strong camp in which it was intrenched. This camp was probably situated at Loch Ore, about two miles to the south of Loch Leven, where ditches and other traces of a camp are still seen. In a general battle, however, to which this nocturnal attack led,

¹ Chalmers' *Caledonia*. ² *Ibid.* ³ Tacit. *Vit. Agric.* c. xxv.

the Caledonians were beaten, and, without any other successful exploit, the Romans wintered north of the Frith of Forth, in Fife, where their fleet supplied them with provisions, and kept open their communication with the forts in the south. The Caledonians, no way dispirited, mustered all their clans for the next summer's campaign, and submitted to the supreme command of Gaius Agricola, who ranks with Cassivellaunus and Caractacus as one of the heroes of the British wars.

At the opening of his seventh and last campaign (A.D. 84), when Agricola moved forward he found the enemy, to the number of 30,000, posted on the acclivities of *Mons Grampius*, determined to oppose his progress in a general battle. The position of the Caledonians on this occasion, and the field of the great battle, although they have been much disputed, seem to admit of being fixed on very probable grounds. From the nature of the country, Agricola would direct his line of march by the course of the Devon, would turn to the right from Glen Devon, through the opening of the Ochil Hills, along the course of the rivulet which forms Glen-Eagles, leaving the Braes of Ogilvie on his left. He would then pass between Blackford and Auchterarder, towards the Grampians (or Gran-Pen of the British, meaning the head or chief ridge or summit), which he would see before him as he defiled from the Ochils. An easy march would then bring him to the Moor of Ardoch, at the roots of the Grampians, where there are very evident signs of ancient conflicts. The large ditch of a Roman camp can still be traced for a considerable distance; weapons, both British and Roman, have been dug up; and on the hill above Ardoch Moor are two enormous heaps of stones, called Carnwochel and Carnlee, probably the sepulchral cairns of the Caledonians who fell in the battle.¹

The host of Gaius Agricola fought with great obstinacy and bravery, but they were no more able to resist the disciplined legions of Rome in a pitched battle than their brethren, the southern Britons, had been. They were defeated, and pursued with great loss, and the next day nothing was seen in front of the Roman army but a silent and deserted country, and houses involved in smoke and flame. Tacitus relates that some of the fleeing natives, after tears and tender embraces, killed their wives and children, in order to save them from slavery and the Romans. In the battle the Caledonians used war-chariots, like the southern Britons, and the Roman writer mentions their broad-swords and small targets, which remained so long after the peculiar arms of the Highlanders. The victory of Agricola, however

valueless in its results, was complete; and though Tacitus does not record his death on the field, he speaks no more of the brave Gaius Agricola.

In the course of these two campaigns north of the Forth, the Romans seem to have derived an uncommon degree of assistance from their fleet, which was probably much better appointed and commanded than on any former occasion. After defeating Gaius Agricola, Agricola sent the ships from the Frith of Tay to make a coasting voyage to the north, which may very properly be called a voyage of discovery; for though nearly a century and a half had passed since Caesar's invasions, the Romans were not yet quite certain that Britain was an island, but thought it might have joined the European continent either at the extreme north or north-east, or at some other, to them unknown, point. Agricola's fleet doubled the promontory of Caithness and Cape Wrath, ran down the western coast from the end of Scotland to the Land's End in Cornwall, then turning to the east, arrived safe at the Trutulsian harbour (supposed to be Sandwich), and sailing thence along the eastern coast, returned with glory to the point from which it had started, having thus, according to Tacitus, made the first certain discovery that Britain was an island.

The fears and imagination of the mariners were no doubt much excited during this periphrasis; and Tacitus, who probably heard the recital from his father-in-law, Agricola, and some of the officers of the fleet, was not proof against exaggeration. He tells us that the cluster of islands called the Orcades, till then wholly unknown, was added to the Roman empire (he omits all mention of the Hebrides); that Thule, which had lain concealed in gloom and eternal snows, was seen by the navigators, and that the sea in those parts was a *sluggish mass of stagnated water, hardly yielding to the stroke of the oar, and never agitated by winds and storms*.²

Agricola did not keep his army this second winter north of the Friths, but withdrawing them by easy marches, put his troops in cantonments behind his works on the isthmus, if not behind those on the Solway and Tyne. Soon after this he was recalled from his command by the jealous, tyrannical Domitian. There is no evidence that Agricola left any garrison on the north of the Frith of Forth, and it appears probable that most of the forts thrown up in the passes of the Grampians, to check the incursions of the Caledonians (remains of which still exist at Cupar-Angus, Keithock, Harefaulds, Invergowrie, and other places), were either temporary encampments made on his march northwards, or were erected at a later period by the Emperor Severus, and never

¹ Chalmers' *Caledonia*, book I. ch. iii.; Roy's *Military Antiquities*, plate 10; Stobie's Map of Perth.

² *Vit. Agric.* c. x. and xxxviii.

maintained by the Romans for any length of time. The great difficulty in these regions was not the act of advancing, but that of remaining; and the poverty of the country was, no doubt, as good a defence as the valour of its inhabitants.

It was under Agricola that the Roman dominion in Britain reached its utmost permanent

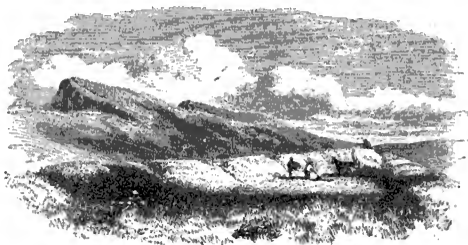


HADRIAN, from a fine bronze found in the Thames, now in the British Museum.—Drawn by J. W. Archer.

extent; for a few hurried marches, made at a later period, farther into the north of Caledonia, are not to be counted as conquests or acquisitions of territory. During the long period of thirty years the island remained so tranquil that scarcely a single mention of its affairs occurs in the Roman annals; and we need scarcely remark that, as history has usually been written, the silence of historians is one of the best proofs of a nation's happiness.

But in the reign of Hadrian¹ the Romans were attacked all along their northern frontiers by the Caledonians, and the whole state of the island was so disturbed as to demand the presence of that energetic emperor (A.D. 120). The conquests of Agricola north of the Tyne and Solway were lost; his advanced line of forts between the Forth and the Clyde swept away; and Hadrian contented himself, without either resigning or reconquering

all that territory, with raising a new rampart (much stronger than that drawn by Agricola) between the Solway Frith and the German Ocean. Perhaps it would have been wise in the Romans to have kept to this latter line, but in the following reign of Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138), the governor of Britain, Lollius Urbicus, advanced from it, drove the barbarians before him, and again fixed the Roman frontier at the isthmus between the Clyde and Forth, where he erected a strong rampart on the line of Agricola's forts. The pretentura, or rampart of Lollius Urbicus, consisted of a deep ditch, and an earthen wall raised on a stone foundation. There were twenty-one forts at intervals along the line, which, from one extremity to the other, measured about thirty-one miles. A military road, as a necessary appendage, ran within the rampart, affording an easy communication from station to station. The opposite points are fixed at Caerridden on the Forth, and Dunglas on the Clyde. The works appear to have been finished about A.D. 140; and, notwithstanding the perishable materials, the mound can be traced after the lapse of seventeen centuries. Among the people, whose traditions have always retained some notion of its original destination, it is called Græme's or Graham's Dyke. Inscribed stones have been discovered there, recording that the second legion,



REMAINS OF HADRIAN'S WALL,² near Haltwhistle.—Drawn from nature and on wood, by J. W. Archer.

and detachments from the sixth and the twentieth legions, with some auxiliaries, were employed upon the works.³

It had been the boast of the Romans, even from

¹ In a general description of the Roman empire under Trajan, the immediate predecessor of Hadrian, Appian says that the emperor possessed more than one-half of Britain, that he neglected the rest of the island as useless, and derived no profit from the part he possessed.

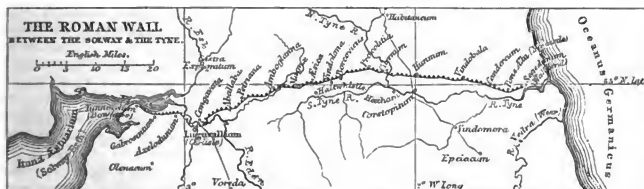
² This earthwork, originally constructed by Agricola, consisted of an earthen mound, with a ditch, on the borders of which he built, at unequal distances, a range of forts or castles. It was repaired (about A.D. 121) by Hadrian, who dug an additional and much larger ditch, and raised a higher rampart of earth, making his new works run in lines nearly parallel with the old. From these operations the association of the name of Agricola with the work merged into that of Hadrian.—Hulten.

³ *Roy's Military Antiquities.*

the time of Agricola, that this fortified line was to cover and protect all the fertile territories of the south, and to drive the enemy, as it were, into another island, barren and barbarous like themselves. But the northern tribes would not so understand it. In the reign of Commodus (A.D. 183) they again broke through this barrier, and swept over the country which lay between it and the wall of Hadrian, and which became the scene of several sanguinary battles with the Romans. About the same time a mutinous spirit declared itself among the legions in Britain, and symptoms were everywhere seen of that decline in discipline and military virtue which led on ra-

pidly to the entire dissolution of the Roman empire. Shortly after, the succession to the empire was disputed with Severus by Clodius Albinus, the governor of Britain. The unequal contest was decided by a great battle in the south of France; but as the pretender Albinus had drained the island of its best troops, the northern tribes took that favourable opportunity of breaking into and desolating the settled Roman provinces. These destructive ravages continued for years, and cost the lives of thousands of the civilized British subjects of Rome.

The Emperor Severus, in his old age (A.D. 207), and though oppressed by the gout and other



maladies, resolved to lead an army in person against the northern barbarians. Having made great preparations, he landed in South Britain, and almost immediately began his march to the northern frontier, which was once more marked by the walls of Agricola and Hadrian, between the Solway Frith and the mouth of the Tyne. The tremendous difficulties he encountered as soon as he crossed that line, sufficiently show that the country beyond it had never been thoroughly conquered and settled by the Romans, who invariably attended to the construction of roads and bridges. Even so near to the

walls as the present county of Durham, the country was an impassable wilderness. Probably there are some exaggerations in the number, and a part of the victims may have fallen under the spears and javelins of the natives, but it is stated that Severus, in his march northward, lost 50,000 men, who were worn out by the incessant labour of draining morasses, throwing raised roads or causeways across them, cutting down forests, levelling mountains, and building bridges. By these means he at length penetrated farther into the heart of Caledonia than any of his predecessors, and struck such terror into the native clans



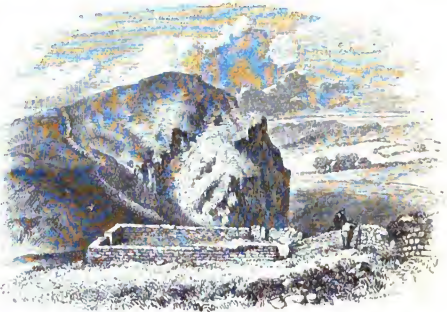
or tribes, who, however, had most prudently avoided any general action, that they supplicated for peace. He went so far to the north, that the Roman soldiers were much struck with the length of the summer days and the shortness of the nights; but the *Arx Finium Imperii Romani*, and the extreme point to which Severus

attained in this arduous campaign, seems to have been the end of the narrow promontory that separates the Moray and Cromarty Friths, the conqueror or explorer still leaving Ross, Sutherland, and Caithness, or all the most northern parts of Scotland, untouched. The uses of this most expensive military promenade (for, with the

exception of the road-making, it was nothing better) are not very obvious; no Roman army ever followed his footsteps, and he himself could not maintain the old debatable ground between the Tyne and the Forth. Indeed, after his return from the north, his first care was to erect a new frontier barrier, in the same line as those of Agricola and Hadrian, but stronger than either of them; thus acknowledging, as it were, the uncertain tenure the Romans had on the country beyond the Solway and the Tyne. For two years the Romans and their auxiliaries were employed in building a wall, which they vainly hoped would for ever check the incursions of the northern clans.

The wall of Agricola, which has been so frequently alluded to, was in reality a long bank or mound of earth, with a ditch, on the borders of which he built, at unequal distances, a range of forts or castles. This work very nearly extended from sea to sea, being about seventy-four miles long; beginning three miles and a half east of Newcastle, and ending twelve miles west of Carlisle. After existing thirty-seven years, this work, which had been much injured, was repaired (about A.D. 121) by Hadrian, who added works of his own to strengthen it. He dug an additional and much larger ditch, and raised a higher rampart of earth, making his new works run in nearly parallel lines with the old. From the date of these operations and repairs, the name of Agricola was lost; and the whole, to this day, has retained the name of Hadrian's Wall. During the ninety years that intervened between the labours of Hadrian and those of Severus, the rampart, not well calculated to withstand the frosts and rains of a cold and wet climate, had, no doubt, suffered extensively, and the barbarians had probably broken through the earthen

mound in more places than one. Severus—in this surpassing his predecessors—determined to build with stone: the wall he raised was about eight feet thick, and twelve feet high to the base of the battlements. To the wall were added, at equal distances, a number of stations or towns, eighty-one castles, and 330 castelets or turrets. At the outside of the wall (to the north) was dug a ditch,



COURSE OF THE WALL OF SEVERUS,¹ with Mile-castle at Cawfield, near Haltwhistle.—
Drawn by H. G. Hine, from his sketch on the spot in 1854.

about thirty-six feet wide, and from twelve to fifteen feet deep. Severus' works run nearly parallel with the other two (those of Agricola and Hadrian), lie on the north of them, and are never far distant, but may be said always to keep them in view; the greatest distance between them is less than a mile, the nearest distance about twenty yards, the medium distance forty or fifty yards. Exclusive of his wall and ditch, these stations, castles, and turrets, Severus constructed a variety of roads—yet called *Roman roads*—twenty-four feet wide, and eighteen inches high in the centre, which led from turret to turret, from one castle to another; and still larger and more distant roads from the wall, which led from one station or town to another; besides the grand military way (now our main road from Newcastle to Carlisle), which

¹ This fortification, says Bruce (*On the Roman Wall*), consists of three parts:—

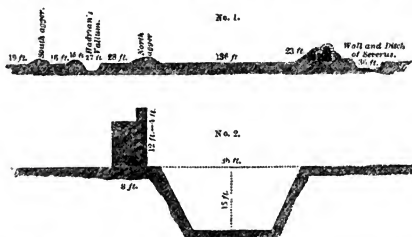
1. A stone wall, strengthened by a ditch on its northern side.
2. An earth wall, or vallum, to the south of the stone wall.
3. Stations, castles, watch-towers, and roads for the accommodation of the soldiery who manned the barrier, and for the transmission of military stores. These lie, for the most part, between the stone wall and the earthen rampart.

The Mile-castle at Cawfield (the name of the farm-house to the north), is the most perfect mile-castle remaining on the line. The building is a parallelogram, but the corners at its lower side are rounded off. It measures inside 63 ft. east to west, and 49 ft. north to south. The stones used are of the same character as those employed in the wall. The side walls of the castle have not been tied to the great wall, but have been brought close up to it, and the junction cemented with mortar. It is provided with a

gateway of 10 ft. opening, both on its northern and southern side, and formed of large slabs of rustic masonry, the walls being thicker here than in other parts. Two folding doors have closed the entrance, which, when thrown back, have fallen into recesses. Some of the pivot-holes of the doors remain tinged with oxide of iron. . . . In clearing out the interior, no traces of party walls, of a substantial character at least, were found. Some fragments of gray slate, pierced for roofing, were found among the rubbish. It is, therefore, not improbable that a shed was laid against the southern wall for the protection of the soldiers. At about the elevation which the raised floor would reach, the wall is in one place eaten away by the action of fire, and here the hearth probably stood. Plots of chives, supposed to be surviving relics of the common salad accompaniment to the black bread of the Roman soldier, planted there during their occupation, still grow near those castles.

covered all the works, and no doubt was first formed by Agricola, improved by Hadrian, and, after lying neglected for 1500 years, was made complete in 1752.¹

As long as the Roman power lasted, this barrier



No. 1, Section of the Roman Wall near the South Agger Port Gate; No. 2, Section of the Wall and Ditch of Severus.—From Hodgson's Northumberland.

was constantly garrisoned by armed men. The stations were so near to each other, that if a fire was lighted on any one of the bulwarks, it was seen at the next, and so repeated from bulwark to bulwark, all along the line, in a very short time.

Severus had not finished his works of defence when the Caledonian tribes resumed the offensive. The iron-hearted and iron-framed old emperor marched northward with a dreadful vow of extermination; but death overtook him at Eboracum (York), in the early part of the year 211. Caracalla, his son and successor, who had been serving with him in Britain, tired of a warfare in which he could gain comparatively little, hopeless, perhaps, of ever succeeding in the so-frequently-foiled attempt of subjecting the country north of the walls, and certainly anxious to reach Rome, in order the better to dispose of his brother Geta, whom his father had named co-heir to the Empire, made a hasty peace with the Caledonians, formally ceding to them the debatable ground between the Solway and Tyne, and the Friths of Clyde and Forth, and then left the island for ever.

After the departure of Caracalla, there occurs another long blank—supposed to have been a tranquil interval—for during nearly seventy

years, history scarcely devotes a single page to Britain and its affairs. The formidable stone rampart of Severus had, no doubt, its part in preserving the tranquillity of the southern division of the island, but it was not the sole cause of

this happy effect. The territory ceded by Caracalla, extending eighty miles to the north of Severus' wall, and averaging in breadth, from sea to sea, not less than seventy miles, was, in good part, a fertile country, including what are now some of the best lands in Scotland. The clans left in possession of this valuable settlement would naturally acquire some taste for the quiet habits of life—would imbibe some civilization from the Roman provincials on the south side of the wall—and then their instinctive

love of property and quiet would make them restrain, with arms in their hands, the still barbarous mountaineers to the north of their own territory, whilst their own civilization, such as it might be, would make some little progress among the clans in that direction. And it certainly did happen that, even when the Roman power had long been in a state of decrepitude, no great or decisive invasions took place from the north to the south, until the Scots, a new enemy, pouring in from Ireland with an overwhelming force, drove clan upon clan, and advanced beyond the wall of Severus. This latter event ought always to be taken in connection with the growing weakness of Rome, in order to account for the catastrophe which followed.

Though it has been generally overlooked, there is another, and a great cause too, which will help to account for the tranquillity enjoyed in the south, or in all Roman Britain. Caracalla imparted the freedom of Rome, and the rights and privileges of the Roman citizen, to all the provinces of the Empire; and thus the Briton, exempted from arbitrary spoliation and oppression, enjoyed his patrimony without fear or challenge.² Such a boon merited seventy years of a grateful quiet.³

¹ Hutton's *Hist. of the Roman Wall*.

² Palgrave's *Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth*, chap. x.

³ "The Roman influence in Britain must have been very great, if Panciroli be right in his calculations. There were three great military commands—one for the interior parts of the island, another for the defence of the coast against the Saxons, and a third for guarding the frontiers against the barbarians in Britain itself; and the whole force must have amounted to 69,000 foot and 1700 horses. In order to feed these, the Roman agriculture must have been introduced; and when the Romans left Britain, there must have been great fulness of corn. But the Roman arts also must have been introduced, and were pro-

bably perpetuated. For, besides the three military commanders-in-chief, there was a *procurator gynecii*, president of the wardrobe in Britain, in which the emperor's and soldiers' clothes were woven. Thus the Roman system, by leaving nothing to be done by the native Britons for their own defence, and stimulating, at the same time, agriculture and manufactures, must have left them, on the withdrawal of the legions, a tempting object of conquest to the Saxons, who would have found a very different reception in the island had the Romans, by forming the native Britons into a militia, trained them to the military arts as well as the agricultural and textile arts."—(See Giles' *History of the Ancient Britons*, vol. i. p. 299.) The great fulness of corn in Britain during the Roman period may partly

When Britain re-appears in the annals of history, we find her beset by fresh foes, and becoming the scene of a new enterprise, which was frequently repeated in the course of a few following years. In the reign of Diocletian and Maximian (A.D. 288), the Scandinavian and Saxon pirates began to ravage the coasts of Gaul and Britain. To repress these marauders, the emperors appointed Carausius, a Menapien, to the command of a strong fleet, the head-quarters of which was in the British Channel. The Menapians had divided into several colonies; one was settled in Belgium, one in Hibernia, one in the islands of the Rhine, one at Menevia (now St. David's) in Britain—and Carausius was by birth either a Belgian or a Briton—it is not very certain which. Wherever he was born, he appears to have been a bold and skilful naval commander. He beat the pirates of the Baltic, and enriched himself and his mariners with their plunder. It is suspected that he had himself been originally a pirate. He was soon accused of collusion with the enemy, and anticipating, from his great wealth and power, that he would throw off his allegiance, the emperors sent orders from Rome to put him to death. The wary and ambitious sailor fled, in time, with his fleet to Britain, where the legions and auxiliaries rallied round his victorious standard, and bestowed upon him the imperial diadem. The joint emperors of Rome, after seeing their attempts to reduce him repelled, with disgrace to their own arms, were fain to purchase peace by conceding to him the government of Britain, of Boulogne, and the adjoining coast of Gaul, together with the proud title of Emperor. Under his reign we see, for the first time, Britain figuring as a great naval power. Carausius built ships of war, manned them in part with the intrepid Scandinavian and Saxon pirates, against whom he had fought; and, remaining absolute master of the Channel, his fleet swept the seas from the mouths of the Rhine to the Straits of Gibraltar. He struck numerous medals, with inscriptions and devices, "which

show the pomp and state he assumed in his island empire." The impressive names he borrowed were, "Marcus Aurelius Valerius Carausius."¹



GOLD COIN OF CARAVSIVS.²

He had escaped the daggers of pirates and emperors, but a surer executioner rose up in the person of a friend and confidential minister. He was murdered, in the year 297, at Eboracum (York), by Allectus, a Briton, who succeeded to his insular empire, and reigned about three years, when he was defeated and slain by an officer of Constantius Chlorus, to whom Britain fell in succession on the resignation of Diocletian and Maximian (A.D. 296). In this short war we hear of a strong body of Franks and Saxons, who formed the main strength of Allectus' army, and who attempted to plunder London after his defeat. Thus, under Carausius and Allectus, the Saxons must have become acquainted even with the interior of England. Constantius Chlorus died in the summer of A.D. 306, at Eboracum, or York. Constantine, afterwards called the Great, then began his reign at York, where he was present at his father's death. After a very doubtful campaign north of the wall of Severus, the details of which are very meagre and confused, this prince left the island, taking with him a vast number of British youths, as recruits for his army. From this time to the death of Constantine, in 337, Britain seems again to have enjoyed tranquillity.³

The Roman power was, however, decaying; the removal of the capital of the Empire from Rome to Constantinople had its effects on the remote provinces of Britain; and, under the immediate successors of Constantine, while the Frank and

be accounted for by the invaders finding, like the first European settlers in North America, a virgin soil, covered with a rich layer of vegetable mould, the exhaustion of which goes far to account for the famines and dearths of subsequent times.

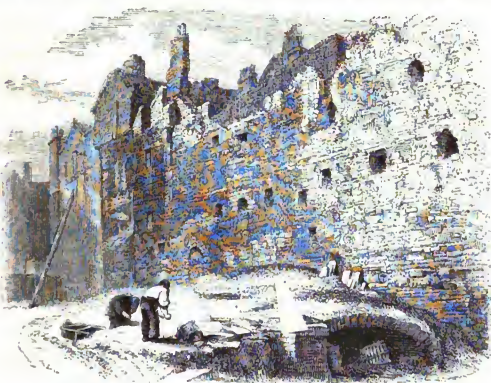
¹ Palgrave's *Hist. England*, ch. i.

² This coin is in the collection of C. Roach Smith, Esq. It is believed to be unique, and is considered to represent a veritable likeness of Carausius.

³ "The first half of the fourth century is chiefly remarkable, as regards Britain, on account of the harmony with which the natives and Romans, as well as other settlers, brought together in no small number by their common faith, united in the arts of peace. The cultivation of grain had been carried to such a height, that Britain became the granary of the northern provinces of the Empire; and, by yearly exports, supplied other countries with food, while it enriched itself. Civic establishments were so flourishing, that builders and other artificers

were demanded from Britain for the restoration of the desolated provinces.—The country was crossed by highroads in various directions, many of which have served the later settlers in their marches, as well as their commercial operations. It is probable that the Romans themselves found some of these great highways already in existence, which were afterwards known by the name of Watling-street, leading from the southern shore of Kent, from Rhutupie and London, through St. Alban's and Stony-Stratford, to Carnarvon (*Segontium*); Ikenild or Rikenild-street, from Tyne-mouth, through York, Derby, and Birmingham, to St. David's; the Irmin (*Ermin*) Street, which led from the latter place to Southampton; the Fosse, from Cornwall to Caithness, or, perhaps more correctly, only to Lincoln. These roads, which, if not formed, were at least greatly improved by Roman labour, prove, by their direction, a lively internal traffic, as well as a commercial connection with countries lying east and west of Britain."—Lappenberg's *History of England under the Anglo-Saxon Kings*, vol. i. p. 51.

Saxon pirates ravaged the ill-defended coasts of the south, the Picts, Scots, and Attacots—all mentioned for the first time by historians in the earlier part of the fourth century—began to press



REMAINS OF THE WALLS OF LONDON.¹—J. W. Archer, from his original drawing.

upon the northern provinces, and defy Severus' deep ditches and wall of stone. As the Scots came over from Ireland in boats, and frequently made their attacks on the coast-line, it seems not improbable that in some instances their depredations were mistaken for, or mixed up with those of the Saxons. According to our insufficient guide,² however, it was the Picts and Scots alone that, after breaking through the wall of Severus, and killing a Roman general, and Nectaridius, the "Count of the Saxon Shore," in the reign of Julian the Apostate, were found, about three years after (A.D. 367), in the time of the Emperor Valentinian, pillaging the city of London (Au-

gusta), and carrying off its inhabitants as slaves. Theodosius, the distinguished general, and father of the emperor of that name, repelled these invaders, and repaired the wall and the ruined forts in different parts of the south; but the northern districts were never afterwards reduced to order or tranquillity, and even for the partial and temporary advantage they obtained, the Romans were compelled to follow the host of pirates to the extremity of the British islands, "when," as it is expressed in the verses of the poet Claudian upon this achievement, "the distant Orades were drenched with Saxon gore."

By watching these occurrences, with others

¹ The exact period when London was first walled about, is not clearly ascertained. Simeon of Durham ascribes the foundation of the wall to the Emperor Constantine the Great, and it appears probable that it was either built or repaired in his time, from the discovery of coins of his mother Helena under its site. But it is probable that the effective fortification of London was completed during the reign of Valentinian I., and after the rescue of the city by Theodosius, as related in the text, when it is said he restored the defences throughout the country. The city having been ravaged and burned by Danish pirates about the year 859, it remained utterly waste for nearly half a century, when it was again rendered habitable by Alfred, King of the West Saxons, who restored its defences so effectually, that about the end of the tenth century, the citizens were able to assert their independence. Fitzstephen says, concerning the walls of London as they appeared in the reign of Henry II., when he compiled his account of London:—"The wall is high and great, well towered on the north side, with due distance between the towers. On the south side also the city was walled and towered, but the faithful river of Thames, by his ebbing and flowing, has long since subverted them." The towers were fifteen in number, and their remains were still visible down to the middle of the last century. The above view represents a large fragment of London wall, which abutted on the Tower

postern, still in existence, but concealed by the recent erection of some livery stables. Here the wall is upwards of 25 ft. high, the masonry at the base is regularly laid, and the stones are well squared. Over the first course of stones is a double layer of the large tile found in Roman masonry, of which the dimensions are as follows:—17 in. long, 11 in. broad, and nearly 1½ in. in thickness, the depth of the course, including the mortar, being 4½ in. This course, which is evidently of Roman construction, and the basement of the original wall, is succeeded by another layer of squared stones, repaired in many parts with rubble and bits of tile. The stones are here five deep, and they occupy a space of 46 in. between the first layer of tiles and another which lies upon it, and above this there are vestiges of a third course of regular masonry, greatly mingled with the material of coarse and unartificial repair. Here probably we see the work of the Saxon rebuilding of the wall, consisting of large masses of stone, roughly composed with rubble, bits of Roman tile, and flints. The upper portion of this mural monument of the ancient strength of London may, in its diversity of masonry, contain a stratification of the successive repairs it had undergone, from the period of its first erection to the time when the brick made from the clay of Moorfields, with the Kentish chalk, were combined with its structure in the reign of Edward IV.

² *Ammanius Marcellinus*, lib. xxvii. and xxviii.

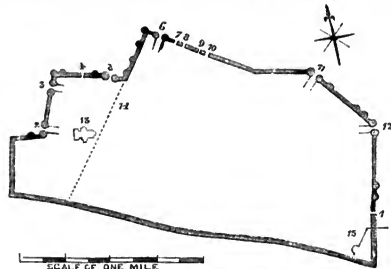
that were equally fatal, step by step, as they happen, we shall be the better able to understand how Britain, when abandoned by the Roman legions, was in so reduced and helpless a state as to fall a prey to the barbarians. If that fact is presented to us in an isolated manner, it almost passes our comprehension; but taken in connection with great causes, and the events of the two centuries that preceded the Saxon conquest, it becomes perfectly intelligible.

Following an example which had become very prevalent in different parts of the disorganized Empire, and which had been first set in Britain by Carausius, several officers, relying on the devotion of the legions and auxiliaries under their command, and supported sometimes by the affection of the people, cast off their allegiance to the emperor, and declared themselves independent sovereigns. It was the fashion of the servile historians to call these provincial emperors "tyrants," or usurpers, and to describe Britain especially as being "insula tyrannorum fertilis," an island fertile in usurpers. But, in sober truth,

later emperors of Rome, in whose succession hereditary right and the will of the governed were alike disregarded, and whose election depended on the chances of war and the caprices of a barbarian soldiery; for the right of nomination to the vacant Empire, so long assumed by the Prætorian band, and which right, questionable as it was, was still certain and ascertainable—still something like a settled rule—was soon over-set, and disallowed by the men of all nations in arms on the frontiers in the pay of Rome. If a pretension had been set up for purity of Roman blood, or a principle established that the sovereign should be at least a Roman born, there would have been a line of exclusion drawn against the provincial officers; but so far from this being the case, we find that the large majority of the so-called *legitimate* Roman emperors were barbarians by race and blood—natives of Illyria and other more remote provinces—while several of the most distinguished of their number sprang from the very lowest orders of society.

The most noted of the provincial emperors or pretenders that raised their standard in Britain was Maximus (A.D. 382); certainly a man of rank, and probably connected with the imperial family of Constantine the Great. If not born in Britain, he was of British descent, and had long resided in the island, where he had repelled the Picts and Scots. Brave, skilful, and exceedingly popular in Britain, Maximus might easily have retained the island, but his ambition induced him to aim at the possession of all that portion of the Western Roman empire which remained to Gratian; and this eventually not only led to his ruin, but inflicted another dreadful blow on British prosperity. He

withdrew nearly all the troops; and so many of the Britons followed him to Gaul that the island



PLAN OF THE WALLS OF LONDON¹

these provincial monarchs had as pure and legitimate a basis for their authority as any of the

¹ In this plan the black portions represent the existing remains. The gates and posterns were twelve in number, namely:—1, Tower postern; 2, Ludgate; 3, Newgate; 4, Greyfriars postern; 5, Aldergate; 6, Cripplegate postern; 7, Aldermanbury postern; 8, Basinghall postern; 9, Moorgate; 10, Moorgate postern; 11, Bishopsgate; 12, Aldgate. No. 13 shows the position of St. Paul's Cathedral, 14 the supposed line of original Roman wall, and 15 the site of the Tower. The four principal gates of the city are understood to have been Aldgate on the eastern side, Newgate on the west, Aldergate on the north, and the gate which stood on the north end of London Bridge, on the south. Fitzstephen states that there were seven double gates in the wall of London, but fails to specify them; it is to be conjectured, however, that the others were the Tower postern, Ludgate, and Aldergate or Cripplegate. The gates eastward of Cripplegate, on the northern side of the city, were opened in times comparatively late. The ground on which St. Paul's Cathedral (No. 13) is situated, was a cemetery, in which the vestiges of British and Roman interments were found by Wren, in digging for the foundations of the present edifice; and, accord-

ing to the law and practice of the Romans, the dead were forbidden to be interred within the walls of their cities, it is therefore to be presumed that the walls of London were so planned as to exclude this site. It has consequently been conjectured that the original west wall had run from Cripplegate to the Thames bank, and it is indicated accordingly on the plan, No. 14; but the evidence of a Roman causeway, discovered on the rebuilding of Newgate—which, however, stood to the east of the prison so called—goes to prove that the road presumed to have been the Prætorian way entered the city at this angle, how much further to the east cannot be determined. The further projection on the south-west, at No. 2, was carried out at the beginning of the thirteenth century, to inclose the precincts of the monastery of the Blackfriars, erected in the year 1215. It is conjectured that a Roman palatinate tower stood upon the site of the present Tower, No. 15, and that a corresponding stronghold was situated at the opposite extremity of the wall on the west. Outside the wall was a ditch 200 ft. broad, which was completed in the fifteenth year of the reign of King John (1213).—*Vestiges of Old London.*

was left almost defenceless, and utterly deprived of the flower of its youth and nobility. Many of these were swept off on the field of battle, many prevented by other causes from ever returning home. Gaul and Germany also gave willing recruits to the army of Maximus, who was left, by the defeat and death of Gratian, the undisputed master of Britain, Gaul, Spain, and Italy. He established the seat of his government for some time at Treves, and is said to have declared Victor, his son by a British wife, his partner in the empire of the West—a proceeding which could scarcely fail of gratifying the host of Britons in his army. But Theodosius, called the Great, the emperor of the East, marched an overpowering army into the West; and, after being defeated in two great battles, Maximus retired to Aquileia, near the head of the Adriatic Gulf, on the confines of Italy and Illyria, where he was betrayed to the conqueror, who ordered him to be put to death in the summer of 388.

Theodosius the Great now reunited the Roman empires of the East and West. While Maximus was absent, conquering many lands, the Scots and Picts renewed their depredations in Britain. The moment of crisis is now at hand. Chrysantus, an able general, and the lieutenant of Theodosius in Britain, wholly or partially expelled the invaders. Soon after this Theodosius the Great died (A.D. 395), and again divided, by his will, the Empire which his good fortune had reunited. Britain, with Gaul, Italy, and all the countries forming the empire of the West, he bequeathed to his son, Honorius, a boy only ten years of age, whom he placed under the guardianship of the famous Stilicho, who fought long and bravely, but in vain, to prop the falling dignity of Rome. Theodosius was scarcely cold in his grave, when Picts, Scots, and Saxons again sought what they could devour. Stilicho claimed some temporary advantages over them, but the inflated verses of his panegyrist are probably as far from the truth as Claudian is from being a poet equal to Virgil.¹

While these events were passing in Britain (A.D. 403), the withered majesty of Rome was shrouded for ever: Africa was dismembered from her empire; Dacia, Pannonia, Thrace, and other provinces were laid desolate; and Alaric the Goth was ravaging Italy, and on his way to the Eternal City. In this extremity, some Roman troops, which had been lately sent into the island by Stilicho, were hastily recalled for the defence of Italy, and the Britons, again beset by the Picts and Scots, were left to shift for themselves.

The islanders seem to have felt the natural love of independence, but there was no unani-

mity, no political wisdom, and probably but little good principle among them. Seeing the necessity of a common leader to fight their battles, they permitted their soldiery to elect one Marcus emperor of Britain (A.D. 407); and, shortly after, they permitted the same soldiery to dethrone him, and put him to death. The troops then set up one Gratian, whom, in less than four months, they also deposed and murdered. Their third choice fell upon Constantine, an officer of low rank, or, according to others, a common soldier. They are said to have chosen him merely on account of his bearing the imperial and auspicious name of Constantine; but he soon showed he had other properties more valuable than a name; and had he been contented with the sovereign possession of Britain, he might possibly have foiled its invaders, and reigned with peace and some glory. But, like Maximus, he aspired to the whole empire of the West, and, like Maximus, he fell (A.D. 411), after having caused the loss of vast numbers of British youths, whom he disciplined and took with him to his wars on the Continent. At one part of his short career, Constantine made himself master of nearly the whole of Gaul, and put his son Constans, who had previously been a monk at Winchester, in possession of Spain. In the course of this Spanish campaign, it is curious to remark that in Constantine's army there were two bands of Scots or Attacotti.²

Soon after the fall of Constantine we find Gerontius, a powerful chief, and a Briton by birth, cultivating a close connection with the Teutonic tribes; and, at his instigation, the barbarians from beyond the Rhine, by whom we are to understand the Saxons, continued to invade the unhappy island. Such underhand villainies are always common in the downfall of nations (but can the Romanized Britons fairly be called a nation?); and we find other chiefs, worse than Gerontius, in secret league with the more barbarous Picts and Scots.

It appears that, after the death of Constantine, Honorius, during the short breathing-time allowed him by his numerous enemies, twice sent over a few troops for the recovery and protection of Britain, the sovereignty of which he still claimed; but his exigencies soon obliged him to recal them; and about the year 420, nearly five centuries after Caesar's first invasion, and after being masters of the best part of it during nearly four centuries, the Roman emperors finally abandoned the island. The Britons had already deposed the magistrates appointed by Rome, proclaimed their independence, and taken up arms for that defence against their invaders, which the emperor could no longer give; but the final dis-

¹ *Claud. de Bello Gallico.*

² *Notitia Imperii, sect. xxxviii.*

severance was not accompanied by reproach or apparent ill-will. On the contrary, a mutual friendship subsisted for some time after between the islanders and the Romans; and the Emperor Honorius, in a letter addressed to the states or cities of Britain, seemed formally to release them from their allegiance, and to acknowledge the national independence.

For some years after the departure of the Romans, the historian has to grope his way in the dark; nor is it possible to determine the precise condition of the country. It appears, however, that the free municipal government of the cities was presently overthrown by a multitude of military chiefs, who were principally of British, but partly of Roman origin. It was a period to appreciate the warrior who could fight against the Scots and Picts, rather than the peaceful magistrate; and the voice of civil liberty would be rarely heard in the din of war and invasion. In a very few years all traces of a popular government disappeared, and a number of petty chiefs reigned absolutely and tyrannically, under the pompous name of kings, though the kingdoms of few of them could have been so large as a second-rate modern county of England. Instead of uniting for their general safety, at least until the invaders were repelled, these *roitelets*, or kinglings, made wars upon each other in the presence of a common danger; and, unwise even than their far less civilized ancestors in the time of Cæsar, they never thought of forming any great defensive league until it was too late.

It is chiefly in this mad disunion that we must look for the cause of—what has created astonishment in so many writers—the miserable weakness of Britain on the breaking up of the Roman government.¹ Other causes of decline, however, had long been at work. Almost from the first establishment of the Roman power, the British troops raised as recruits were drafted off to the Continent, where they were disciplined, and whence few ever returned. It was contrary to the policy of the Romans to teach the provincials the arts of war, and establish them as troops in their own country. The soldiers of Britain were scattered from Gaul to the extremities of the

Empire; the sedentary and unwarlike remained at home. All this, we think, may account for the absence of a well-disciplined force in the time of need. Moreover, during nearly a century and a half, the drain upon the population for the purposes of Roman war must have been prodigious. In 308 Constantine took with him a vast number of Britons to the Continent; this example was followed, as the enemies of the Empire increased in number and audacity, or as one pretender disputed the imperial crown with another; and we have shown, at periods so recent as A.D. 383 and 411, how the pride and flower of the youth were sacrificed in foreign warfare. The exterminating inroads of the Scots and Picts, which began early in the fourth century, and lasted, almost without intermission, until long after the departure of the Roman legions in the fifth century, must have fearfully thinned the population in the north, where arms were most wanted. The curses that destroy mankind were many, and there were none of the blessings that tend to their increase. Gaul, and other provinces with which Britain traded, were in as bad a condition as herself, and thus an end was put to foreign commerce, while the internal trade of the country was gradually destroyed by divisions and wars, which made it unsafe for the inhabitant of one district to transport his produce into the next, although only at a few miles' distance. Under such a state of things, moreover, agriculture would be neglected, for men would not sow in the sad uncertainty whether they or the enemy should reap. Famine and pestilence ensued; and Britain, in common with the greater part of Europe, where the same causes had been in operation, was still further depopulated by these two scourges.

We can scarcely credit Gildas, or the history which bears his name, and which is supposed to have been written about the middle of the sixth century, when he or it asserts that, at the departure of the legions, the Britons were sunk in such helplessness and ignorance, that they could not repair the stone wall of Severus without the guidance and assistance of Roman workmen; but we can understand how they could not muster forces sufficient to man that rampart, and also how the Picts and Scots should render it of no avail, by turning the wall on its flanks, and landing in its rear, at such distances as best suited their convenience. To maintain an adequate garrison against a vigilant and restless enemy, along a line upwards of seventy miles in length, would demand a very large disposable force. The northern barbarians would not hesitate to launch their boats in the Solway Frith, or at the mouth of the Tyne, north of the wall, and, by sailing south, pass that rampart at one of its extremities, and land on the coast within the wall.

¹ M. Guizot, in his *Essais sur l'Histoire de France*, remarks, that the resistance of the Romanized Britons to the barbarians was, in point of fact, far more obstinate than that of any other Roman province. "It was chiefly," he says, "in the provinces that had been longest subject to Rome, and where civilization was farthest advanced, that the people thus disappeared. . . . The Britons, less civilized, less Roman than the other subjects of Rome, resisted the Saxons, and their resistance has a history. At the same epoch, in the same situation, the Italians, the Gauls, the Spaniards have none. The Empire retired from their territories, and the barbarians occupied them, without the mass of the inhabitants having acted the smallest part, or marked their place in any way, in the events that made them the victims of so many calamities."

or ascend rivers, where that defence, left far in their rear, could present no obstacle to their progress. Their rudest coracles might have performed this coasting service in fine weather; but it is not improbable that during their occasional connections with the Teutonic or Saxon pirates, who had made some progress in naval architecture, the Scots came into possession of larger and better vessels. An obvious fact is, that from the arrival of the latter people from Ireland, the rampart of Severus began signally to fail in answering the purposes for which it was intended; though, perhaps, if instead of taking the usual expression of their breaking through the wall, we read that they turned it at one or other of its extremities, by means of their shoals of boats, we shall generally, in regard to their earlier inroads, be nearer the truth.

But the time was now come when such stratagems, or circuitous courses, were unnecessary, and the Scots and Picts leaped the ditches and scaled the ill-defended walls at all points. The fertile provinces of the south tempted them forward, till they reached the very heart of the country, which they racked with a most barbarous hand. It was not their object to occupy the country and settle in it as conquerors (had such been their plan, the Britons would have suffered less); their expeditions were forays; they came to plunder and destroy; and the booty they carried off, season after season, was a less serious loss than the slaughter and devastation that marked their advance and retreat.

At this horrid crisis, the more southern and least exposed parts of the island appear to have been occupied by two great parties or factions, which had absorbed all the rest, but could not come to a rational understanding with each other. One of these was a Roman party, including, no doubt, thousands of Roman citizens, who had remained on the estates they had acquired, and the many native families that must have been connected with them by marriage and the various ties of civil life; the other was a British party, composed, or pretending to be composed, exclusively of Britons. As soon as such a line of distinction was drawn, dissension was inevitable. The Roman party was headed by Aurelius Ambrosius, a descendant of one of the emperors; the British rallied round the notorious Vortigern. It is not very clear whether, when it was determined a third time to implore the aid of the Romans, both these parties consented to that measure, or whether Aurelius Ambrosius did not take it upon himself, as his rival Vortigern did the calling in of the Saxons only three years after.

The abject prayer, however, entitled "The Groans of the Britons," and addressed to Ætius,

thrice consul, was sent to the Continent (A.D. 441). "The barbarians," said the petitioners, "chase us into the sea; the sea throws us back upon the barbarians; and we have only the hard choice left us of perishing by the sword or by the waves." But Ætius, though as great a warrior as Stilicho, was then contending with Attila, a more terrible enemy even than Alaric, and could not afford a single cohort to the supplicants, whose last faint reliance on Rome thus fell to the ground.

Religious controversy, and the mutual hatred that inflames men when they fix the charge of heresy on one another, completed the anarchy of Britain. This is also a very common, though a very strange concomitant with the fall and last agonies of nations; and the Britons, like the Jews some centuries before, and like the Greeks at Constantinople, besieged by the Turks, ten centuries after, consumed their time in theological subtleties and disputations when the enemy was at their gates, and their last defences were falling above their heads. Had some of the disputants been animated with the same martial spirit as Germanus of Auxerre, a Gallic bishop, who was sent over by the pope to decide the controversy, their ruin might have been delayed; but his was a solitary instance. Germanus, who had been a soldier before he became a priest, sallied out with a number of Britons, and to the shouts of hallelujah (if we may believe the venerable Bede), cut up a party of Picts that were plundering the coast. But this hallelujah victory, as it was called, was far from being sufficient to stay the march of the invaders, and at length Vortigern took his memorable step, and called the Saxons to his assistance. The people of Armorica or Brittany had already set the example, and, more fortunate than their neighbours proved in the end, they had succeeded, by means of some Saxon allies, in maintaining the independence, and securing the tranquillity of their country.

It may be suspected that, even at this extremity, Vortigern applied for the aid of foreign arms, as much for the purpose of destroying the Roman party in the island as for the expulsion of its invaders; and this suspicion, though not proved, gains some strength from their past and existing disputes; from the reports of the deadly hatred and bloody conflicts which ensued between Aurelius Ambrosius, the head of the Roman party, and Vortigern; and from the circumstance that Aurelius, from the first landing, made head against the Saxons, while his enemy lived in peace and amity with them for some time.

But, whatever were his motives, Vortigern (A.D. 449) called the hardy freebooters of the Baltic and Northern Germany, and they came

most readily at his call. Three *chiules* (keels), or long ships, were cruising in the British Channel, under the command of two brothers, distinguished warriors or pirates among the Saxons, who are called Hengist and Horsa, though it is possible those may not have been really their names, but designations merely derived from the standards they bore.¹ It appears to have been on the deck of these marauding vessels that the Saxons received the invitation which

eventually led to the conquest of a great kingdom. Vortigern appointed his ready guests to dwell in the east part of the land, and gave them the Isle of Thanet for their residence, an insulated and secure tract to those who, like the Saxons, had the command of the sea; for the narrow, and, at times, almost invisible rill which now divides Thanet from the rest of Kent, was then a channel of the sea, nearly a mile in width. From this date begins the history of the Saxons in Britain.²

CHAPTER III.—HISTORY OF RELIGION.

RELIGION OF THE ANCIENT BRITONS, AND INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY.—B.C. 55—A.D. 449.

Druidism—Cæsar's account of the Druids—Account of them by Seneca and Lucan—Druidical groves and wells—The mistletoe—Classes of the Druidical priesthood—Costume of the Druids—Their modes of divination—Their doctrines and religious observances—Their human sacrifices—Origin of Druidism—Warfare of the Romans against it—Its influence after the suppression of the Druids—Entrance of Christianity into Britain—State of the early Christian church there.



THAT very ancient and far-extended faith known by the name of Druidism, flourished among the ancient Britons in all its vigour. It appears, indeed, that Druidism was considered by the Gauls to have originated in Britain; but those, perhaps, are nearer to the truth who give to the broad principles of the religion an Eastern origin. Much of the subject is concealed in a darkness very favourable to conjecture and speculation; but we possess very few materials whereupon to found a positive account of the system. Julius Cæsar, who was altogether only a short time in our island, but who resided six or seven years in Gaul, and made himself well acquainted with the institutions of that country, has left the fullest ancient

account we possess of the Gallic Druids. He states generally that the same system existed in Britain; but as his stay was so short, and as he saw so little of our island, he was scarcely competent to judge whether Druidism prevailed in all parts of the country, and whether it did not vary in some of its rites and practices from the Gallic establishment. He, however, says that those of the Gauls who wished to obtain a perfect knowledge of the system, were wont to pass over into Britain to study it.

Cæsar's account of the Gallic Druids is this:—"They are the ministers of sacred things; they have the charge of sacrifices, both public and private; they give directions for the ordinances of religious worship (*religiones interpretantur*). A great number of young men resort to them for

¹ *Hengst*, or *hengist*, signifies a stallion; and *horsa*, or *hross*, does not require any explanation. It may be remarked, however, that in Danish, *hors* signifies not a horse, but a mare. The snow-white steed still appears as the ensign of Kent, in England, as it anciently did in the shield of the "Old Saxons" in Germany. Hence the white horse is still borne on the royal shield of Brunswick-Hanover.—Palgrave, *History of England*, ch. ii.

² "We have considered the general principles of Roman provincial government; and we now ask, How were these applied in the case of Britain? The answer is much more difficult to give than might be imagined. Wealthy as this country was, and capable of conducting to the power and wellbeing of its masters, it seems never to have received a generous, or even fair treatment from them. The Briton was to the last, as at the first, *penitus toto divisus orbe Britannus*, and his land, always *ultima Thule*, was made, indeed, to serve the avarice or ambition of the ruler, but derived little benefit to itself from the rule. 'Levies, corn, tribute, mortgages, slaves'—under these heads was Britain entered in the *vast ledger* of the Empire. The Roman records do not tell us the exact details of government here, and we may justly say that we are more familiar with the

state of an eastern or an Iberian city, than we are with that of a British one. A few technical words, perfectly significant to a people who, above all others, symbolized a long succession of facts under one legal term, are all that remain to us; and unfortunately the jurists, and statesmen, and historians whose works we painfully consult, in hopes of rescuing the minutest details of our early condition, are satisfied with the use of general terms, which were perfectly intelligible to those for whom they wrote, but teach us little. . . . Temples there were; food, porticoes, baths, and luxurious feasts; Roman manners and Roman vices; and to support them, loans, usurious mortgages, and ruin. But we seek in vain for any evidence of the Romanized Britons having been employed in any offices of trust and dignity, or permitted to share in the really valuable results of civilization; there is no one Briton recorded, of whom we can confidently assert that he held any position of dignity and power under the imperial rule; the historians, the geographers, nay, even the novelists (who so often supply incidental notices of the utmost interest), are here consulted in vain; nor in the many inscriptions which we possess relating to Britain can we point out one single 'British name.'—Kemble's *The Saxons in England*, book II. ch. vii.

the purpose of instruction in their system, and they are held in the highest reverence. For it is they who determine most disputes, whether of the affairs of the state or of individuals; and if any crime has been committed, if a man has been slain, if there is a contest concerning an inheritance or the boundaries of their lands, it is the Druids who settle the matter: they fix rewards and punishments; if any one, whether in an individual or public capacity, refuses to abide by their sentence, they forbid him to come to the sacrifices. This punishment is among them very severe; those on whom this interdiction is laid are accounted among the unholy and accursed; all flee from them, and shun their approach and their conversation, lest they should be injured by their very touch; they are placed out of the pale of the law, and excluded from all offices of honour.

"Over all these Druids one presides, to whom they pay the highest regard of any among them. Upon his death, if there is any of the other Druids of superior worth, he succeeds; if there are more than one who have equal claims, a successor is appointed by the votes of the Druids; and the contest is sometimes decided by force of arms. These Druids hold a meeting at a certain time of the year, in a consecrated spot in the country of the Carnutes (people in the neighbourhood of Chartres), which country is considered to be in the centre of all Gaul. Hither assemble all from every part, who have a litigation, and submit themselves to their determination and sentence. The system of Druidism is thought to have been formed in Britain, and from thence carried over into Gaul; and now those who wish to be more accurately versed in it, for the most part go thither (*i.e.*, to Britain), in order to become acquainted with it.

"The Druids do not commonly engage in war, neither do they pay taxes like the rest of the community; they enjoy an exemption from military service, and freedom from all other public burdens. Induced by these advantages, many come of their own accord to be trained up among them, and others are sent by their parents and connections. They are said in this course of instruction to learn by heart a number of verses; and some accordingly remain twenty years under tuition. Nor do the Druids think it right to commit their instructions to writing, although in most other things, in the accounts of the state and of individuals, the Greek characters are used. They appear to me to have adopted this course for two reasons; because they do not wish either that the knowledge of their system should be diffused among the people at large, or that their pupils, trusting to written characters, should become less careful about cultivating the memory; because in most cases it happens that men, from

the security which written characters afford, become careless in acquiring and retaining knowledge. It is especially the object of the Druids to inculcate this—that souls do not perish, but after death pass into other bodies; and they consider that by this belief, more than anything else, men may be led to cast away the fear of death, and to become courageous. They discuss, moreover, many points concerning the heavenly bodies and their motion, the extent of the universe and the world, the nature of things, the influence and ability of the immortal gods; and they instruct the youth in these things.

"The whole nation of the Gauls is much addicted to religious observances, and, on that account, those who are attacked by any of the more serious diseases, and those who are involved in the dangers of warfare, either offer human sacrifices, or make a vow that they will offer them, and they employ the Druids to officiate at these sacrifices: for they consider that the favour of the immortal gods cannot be conciliated, unless the life of one man be offered up for that of another; they have also sacrifices of the same kind appointed on behalf of the state. Some have images of enormous size, the limbs of which they make of wicker-work, and fill with living men, and setting them on fire, the men are destroyed by the flames. They consider that the torture of those who have been taken in the commission of theft or open robbery, or in any crime, is more agreeable to the immortal gods; but when there is not a sufficient number of criminals, they scruple not to inflict this torture on the innocent.

"The chief deity whom they worship is Mercury; of him they have many images, and they consider him to be the inventor of all arts, their guide in all their journeys, and that he has the greatest influence in the pursuit of wealth and the affairs of commerce. Next to him they worship Apollo and Mars, and Jupiter and Minerva; and nearly resemble other nations in their views respecting these, as that Apollo wards off diseases, that Minerva communicates the rudiments of manufactures and manual arts, that Jupiter is the ruler of the celestials, that Mars is the god of war. To Mars, when they have determined to engage in a pitched battle, they commonly devote whatever spoil they may take in the war. After the contest, they slay all living creatures that are found among the spoil; the other things they gather into one spot. In many states, heaps raised of these things in consecrated places may be seen: nor does it often happen that any one is so unscrupulous as to conceal at home any part of the spoil, or to take it away when deposited; a very heavy punishment, with torture, is denounced against that crime.

"All the Gauls declare that they are descended

from Father Dis (or Pluto), and this they say has been handed down by the Druids; for this reason, they distinguish all spaces of time, not by the number of days, but of nights: they so regulate their birthdays, and the beginning of the months and years, that the day shall come after the night."¹

It is to be supposed that in speaking of the divinities worshipped by the Druids, Cæsar describes the unknown by the known, or calls this divinity Mercury, and this Apollo, or Mars, or Jupiter, because the attributes of the said divinities resembled those of the gods of the Grecian and Roman mythology; and that, if we possessed a more ample knowledge of the subject, we should find that the descent, pedigree, origin, and connection of the Druidical divinities had nothing whatever to do with those of the divinities in the classical mythology.

Among the various derivations which have been given of the name of the Druids, the most probable seems to be that which brings it from *druí*, the Celtic word for an oak, corruptly written in the modern Irish *droi*, or more corruptly, *draoi*, and making in the plural *druidhe*. *Druí* is the same word with *drus*, which signifies an oak in the Greek language; and also, indeed, with the English word *tree*, which in the old form was written *triw*. We cannot name the Druids of England without thinking of our woods and national oaks. The things are inseparable in our imagination; yet it is remarkable that Cæsar nowhere has any mention of the sacred groves, and the reverence paid to the oak, which make so great a figure in the other accounts of Druidism, and which indisputably formed very important features in that religion.

"If you come," says the philosopher Seneca, "to a grove thick planted with ancient trees, which have outgrown the usual altitude, and which shut out the view of the heaven with their interwoven boughs, the vast height of the wood, and the retired secrecy of the place, and the wonder and awe inspired by so dense and unbroken a gloom in the midst of the open day, impress you with the conviction of a present deity."² These natural feelings of the human mind were turned to account by the Druids, even as they were in the other most primitive and simple forms of ancient superstition. Pliny informs us that the oak was the tree which they principally venerated, that they chose groves of oak for their residence, and performed no sacred rites without the leaf of the oak. The geographer Pomponius Mela describes the Druids as teaching the youths of noble families that thronged to them, in caves, or in the depths of forests. We have seen, in the

preceding chapter, that when (A.D. 61) Suetonius Paulinus made himself master of the Isle of Anglesey, he cut down the Druidical groves. These groves, says Tacitus, were "hallowed with cruel superstitions; for they held it right to stain their altars with the blood of prisoners taken in war, and to seek to know the mind of the gods from the fibres of human victims."³ The poet Lucan, in a celebrated passage on the Druids, has not forgotten their sacred groves:—

"The Druids now, while arms are heard no more,
Old mysteries and barbarous rites restore;
A tribe, who singular religion love,
And haunt the lonely coverts of the grove.
To these, and these of all mankind alone,
The gods are sure revealed, or sure unknown.
If dying mortals' dooms they sing aright,
No ghosts descend to dwell in dreadful night;
No parting souls to grisly Pluto go,
Nor seek the dreary silent shades below;
But forth they fly, immortal in their kind,
And other bodies in new worlds they find.
Thus life for ever runs its endless race,
And like a line Death but divides the space;
A stop which can but for a moment last,
A point between the future and the past.
Thrice happy they beneath their northern skies,
Who that worst fear, the fear of death, despise;
Hence they no cares for this frail being feel,
But rush undaunted on the pointed steel;
Provoke approaching fate, and bravely scorn
To spare that life which must so soon return."⁴

No Druidical grove, it is believed, now remains in any part of our island; but within little more than a century, ancient oaks were still standing around some of the circles of stones set upright in the earth, which are supposed to have been the temples of the old religion. These sacred inclosures seem, in their perfect state, to have generally consisted of a circular row or double row of great stones in the central open space (the proper *lucus* or place of light), and beyond these, of a wood surrounded by a ditch and a mound of earth. The sacred grove appears to have been usually watered by a holy fountain. The reverence for rivers or streams, springs or wells, is another of the most prevalent of ancient superstitions; and it is one which, having, along with many other Pagan customs, been adopted, or at least tolerated, by Christianity as first preached by the Roman missionaries, and being, besides, in some sort recommended to the reason by the high utility of the object of regard, has not even yet altogether passed away. The holy wells, to which some of our early monks gave the names of their saints, had, in many instances, been objects of veneration many centuries before; and the cultivation of the country, or the decay from lapse of time, which has almost everywhere swept away the antique religious grove, has for the most part spared the holy well. In the centre

¹ Cæsar de Bell. Gall. lib. vi. 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, as translated in the Penny Cyclopædia.

² M. A. Seneca, *Epist.* 41.

³ Tacitus, *An.* xiv. 30.

⁴ Lucan, *Pharsalia*, l. 462; Rowe's translation.

of the circle of upright stones is sometimes found what is still called a *cromlech*, a flat stone supported in a horizontal position upon others set



MADRON HOLY WELL,¹ Cornwall.—J. S. Prout, from his drawing on the spot.

perpendicularly in the earth, being apparently the altar on which the sacrifices were offered up, and on which the sacred fire was kept burning. Near to the temple frequently rises a *carnedd*, or sacred mount, from which it is conjectured the priests were wont to address the people.

The most remarkable of the Druidical superstitions connected with the oak, was the reverence paid to the parasitical plant called the misletoe, when it was found growing on that tree. Pliny has given us an account of the ceremony of gathering this plant, which, like all the other sacred solemnities of the Druids, was performed on the sixth day of the moon, probably because the planet has usually at that age become distinctly visible. It is thought that the festival of gathering the misletoe was kept always as near to the 10th of March, which was their New Year's Day, as this rule would permit. Having told us that the Druids believed that God loved the oak above all the other trees, and that everything growing upon that tree came from heaven, he adds, that there is nothing they held more sacred than the misletoe of the oak. Whenever the plant was found on that tree, which it very rarely was, a procession was made to it on the sacred day, with great form and pomp. First, two white bulls were bound to the oak by their horns; and then a Druid clothed in white mounted the tree, and with a knife of gold cut the misletoe, which another, standing on the ground, held out his white robe to receive. The sacrifice of the victims and festive rejoicings followed. The sacredness of the misletoe is said to have been also a part of the ancient religious creed of the Persians, and

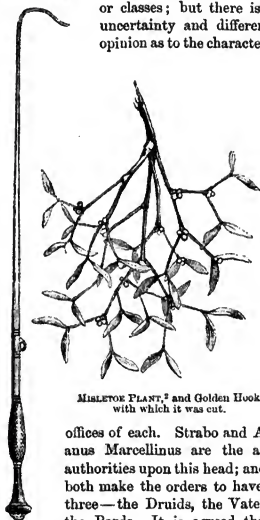
not to be yet forgotten in India; and it is one of the Druidical superstitions, of which traces still survive among our popular customs. Virgil, a diligent student of the poetry of old religions, has been thought to intend an allusion to it by the golden branch which Æneas had to pluck to be his passport to the infernal regions. Indeed, the poet expressly likens the branch to the misletoe:—

“Quale solet silvis brumali frigore viscum
Fronde virere novâ, quod non sua seminat arbos,
Et croceo fetu teretes circumdare trunco;
Talis erat species auri frondentis opaci
Illic; sic leni crepitabat bractea vento.”

—Æn. vi. 255.

As in the woods, beneath mid-winter's snow,
Shoots from the oak the fresh-leaved misletoe,
Girding the dark stem with its saffron glow;
So sprung the bright gold from the dusky rind,
So the leaf rustled in the fanning wind.

The entire body of the Druidical priesthood appears to have been divided into several orders or classes; but there is some uncertainty and difference of opinion as to the characters and



MISLETOE PLANT,² and Golden Hook with which it was cut.

offices of each. Strabo and Ammianus Marcellinus are the ancient authorities upon this head; and they both make the orders to have been three—the Druids, the Vates, and the Bards. It is agreed that the Bards were poets and musicians. Marcellinus says that they sung the brave deeds of illustrious men, composed in heroic verses, with sweet modulations of the lyre; and Diodorus Siculus

¹ An ancient baptistery, one mile north of Madron church, Cornwall. It was partially destroyed by Major Coely, one of Cromwell's officers. The altar, pierced with a hole to receive the foot of the cross or an image of the saint, is still entire.

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² The misletoe, *Viscum album*, is a common parasite of apple-trees and others, but the sacred misletoe of the Druids, growing on an oak, is rare. The golden hook is from Hoare's *Ancient Wiltshire*.

also mentions them in nearly the same terms. The Vates, according to Strabo, were priests and physiologists; but Marcellinus seems to assign to

Marcellinus is that the Druids, properly so called, lived together in communities or brotherhoods. This, however, cannot have been the case with



DRUIDS, from a bas-relief found at Autun.¹—From Moutfaucon.

them only the latter office, saying that they inquired into nature, and endeavoured to discover

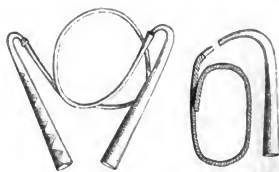


NIMBUS OF GOLD, presumed to have been worn on the head by Druids.—From Vallancey, Collect. de Reb. Hibernica.

the order of her processes, and her sublimest secrets. The Druids Strabo speaks of as combining the study of physiology with that of moral science; Marcellinus describes them as persons of a loftier genius than the others, who addressed themselves to the most occult and profound inquiries, and rising in their contemplations above this human scene, declared the spirits of men to be immortal.² A remarkable fact mentioned by

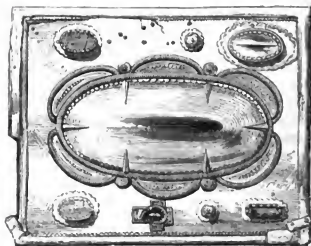
¹ The figure crowned with a coronal of oak leaves (without which, or some such symbol, no act of their mysteries could be performed), and bearing a sceptre, is conjectured to represent an arch-Druid. The other figure holds in his hand a crescent, equivalent to the form of the moon on the sixth day of the month, which was the period ordained for the ceremony of cutting the mistletoe.

² Strabo, iv.; Ammian. Marcell. xv. 9; Diod. Sic. v. 31; Toland's *Hist. of the Druids*, pp. 24-29; Rowland's *Mona Antiqua*,



DRUIDICAL INSIGNIA of gold, found in Ireland.—From the Archaeologia.

all the members of the order; for we have reason to believe that the Druids frequently reckoned among their number some of the sovereigns of the Celtic states, whose civil duties, of course, would not permit them to indulge in this monastic life. Divitiacus, the Æduan prince, who performed so remarkable a part, as related by Cæsar, in the drama of the subjugation of his country by the Roman arms, is stated by Cicero to have been a Druid. Strabo records it to have been a notion



LIUTH MESEMEATH,³ or Plate of Judgment, found in Ireland. From the Archaeologia.

among the Gauls, that the more Druids they had among them, the more plentiful would be their harvests, and the greater their abundance of all good things; and we may therefore suppose that the numbers of the Druids were very considerable.

Toland, who, in what he calls his *Specimen of the Critical History of the Celtic Religion and Learning*, has collected many curious facts, has given us the following account of the dress of the

p. 65; Borlase's *Cornwall*, p. 67; Macpherson's *Dissertation*, p. 203; Bouche's *Histoire de Provence*, l. 68; Fœbroke's *Encyclopedia of Antiquities*, ii. 662.

³ The Liuth Mesemeth is understood to have been worn upon the girdle of the Druid, and it bears a remarkable resemblance to the breastplate worn by the Jewish high-priest. This relic is composed of pure silver; in the centre is a large crystal, and smaller stones are inserted around it.

Druids. Every Druid, he informs us, carried a wand or staff, such as magicians in all countries have done, and had what was called a Druids'



DRUID COLLAR OR GORGET of gold,¹ found in Ireland.—From the *Archæologia*.

egg (to which we shall advert presently) hung about his neck, inclosed in gold. All the Druids wore the hair of their heads short, and their beards long; while other people wore the hair of their heads long, and shaved all their beards, with the exception of the upper lip. "They likewise," he continues, "all wore long habits, as did the Bards and the Voids (the Vates); but the Druids had on a white surplice whenever they religiously officiated. In Ireland they, with the graduate Bards and Voids, had the privilege of wearing six colours in their breacans or robes (which were the striped braccæ of the Gauls, still worn by the Highlanders); whereas the king and queen might have in theirs but seven, lords and ladies five, governors of fortresses four, officers and young gentlemen of quality three, common soldiers two, and common people one." These particulars appear to have been collected from the Irish traditions or Bardic manuscripts.

The art of divination was one of the favourite pretensions of the Druidical, as it has been of most other systems of superstition. The British Druids, indeed, appear to have professed the practice of magic in this and all its other departments. Pliny observes that in his day this supernatural art was cultivated with such astonishing ceremonies in Britain, that the Persians themselves might

seem to have acquired the knowledge of it from that island; and Ælian tells us that the Druids of Gaul were liberally paid by those who consulted them for their revelations of the future, and the good fortune they promised. Among their chief methods of divination was that from the entrails of victims offered in sacrifice. One of their practices was remarkable for its strange and horrid cruelty, if we may believe the account of Diodorus Siculus. In sacrificing a man they would give him the mortal blow by the stroke of a sword above the diaphragm, and then, according to rules which had descended to them from their forefathers, they would draw their predictions from inspection of the posture in which the dying wretch fell, the convulsions of his quivering limbs, and the direction in which the blood flowed from his body.

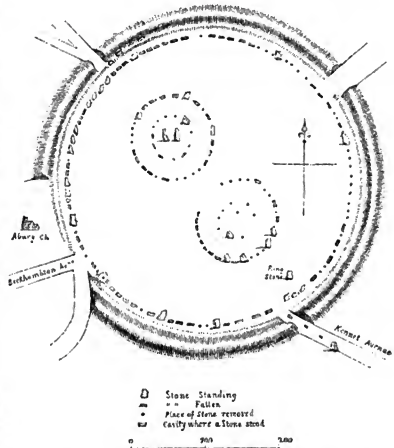
There is reason to believe that the Druids, like other ancient teachers of religion and philosophy, had an esoteric or secret doctrine, in which the members of the order were instructed, of a more refined and spiritual character than that which they preached to the multitude. Diogenes Laërtius acquaints us that the substance of their system of faith and practice was comprised in three precepts, namely, to worship the gods, to do no evil, and to behave courageously. They were reported, however, he says, to teach their philosophy in enigmatic apophthegms. Mela also expresses himself as if he intended us to understand that the greater part of their theology was reserved for the initiated. One doctrine, he says, that of the immortality of the soul, they published, in order that the people might be thereby animated to bravery in war; and he tells us that, in consequence of their belief in this doctrine, they were accustomed, when they buried their dead, to burn and inter along with them things useful for the living—a statement which is confirmed by the common contents of the barrows or graves of the ancient Britons. He adds a still better evidence of the strength of their faith. They were wont, it seems, to put off the settlement of accounts and the exaction of debts (!) till they should meet again in the shades below. It also sometimes happened, that persons not wishing to be parted from their friends who had died, would throw themselves into the funeral piles of the objects of their attachment, with the view of thus accompanying them to their new scene of life. In this belief, also, the ancient Britons,

¹ This article, called also Jodhan Morain, is supposed to have been worn on the neck of the judge when on the bench, and it was believed it would choke him if he gave unjust judgment. Some authorities say that it was called Morain from a great judge of that name, who formerly flourished in Ireland. "My surprise," says Governor Pownall (*Early Irish Antiquities*, *Archæologia*, vol. vi.), "was great when I found in Buxtorf, that Jodhan Morain was the Chaldean name for Urin and Thummin. Not satisfied

with Buxtorf, I wrote to the learned Rabbi Heideck, now in London; his answer was satisfactory, and contained a dozen quotations from various Talmud commentators. In short, my friend the Rabbi will have it, that none but Jews or Chaldees could have brought the name and the thing to Ireland. . . . The measurement of this relic was nearly 11 in. at the caps or circles, by much the same in depth; and the weight was exactly 20 guineas."

when they buried their dead, were wont to address letters to their deceased friends and relations, which they threw into the funeral pile, as if the persons to whom they were addressed would in this way receive and read them.

It has been conjectured that the fundamental principle of the Druidical esoteric doctrine was the belief in one God. For popular effect, however, this opinion, if it ever was really held, even by the initiated, appears to have been from the first wrapped up and disguised in an investment of materialism, as it was presented by them to the gross apprehension of the vulgar. The simplest, purest, and most ancient form of the public religion of the Druids seems to have been the worship of the celestial luminaries and of fire. The sun appears to have been adored under the same name of Bel or Baal, by which he was distinguished as a divinity in the paganism of the East.¹ We have already had occasion to notice their observance of the moon in the regulation of the times of their great religious festivals. These appear to have been four in number: the first was the 10th of March, or the sixth day of the moon nearest to that, which, as already mentioned, was their New-year's Day, and that on which the ceremony of cutting the mistletoe was performed; the others were the 1st of May, Midsummer Eve, and the last day of October. On all these occasions the chief celebration was by fire. On the eve of the festival of the 1st of May, the tradition is that all the domestic fires throughout the country were extinguished, and lighted again the next day from the sacred fire kept always burning in the temples. "The Celtic nations," observes Toland, "kindled other fires on Midsummer Eve,



PLAN OF DRUIDICAL CIRCLE AT AVEBURY.²—From Hoare's Ancient Wiltshire.

carrying flaming brands about their corn-fields. This they do likewise all over France, and in some of the Scottish isles. These Midsummer fires and sacrifices were to obtain a blessing on the fruits of the earth, now becoming ready for gathering; as those of the 1st of May, that they might prosperously grow; and those of the last of October were the thanksgiving for finishing their harvest." In Ireland, and also in the north of Scotland, the 1st of May, and in some places the 21st of June, is still called Beltein or Beltane, that is, the day of Bel Fire; and imitations of the old superstiti-

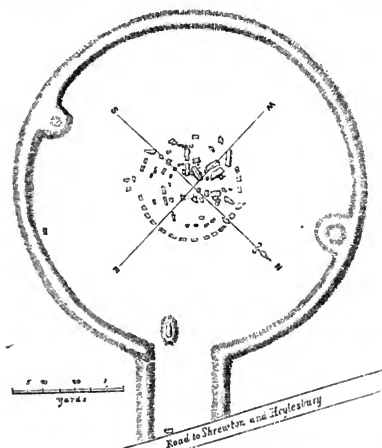
¹ The author of *Briannia after the Romans*, however, denies that the Celtic Bel or Belinus has any connection with the Oriental Baal or Bel.

² This plan is taken from Stukeley's survey in the year 1724. Since that time this vast monument has become nearly obliterated, through the pillage of the stones for a variety of unworthy purposes. The site of the temple is a platform, bounded on the east by undulating hills, and within a short distance of the source of the Kennet, a tributary to the Thames. "This," Stukeley remarks, "might have been regarded as the grand national cathedral, while the smaller circles in different parts of the island might be compared to the parish or village churches." Numbers of detached stones, called grey weathers, lie in the neighbouring parts, and from this source the materials of the temple appear to have been selected. The number of these masses employed in the construction of the temple amounted to 650 stones. The dimensions of these stones vary from 5 ft. to 20 ft. in elevation above the surface of the ground, and from 3 ft. to 12 ft. in bulk. One hundred vertical stones surrounded in a circle an area of about 1400 ft. in diameter, and bounding these stones, the work was completed by a deep ditch and a high bank, having two openings corresponding with the original avenues, although other two

openings have subsequently been broken in the mound. The inner slope of the mound measured 80 ft., and its whole extent and circumference at the top, according to Sir R. Colt Hoare, 4442 ft. The area within the mound is upward of 28 acres. About midway upon the inner slope was a terrace, apparently meant as a stand for spectators. Within the periphery of the great circle were two other small circles, one being a double circle of upright stones, with a single stone raised near the centre, which Stukeley calls the ambire or obelisk; this small temple consisted of forty-three stones. Another circle of forty-five stones, some of which are still standing, and of great size, stood a little north of the former, consisting also of two concentric circles, inclosing a group of three tall stones, called the cove. These composed the triple circle or temple. This work was distinguished from other similar monuments, by avenues of approach, consisting of double rows of upright stones, which branched off from the central work, each to the extent of upwards of a mile. One of these branched southward, turning near its extremity to the south east, where it terminated in two elliptical ranges of upright stones. This avenue was formed by 200 upright stones, being finished at its eastern extremity with fifty-eight stones. The width of the avenue varied from 56 ft. to 55 ft. between the

ous ceremonies were not long ago still generally performed.¹ In Scotland a sort of sacrifice was

some parts of England the practice still prevails of lighting fires in parishes on Midsummer Eve.²



GROUND PLAN OF STONEHENGE.—From Sir R. Colt Hoare's *Ancient Wiltshire*.

offered up, and one of the persons present, upon whom the lot fell, leaped three times through the flames of the fire. In Ireland the cottagers all drove their cattle through the fire. Even in

stones, which were on an average 96 ft. apart from each other in their linear direction. The outer oval of the terminating temple to the south-east, on an eminence called Overton Hill, or the Hackpen, measured about 146 ft. in diameter; the inner oval was 45 ft. across. The western avenue extended about one mile and a half, and consisted of 203 stones; its extremity ended in a point with a single stone. Those avenues were formed in curved lines, and, according to Dr. Stukeley's theory, were intended to represent or typify the figure of the serpent. This vast work is surrounded by numerous tumuli, cromlechs, and ancient trackways, over which rises the lofty cone of Silbury Hill. The great earthen mound of Avebury now contains a village, with its fields and appurtenances, and its original figure is not to be made out by the present vestiges. Aubrey (A.D. 1669) makes out sixty-three stones as remaining within the intrenched inclosure in his time; these were reduced to twenty-nine, when Stukeley made his survey; and in 1812, when Sir R. Colt Hoare described it, only seventeen stones remained. Two upright stones of the western avenue remain, and about six-teen of those of the southern avenue.

¹ "The needfire, *nydfer*, New German *notkfeuer*, was called, from the mode of its production, *confrictio de lignis*; and though probably common to the Keltas as well as Teutons, was long and well known to all the Germanic races at a certain period. All the fires in the village were to be delighted from the virgin flame produced by the rubbing together of wood; and in the Highlands of Scotland and Ireland, it was usual to drive the cattle through it, by way of lustration, and as a preservative against disease."—Kemble's *Saxons in England*, vol. ii. p. 360, where a curious illustration of the subject is given, from an ancient English MS. Perthshire seems to have retained most pertinaciously the old superstitions connected

when enchained in gold, and thrown into a river, swim against the stream. All the virtues also of a charm were ascribed to it. In particular, the person who carried it about with him was insured

with the worship of fire, probably from Benledi having been specially consecrated to it. So late as in 1826, an old farmer in that county, who had lost several cattle by an epidemic disease, was persuaded, by a weird sister in his neighbourhood, to try the effect of a lustration of the survivors, by making them pass through the flame of a fire kindled in the barnyard by friction.—(See the *Mirror* for June, 1826, quoted by Kemble.)

² The site of Stonehenge, the plain of Sarum, is on a platform of undulating downs, about six miles from Salisbury. The structure consists of two circles and two ovals, composed of huge stones, uprights and imposts. The outer or largest circle is 105 ft. in diameter, and between that and the interior smaller circle is a space of about 9 ft. Within this smaller circle, which is half the height (8 ft.) of the exterior one, was a portion of an ellipse formed by five groups of stones, which have been called *trilithons*, because formed by two vertical and one horizontal stone. Within this ellipse is another of single stones, half the height of the trilithons. The outer circle was originally composed of thirty upright stones, at nearly equal distances apart, sustaining as many stones in a horizontal position, forming a continuous impost. The inner circle consisted of about the same number of upright stones of smaller size, and without imposts. Within the inner elliptical inclosure was a block of stone 16 ft. long, 4 ft. broad, and 20 in. thick. This has been usually called the altar stone. Round the larger circle, and at the distance of 100 ft., was a vallum 52 ft. in width, and 15 ft. in height.

³ See *Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 105, vol. v. p. 84, and vol. xi. p. 620; Vallancey's *Essay on the Antiquity of the Irish Language*, p. 13; and Brando's *Popular Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 228, &c.

against being overcome in any dispute in which he might engage, and might count upon success in his attempts at obtaining the favour and

licarnassus affirm to have been also adored by the Celtic nations. Bacchus, Ceres, Proserpine, Diana, and other gods of Greece and Rome, also appear to have all had their representatives in the Druidical worship; if, indeed, the classic theology did not borrow these divinities from the Celts. Another of the Celtic gods was Taranis, whose name signifies the god of thunder.

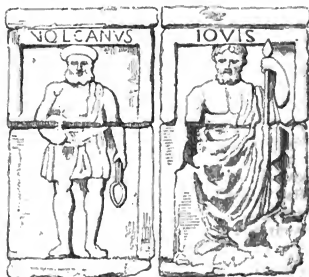
The earliest Druidism seems, like the kindred superstition of Germany, as described by Tacitus, to have admitted neither of covered temples nor of sculptured images of the gods. Jupiter, indeed, is said to have been represented by a lofty oak, and Mercury by a cube—the similarity of that geometrical figure on all sides typifying



VIEW OF STONEHENGE.—From Higgins' Celtic Druids.

friendship of the great. It has been conjectured, on highly probable grounds, that the massive Druidical temples of Avebury, of Stonehenge, of Carnac in Brittany, and most of the others that remain both in Britain and Gaul, were dedicated to the united worship of the sun and the serpent, and that the form of their construction is throughout emblematic of this combination of the two religions.¹

But however comparatively simple and restricted may have been the Druidical worship in its earliest stage, there is sufficient evidence that, at a later period, its gods came to be much more numerous. Cæsar, as we have already seen, mentions among those adored by the Gauls, Mercury, Apollo, Mars, Jupiter, and Minerva. It is to be regretted that the historian did not give us the Celtic names of the deities in question, rather than the Roman names, which he considered, from the similarity of attributes, to be their representatives. Livy, however, tells us that the Spanish Celts called Mercury Toutates; the same word, no doubt, with the Phœnician Taaut, and the Egyptian Thoth, which are stated by various an-



GAULISH DEITIES, from Roman bas-reliefs under the choir of Notre-Dame, Paris.—From Montfaucon.



GAULISH DEITIES, from Roman bas-reliefs under the choir of Notre-Dame, Paris.—From Montfaucon.

cient writers to be the same with the Hermes of the Greeks, and the Mercury of the Latins.² Jupiter is thought to have been called Jow, which means *young*, from his being the youngest son of Saturn, whom both Cicero and Dionysius of Ha-

that perfect truth and unchangeableness which were held to belong to this supreme deity; but these are to be considered, not as attempts to imitate the supposed bodily forms of the gods, but only as emblematic illustrations of their attributes. At a later period, however, material configurations of the objects of worship seem to have been introduced. Gildas speaks of such images as still existing in great numbers in his time, among the unconverted Britons. They had a greater number of gods, he says, than the Egyptians themselves, there being hardly a river, lake, mountain, or wood, which had not its divinity.

As for the human sacrifices of which Cæsar speaks, his account is fully borne out by the testimonies of various other ancient authors. Strabo describes the image of wicker or straw, in which, he says, men and all descriptions of cattle and beasts were roasted together. He also relates

¹ See on this subject a curious dissertation, by the Rev. B. Daine, in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxv. (for 1834) pp. 188-229.

² Philobibulus ex Samoniat.—*Cic. de Nat. D.* iii. 22.

that sometimes the victims were crucified, sometimes shot to death with arrows. The statement of Diodorus Siculus is, that criminals were kept under ground for five years, and then offered up as sacrifices to the gods, by being impaled, and burned in great fires along with quantities of other offerings. He adds, that they also immolated the prisoners they had taken in war, and along with them devoured, burned, or in some other manner destroyed, likewise, whatever cattle they had taken from their enemies. Plutarch tells us that the noise of songs and musical instruments was employed on these occasions to drown the cries of the sufferers.¹ Pliny is of opinion that a part of every human victim was eaten by the Druids; but what reason he had for thinking so does not appear, nor does the supposition seem to be probable in itself. Upon the subject of the practice of human sacrifice it has been observed, that "if we rightly consider this point we shall perceive that, shocking as it is, it is yet a step towards the humanizing of savages; for the mere brute man listens only to his ferocious passions and horrid appetites, and slays and devours all the enemies he can conquer; but the priest, persuading him to select only the best and bravest as sacrifices to his protecting deity, thereby, in fact, preserves numberless lives, and puts an end to the cannibalism which has justly been looked upon as the last degradation of human nature."²

The origin of Druidism, and its connection with other ancient creeds of religion and philosophy, have given occasion to much curious speculation. Diogenes Laertius describes the Druids as holding the same place among the Gauls and Britons with that of the Philosophers among the Greeks, of the Magi among the Persians, of the Gymnosophists among the Indians, and of the Chaldeans among the Assyrians. He also refers to Aristotle as affirming, in one of his lost works, that philosophy had not been taught to the Gauls by the Greeks, but had originated among the former, and, from them, had passed to the latter. The introduction into the Greek philosophy of the doctrine of the Metempsychosis is commonly attributed to Pythagoras; and there are various passages in ancient authors which make mention of, or allude to some connection between that philosopher and the Druids. Abaris, the Hyperborean, is by many supposed to have been a Druid; and he, Iamblicus tells us, was taught by Pythagoras to find out all truth by the science of numbers.³ Marcellinus, speaking of the conventual associations of the Druids, expresses himself as if he conceived that they so lived in obedience to the commands of Pythagoras; "as the authority

of Pythagoras hath decreed," are his words.⁴ Others affirm that the Grecian philosopher derived his philosophy from the Druids. A report is preserved, by Clement of Alexandria, that Pythagoras, in the course of his travels, studied under both the Druids and the Brahmins.⁵ The probability is that both Pythagoras and the Druids drew their philosophy from the same fountain.

Several of the ablest and most laborious among the modern investigators of the subject of Druidism have found themselves compelled to adopt the theory of its Oriental origin. Pelloutier, from the numerous and strong resemblances presented by the Druidical and the old Persian religion, concludes the Celts and Persians, as Mr. O'Brien has lately done, to be the same people, and the Celtic tongue to be the ancient Persic.⁶ The late Mr. Reuben Burrow, distinguished for his intimate acquaintance with the Indian astronomy and mythology, in a paper in the *Asiatic Researches*, decidedly pronounces the Druids to have been a race of emigrated Indian philosophers, and Stonehenge to be evidently one of the temples of Buddha.⁷ Some of the Welsh antiquaries have,



MALABAR TOLMEN. *—From Higgins' Celtic Druids.

on other grounds, brought their assumed British ancestors from Ceylon, the great seat of Buddhism. This question has been examined at great length, in a *Dissertation on the Origin of the Druids*, by Mr. Maurice, who, considering the Buddhists to

¹ *Ammian. Marcell. xv. 9.*

² *Strom. i. 85.*

³ *Histoire des Celtes, p. 19.* See also Borlase's *Antiquities of Cornwall*, ch. xxii.: "Of the Great Resemblance betwixt the Druid and Persian Superstition, and the Cause of it inquired into."

⁴ *Asiatic Researches*, ii. 488.

⁵ The similarity of remains found in parts of India, Persia, Palestine, &c., to those of Druidical character still existing in this country, tends strongly to confirm the hypothesis of the Eastern origin of Druidism. The above representation of a tolmen in Malabar is taken by Higgins from Sir R. Colt Hoare, who has omitted to state his authority, but the author of the *Celtic Druids* quotes it, remarking that from Sir Richard's care and acumen, he is persuaded that it is given upon sufficient grounds.

¹ *De Superstitione.* ² *Introduct. to History, Encyc. Metrop. p. 63.*

³ *Vita Pythag. c. xix.*

have been a sect of the Brahmins, comes to the conclusion that "the celebrated order of the Druids, anciently established in this country, were the immediate descendants of a tribe of Brahmins situated in the high northern latitudes bordering on the vast range of Caucasus; that these, during a period of the Indian empire, when its limits were most extended in Asia, mingling with the Celto-Scythian tribes who tenanted the immense deserts of Grand Tartary, became gradually incorporated, though not confounded with that ancient nation; introduced among them the rites of the Brahmin religion, occasionally adopting those of the Scythians; and, together with them, finally emigrated to the western regions of Europe."¹

It must be confessed that the Druidical system, as established in Gaul and Britain, has altogether very much the appearance of something not the growth of the country, but superinduced upon the native barbarism by importation from abroad. The knowledge and arts of which they appear to have been possessed, seem to point out the Druids as of foreign extraction, and as continuing to form the depositories of a civilization greatly superior to that of the general community in the midst of which they dwelt. It was quite natural, however, that Druidism, supposing it to have been originally an imported and foreign religion, should nevertheless gradually adopt some things from the idolatry of a different form which may have prevailed in Britain and Gaul previous to its introduction; just as we find Christianity itself to have become adulterated in some countries by an infusion of the heathenism with which it was brought into contact.

The Germans, Cæsar expressly tells us, had no Druids; nor is there a vestige of such an institution to be discovered in the ancient history, traditions, customs, or monuments of any Gothic people. It was probably, indeed, confined to Ireland, South Britain, and Gaul, until the measures taken to root it out from the Roman dominions compelled some of the Druids to take refuge in other countries. The Emperor Tiberius, according to Pliny and Strabo, and the Emperor Claudius, according to Suetonius, issued decrees for the total abolition of the Druidical religion, on the pretext of an abhorrence of the atrocity of the human sacrifices in which it indulged its votaries. The true motive may be suspected to have been a jealousy of the influence, among the provincials of Gaul and Britain, of a native order of priesthood so powerful as that of the Druids. Suetonius, indeed, states that the practice of the Druidical religion had been already interdicted to Roman citizens by Augustus. We have seen,

in the course of the preceding narrative, how it was extirpated from its chief seat in the south of Britain by Suetonius Paulinus. Such of the Druids as survived this attack are supposed to have fled to the Isle of Man, which then became, in place of Anglesey, the head-quarters of British Druidism. It was probably after this that the Druidical religion penetrated to the northern parts of the island. The vestiges, at all events, of its establishment at some period in Scotland, are spread over many parts of that country, and it has left its impression in various still surviving popular customs and superstitions. The number and variety of the Druid remains in North Britain, according to a late learned writer, are almost endless. The principal seat of Scottish Druidism is thought to have been the parish of Kirkmichael, in the recesses of Perthshire, near the great mountainous range of the Grampians.²

Druidism long survived, though in obscurity and decay, the thunder of the imperial edicts. In Ireland, indeed, where the Roman arms had not penetrated, it continued to flourish down nearly to the middle of the fifth century, when it fell before the Christian enthusiasm and energy of St. Patrick. But even in Britain, the practice of the Druidical worship appears to have subsisted among the people long after the Druids, as an order of priesthood, were extinct. The annals of the sixth, seventh, and even of the eighth century, contain numerous edicts of emperors, and canons of councils, against the worship of the sun, the moon, mountains, rivers, lakes, and trees.³ There is even a law to the same effect of the English king Canute, in the eleventh century. Nor, as we have already more than once had occasion to remark, have some of the practices of the old superstition yet altogether ceased to be remembered in our popular sports, pastimes, and anniversary usages. The ceremonies of All-Hallowmass, the bonfires of May Day and Midsummer Eve, the virtues attributed to the mistletoe, and various other customs of the villages and country parts of England, Scotland, and Ireland, still speak to us of the days of Druidism, and evince that the impression of its grim ritual has not been wholly obliterated from the popular imagination, by the lapse of nearly twenty centuries.

On the settlement of the Romans in Britain, the established religion of the province of course became the same classic superstition which these conquerors of the world still maintained in all its ancient honours and pre-eminence in their native Italy, which was diffused alike through all the customs of their private life and the whole system of their state-economy, and which they

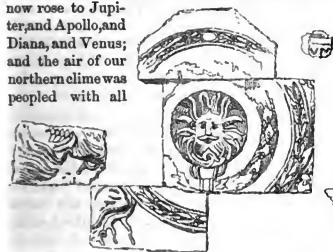
¹ *Indian Antiquities*, vol. vi. part i. p. 13.

² *Chalmers*, i. pp. 60-73. ³ *Pelloutier, Hist. des Celtes*, iii. 4.

carried with them, almost as a part of themselves, or at least as the very living spirit and sustaining power of their entire polity and civilization, into every foreign land that they colonized. In this far island, too, as in the elder homes of poetry and the arts,

"An age hath been when earth was proud
Of lustre too intense
To be sustained; and mortals bowed
The front in self-defence."

Beside the rude grandeur of Stonehenge, and surrounded by the gloom of the sacred groves, glittering temples, displaying all the grace and pomp of finished architecture,



REMAINS OF TEMPLE OF MINERVA, discovered at Bath in 1755, and preserved in Bath Museum.—Lyson's *Reliquiæ Romanæ*.

the bright dreams and visions of the mythology of Greece. A temple of Minerva, and probably other sacred edifices, appear to have adorned the city of Bath; London is supposed to have had its temple of Diana, occupying the same natural elevation which is now crowned by the magnificent cathedral of St. Paul's; and the foundations and other remains of similar monuments of the Roman paganism have been discovered in many of our other ancient towns. But perhaps no such material memorials are so well fitted to strike the imagination, and to convey a lively impression of this long past state of things, as the passage in the *Annals* of Tacitus, in which we find a string of prodigies recounted to have happened in different parts of the province of Britain, immediately before the insurrection of Boadicea, just as the same events might have taken place in Italy, or in Rome itself. First, in the town of Camalodunum, the image of the goddess Victory, without any apparent cause, suddenly falls from its place, and turns its face round, as if giving way to the enemy. Then females, seized with a sort of prophetic fury, would be heard mournfully calling out that destruction was at hand, their cries penetrating from the streets both into the *curia* or council-chamber, and into the theatre. A representation, in the air, of the colony laid in ruins, was seen near the mouth of the Thames,

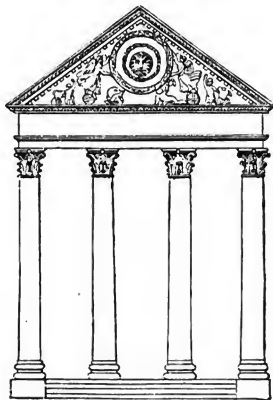
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while the sea assumed the colour of blood, and the receding tide seemed to leave behind it the phantoms of human carcases. The picture is completed by the mention of the temple, in which the Roman soldiery took refuge on the rushing into the city of their infuriated assailants—of the undefended state of the place, in which the elegance of the buildings had been more attended to than their strength—of another temple which had been raised in it to Claudius the Divine—and,



finally, of its crew of rapacious priests, who, under the pretence of religion, wasted every man's substance, and excited a deeper indignation in the breasts of the unhappy natives than all the other cruelties and oppressions to which they were subjected.

One result of the Roman invasion was the introduction into Britain of the Christian faith. But the obscurity which pervades the ecclesiastical records of the first century, and the unobtrusive silence with which the first steps of Christianity were made, involve this part of the religious history of Britain in much uncertainty. Some investigators have attributed the



RESTORATION BY SMIRKE OF PORTICO OF TEMPLE OF MINERVA, at Bath.—From Lyson's *Reliquiæ Romanæ*.

work of founding Christianity in Britain to St. Peter, to James the son of Zebedee, to Simon Ze-

lotes, and some to St. Paul himself. Others, again, have attributed it to such inferior personages as Aristobulus, who is incidentally mentioned by St. Paul, Joseph of Arimathea, and the disciples of Polycarp. Some of these accounts would imply that British Christianity is as old as the apostolic age; but all that can be regarded as well established is, that at a comparatively early period Christianity found its way into the British Islands. Before the close of the first century Christian refugees may have fled thither from the Continent to escape persecution, and Christian soldiers and civilians may have accompanied the invading armies. The destruction which had befallen the teachers of the old or Druidical religion, would facilitate the progress of Christianity, and the wars between the Romans and the natives allow it to go on unchecked. The monastic writers decorate their history of the first centuries of the British church with the legend of King Lucius, the son of Coilus, who, according to their account, was king of the whole island, was baptized, and became so earnest for the conversion of his people that he sent to Eleutherius, Bishop of Rome, for assistance in the important work. It is possible that, in this monkish legend, we see dimly shadowed forth some petty British king or chieftain, in vassalage to Rome, who, with the aid of Roman missionaries, effected the conversion of his tribe. In Tertullian's work against the Jews, written A.D. 209, he says that "even those places in Britain hitherto inaccessible to the Roman arms have been subdued by the gospel of Christ." This expression, however, may very possibly refer to Ireland, which was then accounted part of Britain.

During the Diocletian persecution, St. Alban, the first martyr of our island, perished, with many others whose names have not been recorded. Bede says this event took place in A.D. 286; but if it really happened in the great persecution under Diocletian, a date at least seventeen or eighteen years later must be assigned to it. In the year 314, Eborius, Bishop of York, Restitutinus, Bishop of London, and Adelphius, Bishop of Richborough, attended the council at Arles; and as three bishops formed the full representation of a province, it appears that Britain was thus placed on

an equality with the churches of Spain and Gaul. In the fourth century, according to Gildas, Arianism was very prevalent in our island; but, on the other hand, St. Jerome and St. Chrysostom frequently allude, in their writings, to the orthodoxy of the British Church. In the fifth century the opinions of Pelagius were zealously disseminated by his countrymen, Agricola and Celestius; and, says Bede, the British ecclesiastics, in great alarm, and unable to refute them, implored assistance from the bishops of Gaul. The latter sent two of their number, who arrived in Britain about the year 429, and completely silenced the Pelagians by their arguments. But the baffled Pelagians again raised their heads, and again, in 446, Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre, accompanied by Severus, Bishop of Treves, came to Britain, and this time not only silenced the Pelagians, but procured the banishment of their leaders from the island.

After the Christian church had been established, the same results were exhibited in Britain as in other countries; and while the Italian or Greek infused into the Christian faith the classical paganism of his fathers, the Briton leavened it with his ancestral Druidical superstitions.¹

It should appear that the order of monks soon became numerous, though they were obliged for a long time to procure their subsistence by manual labour. Even the British bishops, partly through the poverty of the country, and, perhaps, still more through the partial conversion of the people—many of whom still remained attached either to the Roman paganism or to the Druidical worship—were, and long continued to be, very poor. When the successor of Constantine offered to maintain the bishops of the West from the imperial revenues, only those of Britain acceded to the proposal, while the rest rejected it. The number of churches and houses of religion seems to be only matter of conjecture; but it is pretty certain that, even at the time when the Romans abandoned the island, many parts of it had never heard of the Christian gospel.

¹ Southey, *Book of the Church*.

CHAPTER IV.—HISTORY OF SOCIETY.

CÆSAR'S INVASION TO THE ARRIVAL OF THE SAXONS.—B.C. 55—A.D. 449.

Derivation of the names Albion and Britain—Cæsar's account of the island—Britain peopled by two distinct races—Cæsar's account of the inhabitants—Personal appearance of the Britons—Their painted skins—Strange marriage institutions of the Britons—Their habitations—Their handicraft ingenuity—Their war-chariots, baskets, furniture, dress, ornaments—Their means and modes of subsistence—Their form of government—Disunion of the tribes, and their mutual wars—Their towns and fortifications—Roman civilization, and its effect on the Britons.



CÆSAR'S own account of the island and its inhabitants, as given in his *Commentaries*, shows that he spent but a brief period in his British invasion, and thus its results were indecisive. It was not a conquest, but a mere hostile landing; and the account which he has given us of the ancient Britons was perhaps little more than he might easily have learned from the Gaulish traders, whom he consulted before he commenced the expedition. Still, his brief notices are valuable, characterized as they are by his wonted sagacity and power of observation, and also by their forming the first introduction of the British people into the records of accredited history.

In a former chapter we had occasion to notice the names, first, of Samothæa, and afterwards of Albion, by which the island was distinguished. We also adverted to the historical legends in which they are said to have originated. These sources, however, were unsatisfactory to our earliest antiquaries, who turned their inquiries to another source, and they have derived the name of Albion from *alb* or *albus*, signifying *white*, which is supposed to have been given to the island from the whiteness of its cliffs, as seen from the opposite coast of Gaul. That of BRITAIN, by which name the island was first known to the Romans, is still more doubtful in its origin; so that, while some of our antiquaries, at the head of whom is Camden, have derived it from *brit* or *brith* ("painted"), in allusion to the blue painted skins of the natives, others, with Carte, suppose it a corruption of a British word, *pryd-hain*, but of the true meaning of which they are uncertain.

From this unprofitable investigation about names, we gladly turn to the account of the island itself, as given by Julius Cæsar. "The inland part of Britain," he says in his *Commentaries*, "is inhabited by those who, according to the existing tradition, were the aborigines of the island; the sea-coast, by those who, for the sake

of plunder, or to make war, had crossed over from among the Belgæ, and who, in nearly every case, retain the names of their native states, from which they emigrated to this island, wherein they made war, and settled, and began to cultivate the ground." Taking this statement in connection with the whole tenor of antiquarian discovery among the earliest ages of Britain, we find that its first inhabitants were Celts, children of that large Asiatic family who emigrated during the primitive ages into Europe, and afterwards, under the names of Gauls and Cimbri, carried such terror into Italy and Greece, and secured so many fair European settlements, among which Britain was not the least important. In process of time, however, according to Cæsar's intimation, they had formidable rivals in the Belgæ, a Gothic race, located in Gaul, and renowned for their superior valour and activity, who, crossing the narrow sea, obtained possession of the south-eastern coast of Britain, and drove its Celtic population into the interior. In this way two distinct races, and one considerably superior to the other, as well as later in its arrival, are recognized as occupying the island at the commencement of the Roman invasion. Some additional information upon this important head might have thrown much light upon our primitive history, and explained those perplexing anomalies of civilization, combined with barbarism, which the ancient relics of our island present to the study of the antiquary. But Cæsar, although the most observant and intellectual of conquerors, was not the conqueror of Britain, and his hostile advance into it never appears to have exceeded eighty miles, commencing at the east coast of Kent, and terminating at the capital of Cassivellaunus, supposed to have been afterwards the ancient town of Verulam, in Hertfordshire. The tribes dignified with the name of nations, with whom he successively came in contact in his hasty inroad, were the people of Cantium, the Trinobantes, the Cenimagni, the Segontiaci, the Ancalites, the Bibraci, and the Cassi—clans sufficiently numerous

within so short a compass, and probably living in the old Celtic fashion, either of isolation or downright hostility; but the different localities they occupied is now a matter of mere conjecture. It is worthy of remark, also, that he has not mentioned the name of a single British town in the whole course of his expedition.

From this very limited account of the island, we pass to that which he has given of the inhabitants; and here his brevity is sufficiently characteristic of his limited knowledge of the subject. "The population," he says, "is very great, and the buildings very numerous, closely resembling those of the Gauls: the quantity of cattle is considerable. For money they use copper, or rings of iron of a certain weight. Tin is produced there in the midland districts, and iron near the sea-coast; but the quantity of this is small. The copper which they use is imported. There is timber of every kind that is found in Gaul, except beech and fir. They reckon it unlawful to eat the hare, the hen, and the goose. These animals, however, they breed for amusement. The country has a more temperate climate than Gaul, the cold being less intense." After several geographical statements, which are irrelevant to our purpose, Cæsar thus continues his account of the Britons:—"Of all the natives, those who inhabit Kent (*Cantium*)—a district the whole of which is near the coast—are by far the most civilized, and do not differ greatly in their customs from the Gauls. The inland people for the most part do not sow corn, but subsist on milk and flesh, and have clothing of skins. All the Britons, however, stain themselves with woad, which makes them of a blue tinge, and gives them a more formidable appearance in battle. They also wear their hair long, and shave every part of the body except the head and the upper lip. Every ten or twelve of them have their wives in common, especially brothers with brothers, and parents with children; but if any children are born, they are accounted the children of those by whom each virgin was first espoused."

Such is the brief account of Julius Cæsar concerning that strange people, of whom his own countrymen appear to have but vaguely heard, until he landed an army in the island, and overran part of it in two campaigns. So little interest, however, did the Romans feel about Britain, or so difficult had a conquest of it been reckoned, that an interval of nearly a century followed before another invasion was attempted. The superior opportunities for information which were then acquired by his successors, not only sufficed to give a general confirmation of his statements, but also materially to enlarge their amount.

The first circumstance that arrests our attention in these notices of the ancient Britons, is

their personal appearance. The physical qualifications of those rude warriors, who fought with the greatest of Roman conquerors, and who, of all his enemies, reduced him to the honours of a doubtful victory, could have been of no ordinary character. The strength and courage of these half-naked, scantily armed, mustachioed warriors, were well attested by the stout resistance they offered to the Roman legions. Their large correspondent stature is mentioned by Strabo, who tells us he had seen some British youths at Rome half a foot taller than the Gauls, who in turn were superior in height to the Romans. This writer adds, that they were not gracefully and strongly formed in proportion to their great stature, and that they did not stand very firmly upon their legs; but it must be remembered that these juvenile specimens were perhaps longer in attaining to full maturity than persons of a smaller size and warmer climate. As for their painted skins, with which the Britons endeavoured to dismay their enemies, the idea prevailed among the Romans of Cæsar's day, that this was nothing more than a mere painting or staining with the juice of woad—something, in-



Woad Plant, *Isatis tinctoria*.

deed, like the war-painting of the Red Indians when they prepare for fight or festival. But instead of this mere surface-colouring, which may be washed off at pleasure, we learn from several ancient Roman writers that it was a permanent tattooing, like that of the South Sea Islanders, which, once impressed, could never be eradicated. The process, they inform us, was effected in early youth, by

puncturing the skin with a sharp-pointed instrument, and squeezing out the juice of certain herbs upon the punctures, which were made to represent the forms of animals, and that these pictures, which assumed a blue colour, grew with the growth of the body, and descended with it to the grave. When the first steps of Roman civilization introduced a more abundant clothing, this rude fashion soon disappeared in South Britain, and was retained only in the still unconquered north, where it continued to form almost the only kind of dress and ornament, and whose inhabitants were therefore called *Picti* (or painted men) by their Romanized brethren of South Britain. In

this simple way we can easily account for the sudden disappearance of the Caledonians in history, which has so sorely puzzled our antiquaries: instead of being utterly exterminated, as has sometimes been supposed, they only reappear under the nickname of Picts. It is worth noticing, by the way, that in their practice of tattooing, and their adherence to the pastoral life, the ancient Britons closely resembled two classes of the most hopeful and energetic of our modern savages. These, it will at once be seen, are the inhabitants of the South Sea Islands and the Caffres of South Africa.

But what shall we say of that strange form of the marriage institution which Cæsar declares to have prevailed among the Britons? It appears so gross and revolting, and so opposed to that exclusive possession which forms the great principle of marriage, that modern writers have discarded the fact, by declaring such a state of society impossible. Polygamy, indeed, has prevailed almost since the world commenced, but in every case it has consisted of a plurality of wives, and not of husbands. Man, and not woman has always been the legislator, and he took care to frame the indulgence for his own especial benefit. Besides, could such a strong, healthy, and numerous race as the ancient Britons have been the produce of such promiscuous intercourse? It is also alleged that Cæsar, whose testimony is quoted as the authority for such a revolting fact, was but a short time in the island, and saw little of the natives, except in actual conflict. He may have seen them, indeed, dwelling by whole families under one roof, from the want of more abundant accommodation, and thus have hastily come to the conclusion that they also lived in common sexual intercourse. But to this it may be answered, on the other hand, that no such mistake was made about the ancient Germans, who also lived by whole families in a single habitation. Cæsar, too, is not the only authority for the statement, for it was repeated by Dio Cassius and St. Jerome, when Britain was fully known to the world at large. Unpalatable, therefore, though it be, it descends to us with all the stubbornness of an historical fact. And that the ideas of the Britons upon the subject of marriage in general differed from those of other nations, is attested by the old Roman writer, Solinus, when he describes the government of the western islands of Caledonia, afterwards called the Hebrides. Speaking of the sovereign, he states, "This prince is not even allowed to have a wife of his own; but he has free access to the wives of all his subjects, that, having no children which he knows to be his own, he may not be prompted to encroach on the privileges of his subjects, in order to aggrandize his family." Strange, also,

though these British marriages were, they scarcely exceeded in guilt or extravagance the marriage institutions which prevail among the Nairs of India. Perhaps the Asiatic origin of the Celtic race who finally settled in Britain, and the strange expedients of the earliest Eastern nations to make marital jealousy a feeling not worth entertaining, might account in some measure for these matrimonial usages of the Britons, and show that they were not wholly improbable. At all events, we may hope that, like the permission given to polygamy, they were only confined to the higher classes, and not participated by the people at large; and this, too, long before the entrance of Christianity into the island, when they utterly disappeared.

We have seen, in a former chapter, what kind of houses the Britons occupied on the arrival of Julius Cæsar. On that part of the sea-coast opposite Gaul, where intercourse with strangers had effected a higher civilization, the houses were like those of the Gauls, being poles set up in a circle, forming a sharp point at the top, with the interstices filled up with wattled work, and having neither window nor chimney; but far inferior to these were the common dwellings of the interior, which were little better than the holes of foxes. As for the ancient British towns, according to Cæsar they were nothing else than a cluster of these huts planted in the heart of a forest, guarded by a rampart of felled trees, and sometimes also by a *dun*, or fortress, composed of loose blocks of granite. As safety and the means of absolute subsistence were of more account at such a period than even domestic comfort, the principal British constructions of those days were the strongholds of princes, while those of the common people might be worn out in a year. Little better than this were the Border houses in Scotland, even so late as the fourteenth century.

In their handicraft operations these islanders showed considerable ingenuity. This was especially manifested in the construction of their *essedæ* or war-chariots, which must not only have been strong and well-poised, to encounter the rough fields over which they were driven at full speed, but also to have tasked much skill in the fabrication of the scythes with which they were armed, and the harness with which the horses were yoked. These chariots, indeed, the Britons appear to have derived from their remote Eastern ancestry, and such vehicles for the purposes of warfare occur in the earliest records of Sacred History, as well as in the poems of Homer. Even at a late period they were also occasionally used by the nations of Asia against the armies of the Roman republic, and were continued by the Britons the last of all, until they learned to imitate the military arts of their conquerors. The same ingenuity

indeed, might have constructed war-canoes equal to those of the New Zealanders, and made the Britons an adventurous maritime people; but, as we have already stated, they had that aversion for the sea which has characterized the whole Celtic race. Next to their war-chariots, the skill of the Britons was exerted in the various operations of basket-work, from the walls of a house and the sides of a coracle, down to the lightest utensil for household purposes. It was the same kind of ingenuity as that of the Caffres of South Africa, who form elegant vessels of grass, so closely plaited together as to hold milk and other liquids. The baskets of the Britons were so highly admired at Rome, that the Latin word *bascanda* is supposed to have been of British origin. From the earliest coins we also find that the houses of the Britons were furnished with stools, like the modern crickets; while the contents of the barrows attest that, even before the entrance of the Romans, they made various kinds of pottery, such as drinking cups, jars, and cinerary urns. In the article of clothing, although the Britons of the interior wore nothing but the skins of animals at the arrival of Julius Cæsar, yet it is certain that the inhabitants of the coast opposite Gaul, in consequence of their higher civilization, and intercourse with foreign traders, were better provided. Even before this period, it is evident that the checkered cloth and *bracæ* of the Gauls had found their way into the island, and been adopted by the wealthier inhabitants. With regard to personal



TORQUES, with manner of wearing it, from the sculpture on the monument of Vigna Anceidola.

ornaments, the principal one worn by the Britons was the torques, a chain composed of flexible bars twisted into the form of a rope, and clasped behind by a hook. In its highest state of improvement, it was composed of links elaborately carved and ornamented. These were badges of distinction for kings and chieftains, and, as such, were made of silver, and sometimes even of gold; but, in the absence of these metals, they were usually of bronze or iron. The Britons, also, as well as the Gauls, wore a ring on the middle finger. The ornaments of the females were still more numerous, as is attested by the remains found in bell-shaped barrows, which appear to have been chiefly

the burial-places of women. These ornaments consist of beads of granite, flint, and pebble; amber and bead necklaces; bronze pins, some of them with bone and ivory handles; and bracelets of ivory.¹ All this, however, was poor and rude enough, even at the best, and its nakedness must have been keenly felt when brought in contact with the wealth, grandeur, and taste of the Roman conquerors. It was natural, therefore, that Caractacus should have burst into the exclamation, while he was led a prisoner through the stately streets of Rome: "Alas! that those who inhabit such palaces should envy me a hut in Britain!"

The inhabitants of the island being so dependent upon their own native produce, subsisted upon the resources of agriculture, rearing of tame animals, and the chase, each pursuit being prosecuted according to the facilities of the particular district, or the advanced condition of the tribe that occupied it. In this way the inhabitants of the southern coast, and especially those of Cantium or Kent, were, like their brethren the Belgæ, addicted to agriculture; while the more inland tribes were chiefly shepherds, who were unacquainted with tillage, and lived upon the produce of their flocks and herds—or hunters, with whom the pursuit of game and wild beasts was more a necessity than an amusement. It is strange that to these three occupations fishing cannot be added, considering the plentiful supplies of food with which the rivers and coasts abounded; but Xiphilius informs us that none of the Britons ever tasted fish. Whether this abstinence arose from a religious prejudice, or from the general Celtic aversion to the sea, it is impossible to determine. We learn from Pliny, that in agriculture the people of the south coast manured the soil, not only with the usual appliances, but with marl, a practice confined to themselves and their neighbours the Gauls alone. He informs us, also, that of this marl, one kind, which was white and chalky, was so effectual for the purpose, that ground once manured with it would retain its productive qualities for eighty years, so that no man using this to a field needed to apply it twice during his lifetime. In the pastoral life each proprietor had the boundary of his land marked by a large upright stone, within which he confined his range; but the knowledge of his occupation was so limited, that the milk of his cattle was only useful for daily subsistence; for, according to Strabo, the Britons were unacquainted with the making of cheese. In the hunter's life the sacrilege of eating hares must have often been felt as a severe game-law, even though religion had enforced the prohibition. Such, also, may have been the case with the shepherd or the husbandman in his abstinence from the hen and the goose.

¹ See illustrations in vol. i. pp. 11, 12.

While such were the limited means of subsistence possessed by the inhabitants of the southern part of the island, it was still worse with those of the northern division. The tribes of the north, whom the earliest Roman historians comprised under the two classes of *Mæatæ*, or inhabitants of the lowlands, and *Caledonians*, or those of the great forest and highlands, because they resisted to the last the degradation of Roman conquest, were longest deprived of the advantages of Roman civilization. We find them, therefore, so late as the invasion of Severus, in the same condition as the southern Britons had been at the time of Cæsar's arrival—or even lower in the scale—in consequence of the greater sterility of the soil, that offered fewer temptations to the civilizing exertions of husbandry. We are informed that they had neither walls nor towns, but were a pastoral people, living in tents; and that they subsisted on milk and wild fruits, and such animals as they caught in hunting. But to a people so imperfectly armed, their chief articles of game, which must have been the deer, the wild bull, and the boar, were not always attainable; and Xiphilinus, as we have already stated, informs us that the chief resource of these northern hunters in such a strait, was to swallow a certain drug, about the size of a bean, by which their spirits were exhilarated, and the cravings of hunger deadened. When milk and wild fruits failed, we are also told by the same writer, that those who dwelt in the woods had recourse to roots and leaves. Even worse modes of subsistence appear to have been adopted in cases of desperate famine; for, on the testimony of St. Jerome, they are charged with actual cannibalism. He declares that in his youth, when he was in Gaul, he saw people of the *Attacotti*, one of the northern tribes, devouring human flesh; and he even specifies those particular parts of the body which these man-devourers held in highest account. All this would be incredible, did we not know that the same practice even yet prevails among the islands of the South Seas, and in a part of Sumatra, where the people are at least as civilized as the rudest tribes of the Britons of the north, while they had not their plea of urgent necessity.

Although little has been told us by the Roman writers of the form of government which was established in Britain, yet, from the fact of the people belonging to the Celtic race, we can easily conclude that it was the same patriarchal institution to which the Celts have invariably adhered, whatever might be the country in which they obtained a settlement. Politically, the Britons did not constitute a collective nation, but a congeries of tribes, each ruled by its own independent head. On this account, if the Belge of the southern coast had been a united people, they

might have anticipated the Saxon conquest, and obtained a complete predominance over the whole island. But, from Cæsar's account, it appears that these colonists still retained the names of the different peoples from whom they had sprung; and in all likelihood, therefore, were as much divided among themselves as were the rude tribes whom they dispossessed. Ptolemy, in his classification of the Britons, gives us not less than seventeen tribes for the south, and eighteen for the north part of the island, making thirty-five in all!—a comparatively easy conquest for Agricola, and afterwards for the successors of Hengist and Horsa. One wonders, indeed, that, from the difficulty of bringing so many independent and rival sovereigns together, they could in any case be united for a common resistance; but a common danger, which brings animals the most hostile to each other within a peaceful ring, until the danger is over-past, could combine several, or even the whole of the tribes against a dangerous foreign invasion, as was evinced in the one case by the army of Caractacus, and in the other by that of Cassivellaunus. But these unions were of such uncertain continuity that, when the tide of fortune turned, the one leader was betrayed and the other deserted. Of the amount of regal authority which these kings possessed over their subjects, and the specific manner in which it was exercised, the Roman historians have not informed us; all we can learn of this subject is, that the nobles or inferior chiefs had a controlling voice in every public movement; and that the authority of the Druids, when they were pleased to interpose it, was superior even to that of the sovereigns. They were the sacred Brahmins of Britain—the race who were sprung from the highest and holiest portion of that divine body, out of which all the other classes of society proceeded—and who, therefore, by virtue of their superior descent, could claim a paramount authority over both king and soldier. Here was a check upon the otherwise unlimited and irresponsible power of a Celtic chief, which was common to Britain alone—making the conclusion obvious, that the Druids had not originally been Celts, but strangers, of a higher and more civilized race, who had assumed the pre-eminence which knowledge unscrupulously exercised will always obtain over barbarism and ignorance. Of this Druidical supremacy, even in political matters, we are assured by Dio Chrysostom, who informs us that even a royal edict could not be carried into effect without the sanction of the Druids; and that the kings were nothing more than the servants and instruments of the priesthood.

Such a divided state of society as thus existed in Britain, at once suggests the idea of incessant strife and contention. Each tribe was a nation

in itself; every king had a rival in his neighbour; and where none of those obstacles interposed which keep hostile kingdoms apart, the wars of the Britons among each other must have been both rancorous and incessant. A boundary line, a pasture field, even a personal or family pique, would be enough, in the first instance, to set two tribes at variance, and afterwards to involve others in the contest. That such a state of internal warfare was common among the Britons, we may learn from the immense earthen ramparts that can still be traced in the island, of which that of Wansdyke is a specimen. As they seem to have extended for several miles, they were probably thrown up for the defence of a whole tribe against their neighbours—a sort of Chinese wall on a limited scale. The same state of insecurity is indicated by the remains of broad and deep covered ways, strongly embanked on either side, which served as lines of communication from one forest-town to another. Of these, the specimens that exist in Wiltshire attest not only the vast labour with which they were constructed, but the military skill and experience that had planned them. In warfare, indeed, the Britons showed that they were no tyros, by their resistance to Cæsar and his legions. This was evidently their chief department of knowledge, even as their war-chariots were the most ingenious of their fabrications. Strange, indeed, must have been the contrast between the miserable clusters of hovels in the heart of a wood, which constituted a British town—if we are to put faith in Roman authorities—and the array of armed warriors, and prancing steeds, and rattling chariots, that poured from it through the long, broad, covered way, to attack some rival town! And where were the Druids, the while, to prevent such terrible collisions? Being men of like passions with their worshippers, perhaps they sympathized in the feud. Or perhaps they were cautious of interposing against such outbursts, from the fear that their own ascendancy might be swept away in the popular storm.

Such were the Britons at the period of the Roman invasion. The sketch is not only narrow, but imperfect, owing to the very scanty information on the subject which the Roman writers have bequeathed to us. A new school of British antiquarianism has also lately risen to assert, that this scantiness is not the greatest defect in their statements—that they have been partial and one-sided, as well as careless and brief, in their accounts of Britain and its inhabitants. While they saw and announced the barbarism of the people, why were they so silent about those Cyclopean erections with which the island abounded, and those relics of a higher civilization which the graves still continue to yield up? It has been

thought, from these most substantial evidences of an early civilization, that the Britons were not such utter savages as they have been represented; and that they must have had science, and skill, and long-descended experience among them, as well as brute force, and the labour of countless hands. It has been alleged, also, that with the Druids for their schoolmasters, they must have learned a more comfortable style of life, and attained a higher style of intellectual culture, than have been attributed to them in Cæsar's *Commentaries*. It is unfortunate that these Druids have passed away and left no historians to record their deeds, except those who were their enemies and destroyers. If either the records of the past of our island can be more clearly deciphered, or the buried treasures of its antiquarianism more plentifully exhumed, it may be that we shall have a more favourable account of the Britons than can be found in Roman history. We may then also learn from what race and country the Druids came, at what time they arrived in Britain, what were their real qualifications and character; and whether such wattled, mud-built hovels as the Romans found at their arrival, had always stood in full neighbourhood with the stately erections of Stonehenge and Avebury.

Although the stay of Cæsar in Britain was so brief, and his two campaigns so indecisive of results, compared with his usual career of conquest, his visit was not without important consequences. It opened the island more completely to the knowledge of the world, and was attended with not only more frequent arrivals from Gaul, but even visits from Rome itself. The effect of such intercourse was that, even in the time of Augustus, the arts, the manners, and religion of Rome had obtained an entrance into the island. This we are told by Strabo, who also informs us of the increase of traffic that had already taken place in Britain; and while he mentions gold, silver, and iron, corn, dogs, cattle, and skins as its exports, the imports were ivory, bridles, gold chains, cups of amber, drinking glasses, and other similar articles. Then, too, the ring money of bronze and iron gave place to a regular coinage of the valuable metals, better fitted for foreign circulation; and of these, the mintage of Cunobelinus, usually stamped with a human effigy on the one side, and an animal or emblematic device on the other, gives ample indications of the commercial improvement that had taken place during the century which followed the invasion of Julius Cæsar. But that of Claudius succeeded, when the island was conquered and occupied as well as invaded, and when not only the style of British life and character, but the whole aspect of the country, were to assume a new physiognomy.

These changes, introduced by the establishment

of the Roman dominion, need only to be hastily glanced at, being of the same kind with those they impressed upon every conquered country, and the ineffaceable tokens of which are still distinctly marked over the whole map of Europe. The land of many tribes was reduced into a single province; and although native kings in some cases were allowed to retain their titles, it was only in subservience to the paramount rule of the Roman governor. Municipia or free towns were established, with the privileges of Roman citizenship; highways were constructed, that linked the scattered districts into a single country; and while Roman laws, courts of justice, temples, and academies took the place of Celtic legislation and Druidical training, the rich natural resources of the country—its lead, copper, and tin—its fertilizing marl and valuable chalk—its pearls, and even its oysters—its spirited horses, and fleet, staunch hunting-dogs—all were brought to their full perfection, introduced into the markets of Rome and the Continent, and converted into plentiful sources of commercial wealth, as well as motives to increased British immigration. It is in this way, perhaps, that we are to account for the discrepancies between the statements of Cæsar respecting the temporary forest villages of the Britons, and the numerous towns by which they were superseded in the days of Tacitus, 130 years afterwards. The energy and rapidity of Roman civilization, especially among a rude people, generally corresponded with the previous work of conquest. It was then, also, that the youths of Britain awoke as to a new life, and learned to despise the rude habits of their fathers: Roman dresses and ornaments were speedily adopted in lieu of sheep-skins or Gaulish tartan; and while

they attended the courts and theatres of the conquerors, they did their best to imitate—and even to ape when they could not imitate—the fashions of Rome itself, and the refinements that had newly issued from the imperial palace. Such we could easily imagine to have been the case, without turning for confirmation to the turgid and lugubrious pages of Gildas, in which he describes the change, and bewails the vices that had followed it.

It happened, unfortunately for the Britons, in this great transformation from their primitive state to the high artificial style of their conquerors, that the progress was not a gradual one. Had it been so, it would have laid a firmer hold upon the native character, and produced more vital results. We might then have had British orators, poets, and historians of these early ages, whose works would have been worth reading, as well as warriors and statesmen, whom history would have been proud to commemorate. But the change was effected so rapidly, that it seemed little else than an external show; it was a gay, superficial varnishing, rather than an internal and thorough permeation; a few years would have dimmed it, and a single storm effaced it for ever. For only three centuries this gay show continued; and what a brief period for a national history!—and when the Roman fell, the Briton could stand no longer. A woful picture of this helplessness was presented in the inability of the Britons to defend themselves from such enemies as the Scots and Picts, and their calling in the Saxons to their aid. It was, indeed, full time that a new people should enter upon the scene—that fresh elements should be introduced for the construction of a new national character!

BOOK II.

PERIOD FROM THE ARRIVAL OF THE SAXONS TO THE ARRIVAL OF THE NORMANS.—617 YEARS.

FROM A.D. 449—1066.

CHAPTER I.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.

THE ARRIVAL OF THE SAXONS TO THE UNION OF THE HEPTARCHY.—A.D. 449—525.

Origin of the Saxons—Their early history—Their arrival in Britain—Progress of their conquest of England—Fabulous history of King Arthur—The Heptarchy—The office of Bretwalda—Reigns of the successive Bretwaldas—Introduction of Christianity among the Anglo-Saxons—Wars of the Heptarchy—Reign of Offa—Of Egbert—England reduced into one kingdom.

OME etymologists have derived the word Saxon from the term *Seax*, a short sword, with which the warlike natives of the shores of the Baltic, the Elbe, the Weser, and the Rhine, are supposed, but on somewhat doubtful authority, to have been generally armed. It is much more probable, however, that the Saxons are the Sakai-Suna, or descendants of the Sakai, or Sacke, a tribe of Scythians, who are mentioned by ancient writers as making their way towards Europe from the East so early as in the age of Cyrus. Pliny tells of a branch of the Sacke who called themselves Sacassani; and Ptolemy designates another branch by the name Saxones, which seems to be merely another form of the same word. But whatever was the etymology of the name, it was certainly, at the time of the British invasion, applied, in a very general sense, to tribes or nations who were separate, and differing in some essentials, though they had most probably all sprung from the same stock at no very distant period, and still preserved the same physical features, the same manners and customs, and nearly, though not quite, the same unaltered language which, at the distance of fourteen cen-

turies, is the basis and staple of the idiom we speak. They were all of the pure Teutonic or Gothic race, and all their kings claimed their descent from Woden, or Odin, an ancient sovereign, magnified by veneration and superstition into a god, the traces of whose capital (real or traditional) are still shown to the traveller at Sigtuna, on the borders of the great Mälar Lake, between the old city of Upsala and Stockholm, the present capital of Sweden. Other tribes that issued both before and after the fifth century from that fruitful storehouse of nations, Scandinavia, were of the same Teutonic origin; and the Franks, the Danes, the Norwegians, the Norse or Northmen, and the most distinguished of the last-mentioned, those known throughout Europe under the name of Normans, were all of the same race, and commenced their career from the same regions, though differing subsequently, owing to the time and circumstances of their disseverance from the great northern stock, the direction in which their migrations and conquests had lain, and the character physical and moral, the habits, and the language of the people they had conquered, or among whom they had settled and been mixed.¹ It would neither be a profitable nor a very easy task to trace all these kindred streams to their primitive fountain-head, by the shores of the Caspian, in Asia, and

¹ "For successive generations the tribes, or even portions of tribes, may have moved from place to place, as the necessities of their circumstances demanded; names may have appeared, and vanished altogether from the scene; wars, seditions, conquests, the rise and fall of states, the solemn formation or dissolution of confederacies, may have filled the ages that intervened between the first settlement of the Teutons in Germany, and their appearance in history as dangerous to the quiet of Rome. The

heroic lays may possibly preserve some shadowy traces of these events; but of all the changes in detail we know nothing; we argue only that nations, possessing in so pre-eminent a degree as the Germans the principles, the arts, and institutions of civilization, must have passed through a long apprenticeship of action and suffering, and have learned in the rough school of practice the wisdom they embodied in their lives."—*Kemble's Saxons in England*, vol. i. p. 4

thence follow them back again to the coasts, promontories, and islands of the Baltic and the Rhine; but it is necessary to give a local habitation to the particular tribes that now began to work a total change in Britain.

Although classed under one general head, as Saxons, these tribes were three in number: 1. The Jutes. 2. The Angles. 3. The Saxons. The Jutes and the Angles dwelt in the Cimbric Chersonesus,



or peninsula of Jutland (now a province of Denmark), and in parts of Schleswig and Holstein, the territory of the Angles extending as far as the modern town of Flensburg. In Holstein there is a district still called Anglen (the real Old England); and the narrowness of its limits need not interfere with our belief that this was the seat of the tribe (the Angles) that gave its name to our island. The Saxons proper, to the south of the Jutes and Angles, were far more widely spread, extending from the Weser to the delta of the Rhine, and occupying the countries now called Westphalia, Friesland, Holland, and probably a part of Belgium. Their precise limits are not fixed, but it seems their gradual encroachments on the Continent had brought them from the Baltic to the neighbourhood of the British Channel, when they embraced, as it were, our south-eastern coast. From the very close resemblance the old

Frisick dialect bears to the Anglo-Saxon, a recent writer conjectures that the conquerors of Britain must have come principally from Friesland. But many known fluxes and refluxes of population took place between the fifth and the twelfth centuries; the Jutes and the Angles, whose language may have been as like that of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors as the old Frisick dialect, were partially dispossessed of their territory in the peninsula of Jutland, and mixed up with newer tribes from Scandinavia, who eventually formed the Danish kingdom, and must have influenced the dialect there, as afterwards in Schleswig and Holstein. On the other hand, the occupants of the remarkable district of Friesland, where language, manners, usages—where all things seem, even in our days, to retain an ancient and primitive stamp, may, from local situation or other causes, have escaped the intermixture that befell the other Saxons. It is generally admitted that Horsa, Hengist, and their followers, were Jutes, and that the tribe or nation they first called in to partake in the pay and spoils of the Britons were their neighbours the Angles, from Holstein, and not the Saxons, from Friesland, though the latter soon joined the enterprise, and probably derived some advantage from being nearer than the others to the scene of action.

When the conquests of the Romans, in the first century of our era, brought them into contact with the Saxons, they found them as brave as the Britons, but, like the latter people, unprovided with steel blades and the proper implements of war. During the three centuries, however, that had elapsed since then, in their wars with the Roman armies, and their friendly intercourse with the Roman colonies in Gaul and on the Rhine, they had been made fully sensible of their wants, and learned, in part, how to supply them. In their long-continued piratical excursions they had looked out for bright arms and well-wrought steel, as the most valuable article of plunder, and a constant accumulation must have left them well provided with that ruder metal, which commands gold. When they appeared in Britain, they certainly showed no want of good arms. Every warrior had his dagger, his spear, his battle-axe, and his sword, all of steel. In addition to these weapons, they had bows and arrows, and their champions frequently wielded a ponderous club, bound and spiked with iron, a sort of sledgehammer, a copy, possibly, from the Scandinavian type of Thor's "mighty hammer." These two

weapons, the battle-axe and the hammer, wielded by nervous arms, were the dread of their enemies, and constantly recurring images in the songs of

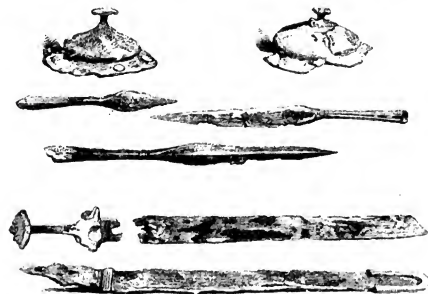
of their love of the sea, and of their great familiarity with it and its dangers. "Tempesta," says Sidonius, "which inspire fear in other men, fill them with joy; the storm is their protection when they are pressed by an enemy—their veil and cover when they meditate an attack." This love of a maritime life afterwards gained for some of the Northmen the title of Sea-kings. The passion was common to all the Saxons, and to the whole Teutonic race.²

Thus, supposing that the Britons retained the arms of the Roman legions—and there is no reason to doubt that they did, though the Roman discipline was lost—their new enemy was as well armed as themselves; while the Saxons had over them all the advantages of a much greater command of the sea,

and could constantly recruit their armies on the Continent, in the midst of their warlike brethren, bring them over in their ships, and land them at whatever point they chose.

At the period of their invasion of Britain, the Saxons were as rough and uncouth as any of the barbarian nations that overturned the Roman empire. Of civilization and the arts, they had only borrowed those parts which strengthen the arm in battle by means of steel and proper weapons, and facilitate the work of destruction. They were still pagans, professing a bloody faith, that made them hate or despise the Christian Britons. Revenge was a religious duty, and havoc and slaughter a delight to their savage tempers. Their enemies and victims who drew their portraits, darkened the shades; and the Saxons had, no doubt, some of those rude virtues which are generally attached to such a condition of society.

The obscurity that comes over the history of Britain with the departure of the Romans, cou-



SAXON SWORDS, SPEAR HEADS, AND BOOSES OF SHIELDS, all of iron.—Drawn by J. W. Archer, from examples in the British Museum.

their bards, who represent them as cleaving helmets and brains with blows that nothing could withstand. When their depredations first attracted the notice of the Romans, they ventured from the mouth of the Baltic and the Elbe in crazy little boats; and shoals of these canoes laid the coasts of Gaul, Britain, and other parts of the Empire under contribution. Though larger, the best of these vessels could scarcely have been better than the coracles of the British; they were flat-bottomed, their keels and ribs were of light timber, but the sides and upper works consisted only of wicker, with a covering of strong hides. In the fifth century, however, their chieues,¹ or war-ships, were long, strong, lofty, and capable of containing each a considerable number of men, with provision and other stores. If they had boldly trusted themselves to the stormy waves of the Baltic, the German Ocean, the British Channel, and the Bay of Biscay, in their frail embarkations, they would laugh at the tempest in such ships as these. All their contemporaries speak

¹ Hence our word *keel*.

² "Mengre, indeed, are the accounts which thus satisfied the most inquiring of our forefathers; yet, such as they are, they were received as the undoubted truth, and appealed to in later periods as the earliest authentic record of our race. The acuter criticism of an age less prone to believe, more skilful in the appreciation of evidence, and familiar with the fleeting forms of mythical and epical thought, sees in them only a confused mass of traditions, borrowed from the most heterogeneous sources, compacted rudely and with little ingenuity, and in which the smallest amount of historical truth is involved in a great deal of fable. Yet the truth which such traditions do nevertheless contain, yields to the alchemy of our days a golden harvest; if we cannot undoubtedly accept the details of such legends, they still point out to us at least the course we must pursue to discover the elements of fact upon which the Myths and Epos rest, and guide us to the period and locality where these took root and flourished."

—Kemble's *Saxons in England*, vol. i. p. 3.

"Possessing no written annals, and trusting to the poet the task of the historian, our forefathers have left but scanty records of their early condition. Nor did the supercilious or unsuspecting ignorance of Italy care to inquire into the mode of life and habits of the barbarians, until their strong arms threatened the civilization and the very existence of the Empire itself. Then first, dimly through the twilight in which the sun of Rome was to set for ever, loomed the Colossus of the German race, gigantic, terrible, inexplicable; and the vague attempt to define its awful features came too late to be fully successful. In Tacitus the City possessed, indeed, a thinker worthy of the exalted theme; but his sketch, though vigorous beyond expectation, is incomplete in many of its most material points; yet this is the most detailed and fullest account which we possess, and nearly the only certain source of information, till we arrive at the moment when the invading tribes in every portion of the Empire entered upon their great task of reconstructing society from its foundations."—Kemble's *Saxons in England*, vol. i. p. 5.

tinues to rest upon it for the two following centuries.¹ In the first instance, Hengist and Horsa appear to have fulfilled their part of the engagement upon which they had come over, by marching with the Jutes, their followers, against the Picts and Scots, and driving these invaders from the kingdom. Soon after this, if it occurred at all, must be placed the story of the feast given by Hengist, at his stronghold of Thong-caster, in Lincolnshire, to the British king, Vortigern, and of the bewitchment of the royal guest by the charms of Rowena, the young and beautiful daughter of his entertainer. Rowena's address, as she gracefully knelt and presented the wine-cup to the king, *Liever Kyning wass heal* (Dear king, your health), is often quoted as the origin of our still existing expressions, wassail and wassail-cup, in which, however, the word *wassail* might mean health-drinking, or pledging, although it had never been uttered by Rowena. But, as the story goes on, the action and the words of the Saxon maid finished the conquest over the heart of the king, which her beauty had begun; and, from that time, he rested not till he had obtained the consent of her father to make her his wife. The latest writer who has investigated the history of this period, sees no reason to doubt the story of Rowena, and has advanced many ingenious and plausible arguments in proof of its truth.² But, at any rate, it appears that, either from Vortigern's attachment thus secured, or from his gratitude for martial services rendered to him, or from an inability on his part to prevent it, the Jutes were allowed to fortify the Isle of Thanet, and to invite over fresh forces. The natural fertility and beauty of Britain, as well as its disorganization and weakness, must long have been

familiar to the pirates on the Continent; and as soon as they got a firm footing in the land, they conceived the notion of possessing at least a part of it, not as dependent allies or vassals, but as masters. The conquest of the whole was probably an after-thought, which did not suggest itself till many generations had passed away. The sword was soon drawn between the Britons and their Saxon guests, who thereupon allied themselves with their old friends the Scots and Picts, to oppose whom they had been invited by Vortigern. That unfortunate king is said to have been deposed, and his son Vortimer elected in his stead. A partial and uncertain league was now formed between the Roman faction and the Britons; and several battles were fought by their united forces against the Saxons. In one of these engagements Vortigern is said to have commanded the Britons. Then, after a time, the two nations, according to the story commonly told, agreed to terminate their contention; and a meeting was held, at which the chief personages of both were mixed together in festive enjoyment, when suddenly, Hengist, exclaiming to his Saxons, *Nimed eure seaxas* (Unsheath your swords), they pulled forth each a short sword or knife, which he had brought with him concealed in his hose, and slew all the Britons present, Vortigern only excepted. This story, too, has been treated as a fiction by most recent writers; but the same ingenious and accomplished inquirer who has vindicated the historic existence of Rowena, has also argued ably and powerfully in favour of the truth of this other ancient tradition.³ He thinks, however, that the Britons were the conspirators on this occasion, and that the Saxons only acted in self-defence. The bloody congress is conjectured to have taken

¹ This obscurity rests particularly over the history and fate of the cities of Britain. Of these, Lappenberg speaks thus:—"When the Romans abandoned Britain, it contained twenty-eight cities, besides a considerable number of castella, forts, and small communities. Among the first, we know of two municipia—York and Verulam; nine colonies—Camolodunum (Maldon or Colchester), Rhytupia (Richborough), Lendinium Augusta (London), Gloum Claudia (Gloucester), Thermæ Aquæ Solis (Bath), Isca Silurum (Caerleon, in Monmouthshire), Camberium (Chesterford, near Cambridge), Lindum (Lincoln), and Deva Colonia (Chester); also ten cities which had obtained the right of Latium—Pterotone (Inverness), Victoria (Perth), Durnomagus (Caister in Lincolnshire), Luguballa (Carlisle), Catteractone (Catterick), Cambodanum (Slack in Longwood), Cocium (Black-rode in Lancashire?), Theodosia (Dumbarton), Corinium (Cirencester), and Sorbiodunum (Old Sarum), the last colony to the south-west in the country of the free Damnonii. Volantium (Ellenborough in Cumberland), so rich in Roman remains, preserves an inscription, from which we learn that it had decurions, who assembled in a public building destined for the purpose. These cities, therefore, possessed a council (*decuriones, curiales, municipes*), with magistrates of their own choosing (*duumviri and principes*), and the right of contentious as well as of voluntary jurisdiction. To them was committed the levying of taxes in their districts; and it is known how the joint security of the civit decuriones became both a burden to themselves, and brought the greatest obloquy on their order. That these abuses

had also found their way into Britain, we learn from an ordinance of Constantine, for the remedying of the same in this country. Subsequently to the time of that emperor, the defensor, elected by the whole city, more especially against the oppressions of the governor, had become of consideration. The establishment of corporations at Rome, into which certain artisans and handicraftsmen were united, was extremely advantageous to them when they were removed into foreign provinces."—See *Lappenberg*, vol. i. p. 85.

² *Britannia after the Romans*, pp. 42, 62, &c.

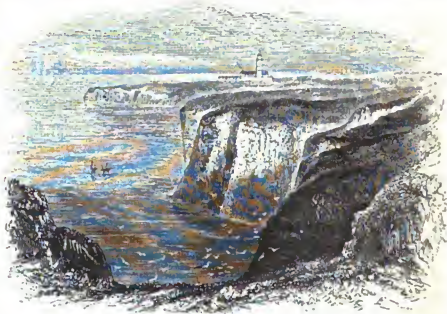
³ *Ibid.* "It strikes the inquirer at once with suspicion, when he finds the tales supposed peculiar to his own race and to this island shared by the Germanic population of other lands; and, with slight changes of locality, or trifling variations of detail, recorded as authentic parts of their history. The readiest belief in fortuitous resemblances and coincidences gives way before a number of instances, whose agreement defies all the calculations of chances. Thus, when we find Hengist and Horsa approaching the coasts of Kent in three keels, and Elli effecting a landing in Sussex with the same number, we are reminded of the Gothic tradition which carries a migration of Ostrogoths, Visigoths, and Epidi, also in three vessels, to the mouths of the Vistula, certainly a spot where we do not look for recurrence to a trivial calculation which so peculiarly characterizes the modes of thought of the Cymri. The murder of the British chieftains by Hengist is told *totidem verbis* by Widdikund and others of the old Saxons in Thuringia."—*Kemble's Saxons in England*, vol. i. p. 19.

place at Stonehenge, on a May Day. In the end, Eric, the son of Hengist, remained in possession of all Kent, and became the founder of the Kentish, or first Saxon kingdom, in our island.

The conquerors of "Cantwara Land," or Kent, seem to have been Jutes mixed with some Angles; but now the Saxons appeared as their immediate neighbours. In the year 477, Ella, the Saxon, with his three sons, and a formidable force, landed in the ancient territory of the Regni, now Sussex, at or near to Withering, in the Isle of Selsey. The Britons were defeated with great slaughter, and driven into the forest of Andreade or Andredswold.¹ According to the old writers, this forest was 120 miles long, and 30 broad; prodigious dimensions, which astonish us, although informed that, even at the evacuation of the country by the Romans, a considerable portion of the island was covered with primeval woods, forests, and marshes. Continuing to receive accessions of force, Ella defeated a confederacy of the British princes, became master of nearly all Sussex, and established there the second kingdom, called that of the *South Saxons*. Taking the coast-line, the invaders now occupied from the estuary of the Thames to the river Arun; and to obtain this short and narrow slip had cost them half a century of conflict. Cerdic, with another band of Saxons, extended the line westward, a few years after, as far as the river Avon, by conquering Hampshire and the Isle of Wight; when he founded *Wessex*, or the kingdom of the *West Saxons*. The country to the west of the Hampshire Avon remained for many years longer in possession of the Britons, who now yielded no ground without hard fighting.

The next important descent was to the north of the estuary of the Thames, where Ercenwine, about 527-9, took possession of the flats of Essex, with some of the contiguous country, and formed the state of the *East Saxons*. Other tribes carried their arms in this direction as far as the Stour, when there was a short pause, which was not one of peace, for the Britons, driven from the coasts, pressed them incessantly on the land side. About the year 547, Ida, at the head of a formidable host of Angles, landed at Flamborough Head, and leaving a long lapse on the coast between him and the East Saxons, proceeded to settle between the Tees and the Tyne, a wild country, which

now includes the county of Durham, but which was then abandoned to the beasts of the forest. This conquest obtained the name of the *Kingdom of Bernicia*. Other invaders, again, stepped in between the Tees and the Humber, but it cost them much time and blood before they could establish their southern frontier on the Humber. Their possessions were called the *Kingdom of Deira*. At the end of the sixth century, a general emigration seems to have taken place from Anglen, or Old England; and under chiefs that have not left so much as a doubtful name behind them, the Angles, in two great divisions, called the Southfolk and the Northfolk, rushed in between



FLAMBOROUGH HEAD.²—FROM A SKETCH BY G. BALMER.

the Stowe and the Great Ouse and Wash, and gave a lasting denomination to our two counties of Suffolk and Norfolk. Their conquest was called the *Kingdom of East Anglia*. The territory thus seized by the East Angles was almost insulated from the rest of the island by a succession (on its western side) of bogs, meres, and broad lakes, connected, for the most part, by numerous streams. Where these natural defences ended, the East Angles dug a deep ditch, and cast up a lofty rampart of earth. In the middle ages this was called the "Giants' Dyke," a name which was afterwards changed into the more popular denomination of the "Devil's Dyke." The marshes upon which it leaned have been drained, but the remarkable mound is still very perfect. The other Angles advanced from beyond the Humber, and fresh tribes pouring in from the

¹ This remarkable promontory, on the Yorkshire coast, is composed of chalk cliffs, extending about six miles, and rising in many parts to an elevation of 300 ft. perpendicularly from the sea. The bases of the cliffs are worn into extensive caverns. On the extreme point of the promontory, at a height of 214 ft. above sea-level, is a lighthouse with a revolving light, visible from a distance of thirty miles. These cliffs are frequented by immense numbers of sea-fowl.

² The forest or wold is also called Anderida.

peninsula of Jutland and Holstein, the territory now forming Lincolnshire, between the Wash and the Humber, was gradually but slowly conquered from the Britons, and the only lapse or chasm filled up, that existed in the Saxon line of coast, from the Hampshire Avon to the Northumbrian Tyne. This line was extended as far north as the Frith of Forth by the Angles of Bernicia and Deira, who were united under one sceptre about the year 617, and thenceforward were called *Northumbrians*.¹ All the western coast, from the Frith of Clyde to the Land's End, in Cornwall, and the southern coast, from the Land's End to the confines of Hampshire, remained unconquered by the Saxons. Such had been the security of Cornwall, and its indifference to the fate of the rest of the island, that, while the states of the south were falling one by one under the sword of the Saxon invaders, 12,000 armed Britons left its shore to take part in a foreign war. This curious event took place about the year 470, when Gaul was overrun by the Visigoths, and Anthemius, who reigned in Italy, was unable to protect his subjects north of the Alps. He purchased or otherwise procured the services of Riothamus, an independent British king, whose dominion included, besides Cornwall, parts of Devonshire. The Britons sailed up the river Loire, and established themselves in Berry, where, acting as oppressive and insolent conquerors, rather than as friends and allies, they so conducted themselves, that the people were rejoiced when they saw them cut to pieces or dispersed by the Visigoths.²

The breadth of the Saxon territories or their frontiers inland, were long uncertain and wavering, now advancing, and now receding, according to the fortune of war. Under the name of *Myrcenric*, Latinized *Mercia*,³ a branch of the Angles, penetrating into the heart of the island, founded a kingdom that extended over all the midland counties, from the Severn to the Humber, and that pressed on the borders of Wales. In this district, however, the population was not destroyed or expelled; the Britons lived mixed up, in about equal numbers, with the Saxons. The Mercian Angles, who at one period had spread to the south and east, until they reached the

Thames, and included London in their dominion, contributed most extensively to the conquest of the island, and formed a kingdom, which was one of the last of the Heptarchy to be overthrown or absorbed. During their power, the Mercians more than once followed the bold mountaineers of Wales, who maintained a constant hostility, right through their country to the shores of St. George's Channel and the Irish Sea; but they were never able to subdue that rugged land. The other Anglo-Saxons, who seized their dominions in the ninth and tenth centuries, were not more successful than the Mercians; and although, at a later day, some of its princes paid a trifling tribute, and the country was reduced to its present limits of Wales and Monmouthshire, Cambria was never conquered by the Saxons during the 600 years of their domination.⁴

The people of Strathclyde and Cumbria, which territories extended along the western coast, from the Frith of Clyde to the Mersey and the Dee, appear to have been almost as successful as the Welsh, and by the same means. Their disposition was fierce and warlike, their hatred to the Saxons inveterate, and, above all, their country was mountainous, and abounded with lakes, marshes, moors, and forests. Part of the territory of Strathclyde, moreover, was defended by a ditch and a rampart of earth. This work, which is popularly called the Catrail or the March Dykes, can still be traced from the Peel-fell, on the Borders, between Northumberland and Roxburghshire, to Galashiels, a little to the north of Melrose and the river Tweed, and near to Abbotsford.⁵ But lower down on the western coast the Saxon arms were more successful. Even there, however, the slowness of their progress denotes the sturdy resistance they met with. Nearly two centuries had elapsed since their landing at Thanet before they found their way into Dumnonia or Devonshire, which, together with Cornwall, appears to have remained in the occupation of a great undisturbed mass of British population. The king, Cadwallader, had resigned his earthly crown, and gone to Rome as a pilgrim, in search of a crown of glory; disinclined and disheartened, the nobles of the land fled beyond sea

¹ "The great extent of ground which the Angles occupied in Britain is quite sufficient to explain the statement of the old historians, that they had completely evacuated their native land, and left it uninhabited. From them, as the earliest settlers, and the most numerous, the island became known among foreign writers by the name of *Anglia* and *Anglorum Terra*; and among the Saxons themselves it was usually called *Engla-land* (England), and the language of its inhabitants *Englic* (English). The population of the Teutonic portion of the island is still known by no other name than that of Englishmen."—*The Celts, the Romans, and the Saxons*, p. 364. As the Anglian settlements in England were afterwards so completely conquered and occupied by the Danes, that Danish superseded English names of many important towns, and as the south of England was chiefly occu-

pled by Jutes and Saxons, it would seem that the Teutonic inhabitants of Scotland are now the purest English.—See *Palgrave*.

² *Jornandes*, c. xlv.; *Sidonius*, lib. iii. epist. 9.

³ "We are generally told that *Mercia* signifies the march or frontier—a signification peculiarly improper for a central country. *Myrcen-ric*, in the Anglo-Saxon, signifies the woodland kingdom, which agrees very closely with *Coitani*, the Latinized name of the old British inhabitants, signifying woodland men or foresters."—*Macpherson's Annals of Commerce*, i. 237.

⁴ A portion of Monmouthshire was, however, thoroughly conquered a short time before the Norman invasion, when the Saxons occupied the towns of Monmouth, Chepstow, Caerwent, and Caerleon.—*Coxo*, *Monmouthshire*.

⁵ *Gordon's Iter Septentrionale*; *Chalmers' Caledonia*.

to Armorica or Brittany, and, at the approach of the invaders, hardly any were left to oppose them except the peasantry. From the traditions of the country, and the signs of camps, trenches, and fields of battle spread over it, we should judge that the rustics made a vigorous defence.¹ They made a stand on the river Exe; but, being routed there, retreated to the right bank of the Tamar, abandoning all the fertile plains of Devonshire, but still hoping to maintain themselves in the hilly country of Cornwall. Defeat followed them to the Tamar and the country beyond it, upon which they, in A.D. 647, submitted to the Anglo-Saxons, who by this time may be called the English.

In this rapid and general sketch of the Saxon conquest, which, from the dates that have been given, will be perceived to have occupied altogether a space of nearly 200 years—of which above 100 were consumed even before the eastern and central parts of the island were subdued, and the last of the several new Saxon kingdoms established, a sufficient proof of the obstinate resistance of the Britons—we have omitted all details of the achievements of the British champions, not excepting even—

——— “what reounds
In fable or romance of Uther's son,”

as Milton has chosen to designate the history of the famous King Arthur. It seems impossible to arrive at any certainty with regard to the chronology or particular events of a period, the only accounts of which are so dark and confused, and so mixed up and overrun with the most palpable fictions. But as to Arthur, there appear to be the strongest reasons for suspecting that he was not a real but only a mythological personage, the chief divinity of that system of revived Druidism which appears to have arisen in the unconquered parts of the west of Britain after the departure of the Romans, the name being often used in the poetry of the bards as the hieroglyphical representative of the system. This is the most important of the subjects upon which new light has

been thrown by the researches of the author of *Britannia after the Romans*, and his elaborate and masterly examination of the question of Arthur certainly seems to go very near to settle the controversy. “The *Saxon Chronicle*,” he observes, upon the several probabilities of the case (the only part of his argument to which we can here advert), “does not suppress the names of islanders with whom the Saxons had to deal, but mentions those of Vortigern, Natanleod, Aidan, Brochval, Geraint, Constantine of Scots, and Cadwallon. Its author betrays no knowledge of Arthur's existence. The venerable Beda either never heard of it, or despised it as a fable.” Nor is it mentioned, he goes on to remark, either by Florence of Worcester or by Gildas. Yet, as he observes elsewhere, “the name of Arthur is so great, that if such a man ever reigned in Britain, he must have been a man as great as the circumscribed theatre of his actions could permit.” And again: “The Arthurian era was one in the course of which the British frontier receded, and Hants, Somerset, and other districts passed for ever into the hands of the invader. It is not by suffering a series of severe defeats that any Saxon or other man conquers provinces; it is done by gaining successive victories. If Arthur lived and fought, he did so with a preponderance of ill success, and with the loss of battles and of provinces. But exaggeration must be built upon homogeneous truth. For a Cornish prince to be renowned through all countries, and feigned a universal conqueror, he must really have been a hero in his own land, and a signal benefactor to it. No man was ever deified in song for being vanquished and losing half a kingdom. But the god of war would retain his rank in any case. . . . The god of war would keep his station and preside over valiant acts, whether the results of war were fortunate or not. But the disasters of the British, historically and geographically certain as they are, make it also clear that they were commanded by no king fit for their bards to canonize.”²

To bring the course of the invaders and the

¹ *Borlase*; Mrs. Bray's *Letters to Southey*.

² *Britannia after the Romans*, pp. 70-141. For a defence of the historic reality of Arthur, see Turner's *Anglo-Saxons*, i. 268-283.

“The glory of one of the last champions of Christendom against ferocious pagans was alluring to ingenious fabulists. The absence of authentic particulars set free their fancy; actions seen in so dim a twilight put on the size and shape which best pleased the poet; and the wonders of mythology, which always gradually withdraw before the advance of civilization, found a natural and last retreat in the most remote regions of Western Europe. To these circumstances, or to some of them, it may probably be ascribed that in a few centuries a Cornish or Welsh chieftain came to share the popularity of Charlemagne himself. The historical name of the great ruler of the Franks has, perhaps, borrowed a brighter lustre from the heroic legends with which it was long surrounded. In this country, on the contrary, a disposition has been shown to take revenge on the memory of Arthur for the credulity of our forefathers, by ungrate-

fully and unreasonably calling into question his existence.”—*Sir James Mackintosh*, vol. i. p. 26. “The authentic actions of Arthur have been so disfigured by the gorgeous additions of the minstrels and of Jeffrey, that many writers have denied that he ever lived; but this is an extreme as wild as the romances which occasioned it. His existence is testified by his contemporaries, whose genius has survived the ruin of twelve centuries; and the British bards are a body of men too illustrious for their personal merit and wonderful institution, to be discredited when they attest. . . . This state of moderate greatness suits the character in which the Welsh bards exhibit Arthur; they commemorate him, but it is not with that exalting glory with which he has been surrounded by subsequent traditions. . . . Yet, on perusing the British triads, we discern some traits which raise Arthur above the situation of a provincial chieftain. They give him three palaces; and the positions of these imply a sovereignty on the western part of the island, from Cornwall to Scotland.”—*Sh. Turner's Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons*, i. 228, 237.

permanent settlement of the Anglo-Saxons under one point of view, we have glanced from the middle of the fifth to the middle of the seventh century. We may now retrace our steps over part of that dark and utterly confused interval; but in doing so we shall not venture into the perplexing labyrinth presented by the more than half fabulous history of the Heptarchy, or seven separate and independent states or kingdoms of the Anglo-Saxons. Modern writers have assumed, that over these separate states there was always a lord paramount, a sort of Emperor of England, who might be, by inheritance or conquest, sometimes the king of one state and sometimes the king of another.¹ This ascendant monarch is called the *Britwaldas*, or *Bretwaldas*, a Saxon term, which signifies the wielder, or dominator, or ruler, of Brit (Britain).² According to Bede and the *Saxon Chronicle*, seven or eight of the Saxon princes in irregular succession bore this proud title; and perhaps it may be inferred from Bede's expressions that the other six kings of the island acknowledged themselves the vassals of the *Bretwaldas*. We are not thoroughly convinced of any such supremacy (even nominal), and in the real operations of war and government we continually find each state acting in an independent manner, as if separate from all the rest—a proof at least that the authority of the lord paramount was very limited or very uncertain. As, however, their whole history is uninteresting, and as it is easier to trace the reigns of the more marking monarchs than to enter into seven separate dynasties, we shall follow the modern example.

¹ Mr. Kemble utterly rejects the idea of there ever having been any such lord paramount:—"Much less," says he, "can we admit that there was any central political authority, recognized, systematic, and regulated, by which the several kingdoms were combined into a corporate body. There is, indeed, a theory, respectable for its antiquity, and reproduced by modern ignorance, according to which this important fact is assumed; and we are not only taught that the several kingdoms formed a confederation, at whose head, by election or otherwise, one of the princes was placed, with imperial power, but that this institution was derived by direct imitation from the custom of the Roman empire; we farther learn, that the title of this high functionary was *Bretwaldas*, or Emperor of Britain, and that he possessed the imperial decorations of the Roman state." This learned author, who considers the Roman part of the theory, as adopted by Palgrave, very well exploded by Lappenberg—though the latter gives far too much credence to the rest—then proceeds to refute what Rapin, Sh. Turner, and others have said on the subject, and sums up his own ideas upon it as follows:—"I therefore again conclude that this so-called *Bretwaldadom* was a mere accidental predominance; there is no peculiar function, duty, or privilege anywhere mentioned as appertaining to it; and when Bede describes Eadwin of Northumberland proceeding with the Roman *twis* or banner before him, as an ensign of dignity, he does so in terms which show that it was not, as Palgrave seems to imagine, an ensign of imperial authority used by all the *Bretwaldas*, but a peculiar and remarkable attestation of that particular prince."—*Saxons in England*, vol. ii. p. 18.

² The supposed universal empire held over Britain by particular Anglo-Saxon kings, in so far as it rests on the etymology of the word *Bretwaldas*, is overthrowed by Mr. Kemble, who shows—

ELLA, the conqueror of Sussex, and the founder, there, of the kingdom of the South Saxons—was the first *Bretwaldas*, and died, little noticed by the English chroniclers, about the year 510. After a long vacancy, CRAWLIN, King of Wessex, who began to reign about 568, stepped into the dignity, which, however, was contested with him, by ETHELBERT, the fourth King of Kent, who claimed it in right of his descent from Hengist, the brother of Horsa. The dispute led to hostilities; for long before the Anglo-Saxons had subdued all the Britons, they made fierce wars upon one another. The first example of this practice, which must have retarded their general progress in the subjugation of the island, was set by Ethelbert, who, after sustaining two signal defeats from his rival, and many other reverses, during the twenty-two years that Ceawlin reigned, acquired the dignity of *Bretwaldas* (A.D. 593) soon after that prince's death. Ceawlin, by the law of the sword, had taken possession of the kingdom of Sussex, and seems to have fought as often against his Saxon brethren as against the Britons.

The grand incident under the reign of this, the third *Bretwaldas*, was the conversion of himself and court by Augustine and forty monks, chiefly Italians, who were sent for that purpose into Britain, by Pope Gregory the Great. Ethelbert's change of religion was facilitated by the circumstance of his having espoused a Christian wife shortly before. This was the young and beautiful Bertha, sister or daughter of Charibert, King of Paris, to whom, by stipulation, he granted the free exercise of her religion when she came into

first, that that word, *Bretwaldas*, arises from a clerical error; and, secondly, that the right word has nothing to do with Britain at all.

"Let us now inquire," says he, "to what the passage in the *Saxon Chronicle* amounts, which has put so many of our historians upon a wrong track, by supplying them with the suspicious name *Bretwaldas*. Speaking of Egbert, the chronicler says: 'And the same year King Egbert overran the kingdom of the Mercians, and all that was south of the Humber; and he was the eighth king who was *Bretwaldas*.' And then, after naming the seven mentioned by Bede, and totally omitting all notice of the Mercian kings, he concludes: 'The eighth was Egbert, King of the West Saxons.'

"Now it is somewhat remarkable, that of six manuscripts in which this passage occurs, one only reads *Bretwaldas*; of the remaining five, four have *Bryten-walda* or *wealdas*, and one *Bretan-anweald*, which is precisely synonymous with *Bryten-wealdas*. All the rules of orderly criticism would, therefore, compel us to look upon this as the right reading; and we are confirmed in so doing, by finding that *Ethelstan*, in one of his charters, calls himself also 'Bryten-wealdas ealles theses ealondes'—ruler or monarch of all this island. Now, the true meaning of this word, which is compounded of *wealdas*, a ruler, and the adjective *bryten*, is totally unconnected with *Bret* or *Bretwaldas*, the name of the British aborigines, the resemblance to which is merely accidental; *bryten* is derived from *breden*, to distribute, to divide, to break into small portions, to disperse; it is a common prefix to words denoting wide or general dispersion, and, when coupled with *wealdas*, means no more than an extensive, powerful king—a king whose power is widely extended."—Kemble, *Anglo-Saxons*.

the island. Ethelbert's close connection with the more enlightened nations of the Continent, and his frequent intercourse with French, Roman, and Italian churchmen, who, ignorant as they were, were infinitely more civilized than the Saxons, proved highly beneficial to England; and in the code of laws which this prince published before his death, he is supposed to have been indebted to the suggestions and science of those foreigners, although the code has far more of the spirit of the old German lawgivers than of Justinian and the Roman juriconsults. This code was not octroyed, as from an absolute sovereign (a quality to which none of the Saxon princes ever attained), but was enacted by Ethelbert with the consent of the states of his kingdom of Kent, and formed the first written laws promulgated by any of the northern conquerors; the second being the code of the Burgundians, published a little later; and the third, that of the Longobardi or Lombards, which was promulgated in their dominions in the north of Italy, about half a century after Ethelbert's code. As King of Kent, Ethelbert's reign was a very long and happy one; as Bretwalda he exercised considerable authority or influence over all the Saxon princes south of the Humber. He died in 616, and was succeeded, as King of Kent, but not as Bretwalda, by his son Eadbald. The Anglo-Saxons at this period were very volatile and fickle in their faith, or very imperfectly converted to the Christian religion. Passionately enamoured of the youth and beauty of his step-mother, Ethelbert's widow, Eadbald took her to his bed; and as the Christians reprobated such incestuous marriages, he broke with them altogether, and returned to his priests of the old Teutonic idolatry. The whole Kentish people turned with him, forsook the missionaries and the churches, expelled the Christian bishop, and again set up the rude altars of the Scandinavian idols. Such a relapse as this was not uncommon among the recently converted heathen of other countries; but the sequel is curious, and makes our Saxon ancestors appear like a flock of sheep following the bell-wether. Laurentius, the successor of Augustine in the archbishopric of Canterbury, prevailed on Eadbald to put away his step-mother, and return to his fold; and no sooner had the king done so, than all his subjects returned with him, without murmur or disputation.

We have said that Eadbald did not succeed to the dignity of Bretwalda. It appears, however, he made a claim to it, and that the other princes refused their concurrence and obedience. The dignity of Bretwalda would seem, from this and other instances, not to have been obtained by regular and free election, but to have been conceded to him who showed himself ablest to maintain

his claim to it by the sword. The three first Bretwaldas, Ella, Ceawlin, and Ethelbert, were Saxons or Jutes; but now the dignity passed to the more powerful Angles, in the person of REDWALD, about the year 617. Redwald was King of East Anglia, and by profession a Christian, having been converted some years before by the Bretwalda Ethelbert. But his wife and people were attached to the old idolatry; and, yielding to their importunities, he re-opened the temples, taking care, however, to place a Christian altar by the side of the statue of Woden,¹ in doing which he no doubt hoped to conciliate both parties. During his reign the Scots, who had renewed hostilities in the north, were beaten by the now united and extended Saxon kingdom of Northumbria. At a later period Redwald himself was hostilely engaged with the Northumbrian king Edilfrid, who is said to have destroyed more Britons than all the other Saxon kings. The armies of the Saxon kings met on the banks of the river Idel, in Nottinghamshire, where victory, after a sanguinary engagement, rested on the crest of the Bretwalda. Edilfrid was slain.

EDWIN, the fifth Bretwalda, succeeded (about 621) both to the dignity of Redwald and the kingdom of Edilfrid; and so successful was he in his wars and his politics, that he raised Northumbria to a superiority over all the Saxon kingdoms, thus transferring the ascendancy from the south to the north of the island. After wavering some time between the old national faith of the Saxons and Christianity, Edwin was converted by the preaching of Paulinus, a Roman missionary, and the influence of his fair wife Edilberga, who was daughter of Ethelbert, the Bretwalda and King of Kent, and a Christian before she married Edwin. The happiest effects are asserted to have followed the conversion of the hitherto ferocious Northumbrians. Edwin added the Isles of Man and Anglesey to his Northumbrian dominions; and was so powerful, that all the Saxon kings acknowledged his authority, and paid him a kind of tribute. According to some accounts, he also maintained a supremacy over the Scots and Picts. In writing to him, in the year 625, the pope styles Edwin "Rex Anglorum"—King of the Angles, or English. In his person the dignity of Bretwalda had a significant and clear meaning; but he did not hold it very long. About the year 633, Penda, the Saxon Prince of Mercia, rebelled against his authority; and, forming an alliance with Ceawalla, or Cadwallader, the King of North Wales, he fought a great battle at Hatfield, or Heathfield, near the river Trent, in which Edwin was defeated and slain (A.D. 634). The alliance of one party of the Saxons with the Welsh, to fight

¹ Belds.

against another party of Saxons, is remarkable; but the case was often repeated. The confederate armies between them committed a horrible slaughter, sparing neither old men nor children, women nor monks. Cadwallader and the Welsh remained in the territory of the Northumbrians at York; but Penda marched into Norfolk, against the East Angles. This people had embraced the Christian faith some seven years before, at the earnest representations of the Bretwalda Edwin; and Sigebert, their old king, had lately renounced his crown to his cousin Egeric, and retired into a monastery. But at the approach of Penda and his pagan host the old soldier left his holy retirement, and directed the manœuvres of his army, with a white rod or wand, his religious scruples not permitting him to resume the sword and battle-axe. Penda was as successful here as he had been against the Christians of Northumbria, and both Sigebert and Egeric fell in battle. At this time a struggle for supremacy seems to have existed between the converted and unconverted Saxons; and Penda, as head of the latter, evidently aimed at possessing the full dignity of Bretwalda, as it had been exercised by Edwin of Northumbria. But the latter prince had laid a broad and sure basis, which enabled the Northumbrians to retain the advantage in their own country, and transmit the dignity to two members of his family.

In the year 634, OSWALD, the nephew of Edwin, raised his banner in Northumbria, where Cadwallader, after many successes, seemed to despise precaution. He and his Welsh were surprised near Hexham, and totally defeated by inferior numbers. On the part of the Anglo-Saxons the battle began with kneeling and prayers; it ended, on the part of the Welsh, in the death of Cadwallader, and in the annihilation of his army, which appears to have assumed the title of "the invincible."¹ Oswald being equally recognized by the two Northumbrian states of Bernicia and Deira, then regained all that his uncle Edwin had lost, and soon after most of the Saxons acknowledged him as Bretwalda. He attributed his success to the God he worshipped; and, to show his gratitude, he invited many monks to complete the conversion of the people of Northumbria. The donation of Lindisfarne, or Holy Island, and the splendid monastery that rose there,

testified to his munificence. Churches and monasteries sprung up in other parts of the north, and undoubtedly forwarded civilization, to a certain point, more than any other measures or establishments. Oswald, who repaired to the court of Cyneigils, the king of that country, to demand his daughter in marriage, took an active part in the conversion of Wessex; and when Cyneigils made a donation of land to Birinus, the Roman missionary and bishop, he confirmed it in his quality of Bretwalda.

As Bretwalda, Oswald exercised an authority over the Saxon nations and provinces fully equal to that of his uncle Edwin; and he is said, beside, although the fact is disputed, to have compelled the Pictish and Scottish kings to acknowledge themselves his vassals. Oswald was slain in battle (A.D. 642), like his uncle Edwin, and by the same enemy, the fierce and still unconverted Penda, King of Mercia, who was as desirous as ever of establishing his own supremacy. But the Northumbrians once more rallied round the family of the beloved Edwin, and on the retreat of the heathens from the well-defended rock of Bamborough, they enabled Oswald's brother, named Oswy, or Oswio, whose wife was the daughter of the great Edwin, to ascend the throne of his father-in-law. His succession, however, was not undisputed, nor did his murder of one of his competitors preserve the integrity of the Northumbrian kingdom. About the year 651 it was re-divided into its two ancient independent states; and whilst Oswy retained to himself Bernicia, the more northern half, Odelwald reigned in Deira, or the southern part. The disseverance was a fatal blow, from which Northumbria never recovered.

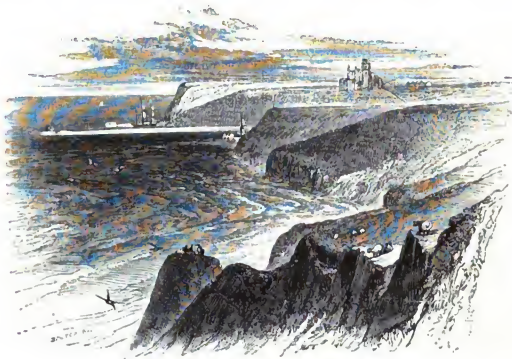
Oswy had soon to contend with the old enemy of his house, the slayer of his two predecessors. Penda, still anxious to obtain the dignity of Bretwalda, which, as on other occasions, seems to have been in abeyance for some years, after driving the Christian King of Wessex from his throne (A.D. 652), advanced once more, and this time with fire and sword, into Northumberland. Burning every house or hut he found in his way, this savage marched as far as Bamborough. Trembling at his recollections of the past, and his present danger, Oswy entreated for peace, which he at length obtained by means of rich presents, hostages, and an arrangement of inter-marriage. His second son was sent as a hostage to Penda's court. Alchfrid, his eldest son, espoused one of Penda's daughters, and shortly after Penda's son, Penda or Weda, married one of Oswy's daughters, the fair and Christian Alchfreda, who carried four priests in her train, and became instrumental in converting the people of Mercia.

But as long as Penda was alive in the land

¹ "In Cædwalla expired the last renowned hero of old British race; in fourteen pitched battles and sixty encounters he had revived and confirmed the military fame of his country, and acquired dominion over a considerable part of Lloegria (Lloegr). No wonder, then, if his life and death, though claiming a far higher degree of credibility than Arthur's, were soon surrounded by the glittering imagery of tradition, and that we are now unable to ascertain the truth, either in the apotheosis of his adoring countrymen, or in the vindictive narrative of the Anglo-Saxons."—*Leysenberry*, vol. i. p. 158.

there could be no lasting peace. Having desolated East Anglia (A.D. 654), he advanced once more against the Northumbrians, his army being swelled by the forces of thirty vassal kings or chieftains, Welsh or Cumbrians, as well as Saxons. This time gifts and offers were of no avail. Oswy was obliged to fight; and the hardest fought battle that had been seen for many years, took place between him and Penda not far from York. Here, at last, this scourge of Britain or England (for the first name is now scarcely appropriate) perished by that violent death he had caused so many princes, and thirty of his chief captains were slain with him. Another account

is, that of the thirty vassal kings or chiefs who followed him to the field, only one escaped, and that this one was the King of Gwynedh, a state in North Wales, which seems to have comprised Cardiganshire, part of Merionethshire, and all Carnarvonshire. Twelve abbeyes, with broad lands attached, showed the gratitude of Oswy for his unexpected victory; and, according to a custom which was now obtaining among all the northern conquerors, he dedicated an infant daughter to the service of God, and took her to the Lady of Hilda, who shortly after removed with her nuns from Hartlepool to the vale of Whitby, where there soon arose one of the most famed and splen-



WHITBY.¹—From Daniell's British Coast.

did monasteries of the middle ages. But all the proceedings of the victor were not of so pious or tranquil a nature. After Penda's death, Oswy rapidly overran the country of his old enemies the Mercians, on whom he inflicted a cruel vengeance. He attached all their territory north of the Trent to his Northumbrian kingdom; and Penda, his son-in-law, being treacherously murdered soon after (it is said by his own wife, who was Oswy's daughter), he seized the southern part of Mercia also. It was probably at this high tide of his fortune (A.D. 655) that Oswy assumed the rank of Bretwalda. The usual broad assertion is made, that the Picts and Scots, and the other natives of Britain, acknowledged his supremacy. There was soon, however, another Bretwalda; the first instance, we believe, of two such suns shining in our hemisphere.

In 656 the eoldermen or nobles of Mercia rose up in arms, expelled the Northumbrians, and gave the crown to WULFERE, another of Penda's sons, whom they had carefully concealed from the

eager search of Oswy. This Wulfere not only retained possession of Mercia, but extended his dominions by conquests in Wessex and the neighbouring countries; after which he became king of all the "australian regions," or Bretwalda in all those parts of the island that lie south of the Humber. About the same time, Oswy was further weakened by the ambition of his eldest son, Alchfrid, who demanded and obtained a part of Northumbria in independent sovereignty. The sickness called the yellow, or the yellera plague, afflicted Oswy and his enemies alike; for it began in the south, gradually extended to the north,

¹ Whitby is understood to have risen from the neighbourhood of an abbey, founded by Oswy, King of Northumberland, in 667. Both abbey and town were utterly destroyed by the Danes, and lay in ruins till after the Norman conquest, when the abbey was rebuilt, and a considerable fishing town was established. The ruins of Whitby Abbey overlook the sea at an elevation of 240 ft. The fine central tower fell in 1830; the existing vestiges consist of the choir, the north transept, which is nearly entire, and part of the west front. The town of Whitby is situated on both sides of the mouth of the river Esk. It has a good harbour, protected by piers.

and at length raged over the whole island, with the exception of the mountains of Caledonia. Among the earliest victims of this pestilence were kings, archbishops, bishops, monks, and nuns. As the plague now makes its appearance annually in some of the countries of the East, so did this yellow sickness break out in our island for twenty years. King Oswy, who is generally considered the last of the Bretwaldas, though others continue the title to Ethelbald, King of Mercia, died in 670, during the progress of this fearful disease, but not of it.

Although we here lose the convenient point of concentration afforded by the reigns of the Bretwaldas, it is at a point where the seven kingdoms of the Heptarchy had merged into three; for the weak states of Kent, Sussex, Essex, and East Anglia, were now reduced to a condition of vassalage by one or the other of their powerful neighbours; and the great game for supreme dominion remained in the hands of Northumbria, Mercia, and Wessex. We are also relieved from any necessity of detail. The preceding narrative will convey a sufficient notion of the wars the Anglo-Saxon states waged with one another; and as we approach the junction of the three great streams of Northumbria, Mercia, and Wessex, which were made to flow in one channel under Egbert, we shall notice only the important circumstances that led to that event.

Oswy was succeeded in the greater part of his Northumbrian dominions by his son EGRID, who was scarcely seated on that now tottering throne, when the Picts seated between the Tyne and the Forth broke into insurrection. With a strong body of cavalry, Egfrid defeated them in a bloody battle, and again reduced them to a doubtful obedience. Some eight years after, ambitious of obtaining all the power his father had once held, Egfrid invaded Mercia. A drawn battle was fought (A.D. 679) by the rival Saxons, on the banks of the Trent, and peace was then restored by means of a holy servant of the church; but it was beyond the bishop's power to restore the lives of the brave who had fallen, and whose loss sadly weakened both Mercia and Northumbria. In 685 Egfrid was slain in a war with Brude, the Pictish king; and the Scots and some of the northern Welsh joined the Picts, and carried their arms into England. In the exposed parts of Northumbria the Anglo-Saxons were put to the sword or reduced to slavery, and that kingdom became the scene of wretchedness and anarchy. In the course of a century fourteen kings ascended the throne, in a manner as irregular as their descent from it was rapid and tragical. Six were murdered by their kinsmen or other competitors, five were expelled by their subjects, two became monks, and one only died with the crown on his head.

Although exposed, like all the Anglo-Saxon states, to sanguinary revolutions in its government, Mercia, the old rival of Northumbria, for a considerable period seemed to rise on the decline of the latter, and to bid fair to be the victor of the three great states. After many hardly contested battles, the kings of Wessex were reduced to serve as vassals, and by the year 737, *ETHELBAID*, the Mercian king, ruled with a paramount authority over all the country south of the Humber, with the exception only of Wales. But five years after, the vassal state asserted its independence, and in a great battle at Burford, in Oxfordshire, victory declared for the Golden Dragon, the standard of Wessex. Between the years 757 and 794 the superiority of Mercia was successfully re-asserted by King Offa, who, after subduing parts of Sussex and Kent, invaded Oxfordshire, and took all that part of the kingdom of Wessex that lay on the left of the Thames. Then turning his arms against the Welsh, he drove the kings of Powis from Pengwern (now Shrewsbury) beyond the river Wye, and planted strong Saxon colonies between that river and the Severn. To secure these conquests, and protect his subjects from the inroads and forays of the Welsh, he resorted to means that bear quite a Roman character. He caused a ditch and rampart to be drawn all along the frontier of Wales (a line measuring 100 miles), beginning at Basingwerke, in Flintshire, not far from the mouth of the Dee, and ending on the Severn, near Bristol. There are extensive remains of the work, which the Welsh still call "Clawdh Offa," or Offa's Dyke. But the work was scarcely finished when the Welsh filled up part of the ditch, broke through the rampart, and slew many of Offa's soldiers while they were pleasantly engaged in celebrating Christmas. Offa the Terrible, as he was called, took a terrible vengeance. He met the mountaineers at Rhuddlan, and encountered them in a battle there, in which the King of North Wales, and the pride of the Welsh youth and nobility, were cut to pieces. The prisoners he took were condemned to the harshest condition of slavery. Master of the south, it is said that he now compelled the Northumbrians beyond the Humber to pay him tribute; but the year is not mentioned, and the fact is not very clear. Ten years of victory and conquest, say his monkish eulogists, neither elated him nor swelled him with pride; "yet," adds one of them, "he was not negligent of his regal state; for that, in regard of his great prerogative, and not of any pride, he first instituted and commanded that, even in times of peace, himself and his successors in the crown should, as they passed through any city, have *trumpeters going and sounding before them*, to show that the presence of the king should breed

both fear and honour in all who either see or hear him."¹ William of Malmesbury declares he is at a loss to determine whether the merits or crimes of this prince preponderated; but as Offa was a most munificent benefactor to the church, the monks in general (the only historians of these times) did not partake of this scruple, and praised him to excess. As a sovereign, however, Offa had indisputable and high merits, and the country made some progress under his reign and by his example. He had some taste for the elegancies of life and the fine arts; he built a palace at "Tamworth Town," which was the wonder of the age; and his medals and coins are of much better



BRASS COIN OF OFFA.—British Museum.

taste and workmanship than those of any other Saxon monarch.² He maintained an epistolary correspondence with Charlemagne; and it is highly interesting, and a consoling proof of progression, to see the trade of the nation and the commercial intercourse between England and France made a subject of discussion in these royal letters. When, towards the close of his reign, his body being racked with disease and his soul with a late remorse, he gave himself up to monkish devotion and superstitious observances, there was still a certain taste as well as grandeur in his expiatory donations, and a remarkable happiness of choice (though this is said to have been directed by the accidental discovery of a few bones) in his site for the abbey of St. Alban's, the most magnificent of all the ecclesiastical edifices he erected.³ According to some of the old writers, his last warlike exploit was the defeat of a body of Danish invaders; and it is generally allowed that, during the latter part of his reign, a few ships' crews, the precursors of those hordes that desolated England soon after, effected a landing on our coast, and did some mischief. On the death of Offa, after a long reign, in the year 795, the great power of Mercia, which his craft, valour, and fortune had built up, and which his energies alone had supported, began rapidly to decline; and as Northumbria continued in a hopeless condition,

Wessex, long the least of the three great rival states, soon had the field to herself.

At the time of Offa's death the throne of Wessex was occupied by Brihtric, or Beortric, whose right was considered very questionable even in those days, when the rule of succession was very far from being settled. Egbert, the son of Alchmund, had a better title, but fewer partizans; and, after a short and unsuccessful struggle for the crown, he fled for his life, and took refuge in the court of Offa, the Mercian. His triumphant rival, Beortric, then despatched ambassadors into Mercia, charged with the double duty of demanding the hand of Eadburgha, one of Offa's daughters, and the head of Egbert. Offa readily gave his daughter (he could hardly have given a greater curse), but he refused the second request. He, however, withdrew his protection from his royal guest, who fled a second time for his life. Egbert repaired to the court or camp of the Emperor Charlemagne, who received him hospitably, and employed him in his armies. During a residence of fourteen or fifteen years on the Continent, living chiefly among the French, who were then much more polished than the Saxons, Egbert acquired many accomplishments; and, whether as a soldier or statesman, he could not have found a better instructor than Charlemagne. Eadburgha, the daughter of Offa, and wife of Beortric, was a woman of a most depraved character—incontinent, wanton, perfidious, and cruel. When men thwarted her love, or otherwise gave her offence, she armed the uxorious king against them; and when he would not be moved to cruelty, she became the executioner of her own vengeance. She had prepared a cup of poison for a young nobleman who was her husband's favourite; by some inadvertence this was so disposed that the king drank of it as well as the intended victim, and died a horrid death (A.D. 800). According to another version of the story, she had filled the bowl expressly for the king, and many of his household and warriors were poisoned by it. The crime was discovered, and the queen degraded and expelled; the thanes and men of Wessex decreeing, at the same time, that for the future no kings' wives should be called queens, nor suffered to sit by their husbands' sides upon the throne. She also took refuge with Charlemagne, who assigned her a residence in a convent or abbey. But in process of time she began to conduct herself so viciously, that she was turned out of this place of shelter. Some years after her expulsion, a woman of foreign mien and faded beauty was seen begging alms in the streets of Pavia, in Italy; it was Eadburgha, the widow of the King of the West Saxons—the daughter of Offa, monarch of all England south of the Humber. It is believed she ended her days at Pavia.

¹ *The Ligger Book of St. Alban's*, as quoted in Speed's *Chronicles*.

² *Palgrave, Hist.*

³ The present venerable Abbey church of St. Alban's, which stands on the site of that erected by Offa, was built, three centuries later, by William Rufus. A considerable portion of the materials employed are Roman bricks or tiles, taken from the ruins of the ancient city of Verulamium, which stood in the neighbourhood, between St. Alban's and Gorhambury Park.

As soon as Egbert learned the death of Beorhtic, he returned from France to Wessex, when the thanes and the people received him with open arms. The first years of his reign were employed in establishing his authority over the inhabitants of Devonshire and Cornwall; but he had then to meet the hostility of the jealous Mercians, who invaded Wessex with all their forces. Egbert met them at Elyndome, or Ellandun, near Wilton, in Wiltshire, with an army very inferior in numbers, but in superior fighting condition; being, to use the expression of one of our old quaint chroniclers, "lean, meagre, pale, and long-breathed," whereas the Mercians were "fat, corpulent, and short-winded." He gained a complete victory, and was soon after enabled to attach Mercia and all its dependencies to his kingdom. He

established sub-reguli, or under-kings, in Kent and East Anglia; and not satisfied with the dominion of the island south of the Humber, he crossed that river, and penetrated into the heart of Northumbria. He invaded that once powerful state when anarchy was at its height. Incapable of resistance, the Northumbrians made an offer of entire submission (A.D. 825); and Eanred, their king, became the vassal and tributary of the great monarch of Wessex. It appears, however, that Egbert granted much milder terms of dependence to the Northumbrians than to any of the rest. Thus, in the first quarter of the ninth century, and 376 years after the first landing of Hengist and Horsa, was effected what some historians call the reduction of all the kingdoms under one sovereign.

CHAPTER II.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.

INVASION OF THE DANES TO THE DEATH OF ALFRED.—A.D. 825—901.

England invaded by the Danes—Reign of Ethelwulf—His wars with the Danes—His pilgrimage to Rome—Reigns of Ethelbald and Ethelbert—Their wars with the Danish invaders—History of the Danes—Their character at the period of their invasion of England—Their modes of invasion and warfare—Ethelbert succeeded by Alfred the Great—Alfred's early conflicts with the Danes—His attempts to create an English navy—His defeat and flight to Athelney—His victory over the Danes at Ethandune—His treaty with Guthrun, and assignment of the Danelagh to the enemy—Intercourse of Alfred with Asser, his biographer—Hasting invades England—Various conflicts of the three years' warfare between Alfred and Hasting—Hasting compelled to leave England—Alfred's navy—Review of Alfred's history and character—His education, studies, and acquirements—His proceedings as a sovereign and legislator—His death and character.



ALTHOUGH Egbert had now attained to paramount authority, he did not assume the title of King of England. He contented himself with the style of King of Wessex, and with the dignity and authority of Bretwalda. This authority was sometimes questioned or despised in more than one part of the kingdom; but, counting from the river Tweed to the shores of the British Channel and the extremity of Cornwall, there were none who could make head against him; and during the last ten years of his reign he possessed, or absolutely controlled, more territory, not only than any Saxon sovereign that preceded him, but than any that followed him. Even Wales, if not conquered, was at one time coerced and kept in a dependent state.

But no sooner had England made some approaches towards a union and consolidation, and the blessings of a regular government, than the Danes or Northmen appeared in force, and began to throw everything into confusion and horror.

In the year 832, when Egbert was in the plenitude of his power, a number of these ferocious pirates landed in the Isle of Sheppey, and having plundered it, escaped to their ships without loss or hinderance. The very next year the marauders landed from thirty-five ships, and were encountered by the brave and active Egbert at Charmouth, in Dorsetshire. The English were astonished at the ferocity and desperate valour of these new foes, who, though they lost great numbers, maintained their position for a while, and then made good their retreat to their ships. Indeed, some accounts state that Egbert's army was defeated in the engagement; that two chief captains and two bishops were slain; and that Egbert himself only escaped by the covert of night. In cruising along the English coasts, where they frequently landed in small bodies at defenceless places, the robbers of the North formed an acquaintance with the inhabitants of Cornwall, which ended in an ill-assorted alliance. The rugged promontory which stretches out to the Land's End had never been invaded by the Saxon coun-

querors of the island until the comparatively recent period of 647, and even then, as we have shown, the native population there was not much disturbed. As recently as 809, Egbert had invaded their territory, where he found them in such force and spirit that he lost many of his troops before he could reduce them to a nominal obedience. They must even now have been numerous and warlike, for on the stipulated landing in their territory of their Danish allies, in 834, they joined them in great force, and marched with them into Devonshire, where they found many old Britons equally willing to rise against the Saxons who had settled among them. But Egbert was again on the alert. He met them with his well-appointed army at Hengsdown-hill, and defeated them with enormous slaughter.

This was the last martial exploit of Egbert, who died in 836, after a long reign. The kingdom he had in a manner built up out of many pieces, began to fall asunder almost before his coffin was deposited in the church of Winchester. He was succeeded by his eldest surviving son, **ETHELWULF**, one of the first operations of whose government was to give the kingdom of Kent, with its dependencies, Sussex and Essex, in separate sovereignty to his son Athelstane.¹ He retained Wessex; but Mercia, which Egbert had subdued, again started into independence; and thus, when union was becoming more and more necessary, to face an enemy as terrible to the Saxons as the Saxons had been to the Britons, the spirit of disunion, jealousy, and discord assumed a fatal ascendancy.

The Scandinavian pirates soon found there was no longer an Egbert in the land. They ravaged all the southern coasts of the kingdoms of Wessex and Kent; they audaciously sailed up the Thames and the Medway; and stormed and pillaged London, Rochester, and Canterbury. The idea of the need of a common co-operation at last suggested itself, and a sort of congress, composed of the bishops and thanes of Wessex and Mercia, was held at Kingsbury, in Oxfordshire (A.D. 851). Some energetic, and for the most part successful measures followed these deliberations. **Barhulf**, King of Mercia, was defeated and slain; but **Ethelwulf** and his son **Ethelbald**, at the head of their men of Wessex, gained a complete victory over the Danes at Okeley, in Surrey, and achieved such a slaughter as those marauders had never before suffered in any of the several countries they had invaded. Soon after Athelstane, the King of Kent, with Alchere, the eolderman, defeated the pirates, and took nine of their ships at Sandwich. The west of England also contri-

buted a victory; for **Ceorl**, with the men of Devon, defeated the Danes at Wenbury. These severe checks, together with the disordered state of France, which favoured their incursions in that direction, where they soon laid Paris in ashes, seem to have induced the marauders to suspend for a while their great attacks on England; but such was the mischief they had done, and the apprehensions they still inspired, that the Wednesday of each week was appointed as a day of public prayer to implore the Divine assistance against the Danes. During the confusion their attacks caused in England, the Welsh many times descended from their mountains, and fell upon the Saxons. **Ethelwulf** is said to have taken vengeance for this, by marching through their country as far as the Isle of Anglesey, and compelling the Welsh to acknowledge his authority; but precisely the same stories are vaguely related (as this is) of several Saxon kings, who certainly never preserved any conquest or authority there for any length of time.

Ever since their conversion, the Saxons of superior condition had been singularly enamoured of journeys or pilgrimages to Rome; and besides the prelates who went upon business, many princes and kings, crowned, or uncrowned and dethroned, had told their orisons before the altar of St. Peter. **Ethelwulf**, whose devotion was fervent, though his sense of some moral duties was languid, now felt the general desire, and, as the island was tranquil, he passed over to the Continent (A.D. 853), and crossing the Alps and the Apennines, arrived at Rome, where he was honourably received, and where he tarried nearly one year. On his return, forgetting that he was an old man, he became enamoured of **Judith**, the fair and youthful daughter of **Charles the Bald**, King of the Franks, and espoused that princess with great solemnity in the cathedral of Rheims, where he placed her by his side, and caused her to be crowned as queen. **Athelstane**, his eldest son, was dead, but **Ethelwulf** had still three sons of man's estate—**Ethelbald**, **Ethelbert**, and **Ethelred**, besides **Alfred**, then a boy, who was destined to see his brothers ascend and descend the throne in rapid succession, and to become himself "the Great." From the usual thirst for power, it is probable that, before this French marriage, **Ethelbald**, who was already intrusted with the government of part of his father's kingdom, was anxious to possess himself of the whole; but the marriage and the circumstances attending it gave plausible grounds of complaint, and **Prince Ethelbald**, **Adelstane**, Bishop of Sherborn, **Enwulf**, Earl of Somerset, and the other thanes and men of Wessex that joined in a plot to dethrone the absent king, set forth in their manifesto that he had given the name and authority of Queen to his French

¹ **Ethelwulf** had been sub-regulus of Kent under his father, but then he was in reality subordinate to Egbert, who maintained full authority. It is not quite clear whether **Athelstane** was the eldest son or the brother of **Ethelwulf**.

wife, had seated her by his side on the throne, and "*openly eaten with her at the table*;" all which was against the constitution and laws of Wessex, which had for ever abolished the queenly dignity, in consequence of the crimes of Eadburgha. It is probable, also, that the favour shown to the boy Alfred had some share in Ethelbald's resentment. Ethelwulf had carried his favourite son with him to Rome, where the pope anointed him as king with holy oil, and with his own hands. It is more than likely that Alfred had always been destined by his father to fill a minor throne in the kingdom, but this act, and the wonderful estimation in which the oil of consecration was held in those days, especially when administered by the pontiff of the Christian world, may have induced his brothers to suspect that the Benjamin of the family was to be preferred to them all. A recent historian—an indefatigable searcher into the old chronicles and records of the kingdom—is of opinion that, though the fact is not mentioned in express terms in our ancient historians, Osburgha, his first wife, and the mother of his children, was not dead at the time, but merely put away by Ethelwulf to make room for Judith.¹ In spite of their devotion and zeal for the church, such proceedings were not uncommon among kings in the middle ages; but if Ethelwulf so acted, the undutifulness of his eldest son, who had a mother's wrongs to avenge, would appear the more excusable. Whatever were their motives and grievances, a formidable faction, in arms, opposed Ethelwulf when he returned to the island with his young bride. Yet the old king had many friends; his party gained strength after his arrival among them, and it was thought he might have expelled Ethelbald and his adherents. But the old man shrunk from the accumulated horrors of a civil war waged between father and son, and consented to a compromise, which, on his part, was attended with great sacrifices. Retaining to himself the eastern part of the kingdom of Wessex, he resigned all the western, which was considered the richer and better portion, to Ethelbald. Ethelwulf did not long survive this partition, dying in 857, in the twenty-first year of his reign.

ETHELBAHD then not only succeeded to the whole of his father's kingdom, but to his young widow also; for, according to the chroniclers, howsoever unwilling he had been that this fair queen should sit in state by his father's side, yet, contrary to all laws both of God and man, he placed her by his own, and by nuptial rites brought her to his sinful and incestuous bed. A tolerably well-grounded supposition that Judith was only

twelve years old when Ethelwulf married her, and that their marriage had never been consummated, may diminish our horror; but such a union could in no sense be tolerated by the Romish Church, which, by means of its bishops in England, at last gained Ethelbald's reluctant consent to a divorce. According to the old authorities, the marriage was only dissolved by his death, and priests and people generally attributed the shortness of his reign, which did not last two years, to the sinful marriage, which had drawn down God's vengeance. As she is connected by her posterity with many succeeding ages of our history, we must devote a few words to the rest of the checkered career of Judith. Either on her divorce, or at the death of Ethelbald, she retired to France, and lived some time in a convent at Senlis, a few miles to the north of Paris. From this convent she either eloped with, or was forcibly carried off by Baldwin, the grand forester of Ardennes. Her father, Charles the Bald, made his bishops excommunicate Baldwin for having ravished a widow; but the pope took a milder view of the case, and by his mediation the marriage of the still youthful Judith with her third husband was solemnized in a regular manner, and the earldom of Flanders was bestowed on Baldwin. Judith then lived in great state and magnificence; her son, the second Earl of Flanders, espoused Elfrida, the youngest daughter of our Alfred the Great, from whom, through five lineal descents, proceeded Maud, or Matilda, the wife of William the Conqueror, from whom again descended all the subsequent Kings of England.

Ethelbald was succeeded in the kingdom of Wessex by his brother ETHELBERT, who had a short reign, troubled beyond measure by the Danes, who now made inroads in almost every part of the island. He had the mortification to see them burn Winchester, his capital, and permanently establish themselves in the Isle of Thanet, which they made their nucleus, and the key of their conquests, just as the Saxons had done more than four centuries before. This king died in the year 866 or 867, and was succeeded by his brother ETHELRED, who, in the course of one year, had to fight nine pitched and murderous battles against the Danes. Whilst he was thus busied in resisting the invaders in the south and west parts of the island, the kings and chiefs of Mercia and Northumbria wholly withdrew from their covenanted subjection or alliance, and, only thinking of themselves, they gave no timely aid to one another or to the common cause. Thus left to their own resources, the men of Wessex maintained a doubtful struggle, at times losing, and at others gaining battles. According to the old writers, the destruction of the Danes was immense; and during the five or six years of Ethel-

¹ According to some of the chroniclers, the Queen Osburgha was alive twenty-seven years after Ethelwulf's marriage with Judith, and in 878 repaired to Athelney, in Somersetshire, the retreat of her son Alfred.

red's reign there were killed in the field nine earls or eorls, one king, "besides others of the meaner sort without number." But this loss was constantly supplied by fresh forces from the North, who brought as eager an appetite for plunder as their precursors, and whose vengeance became the more inflamed as the number of deaths of their brethren was increased. In most of these conflicts Alfred, who was already far more fitted to command, fought along with Ethelred, the last of his brothers; and at Aston or Ashenden, in Berkshire, while the king was engaged at his prayers, and would not move with his division of the Saxon army till mass was over, Alfred sustained the brunt of the whole Danish force, and mainly contributed to a splendid victory. The victory of Aston was followed by the defeats of Basing and Mereton; and, soon after, Ethelred died (871), at Whittingham, of wounds received in battle, upon which the crown fell to ALFRED, the only surviving and the best of all the sons of Ethelwulf. But, under existing circumstances, the crown was a jewel of no price, and for many years the hero had to fight for territory and for life against the formidable Danes.

The piratical hordes called Danes or Norsemen by the English, Normans by our neighbours the French, and Normanni by the Italians, were not merely natives of Denmark, properly so called, but belonged also to Norway, Sweden, and other countries spread round the Baltic Sea. They were offshoots of the great Scandinavian branch of the Teutons, who, under different names, conquered and recomposed most of the states of Europe on the downfall of the Roman empire. Such of the Scandinavian tribes as did not move to the South and the West to establish themselves permanently in fertile provinces, but remained in the barren and bleak regions of the North, devoted themselves to piracy as a profitable and honourable profession. The Saxons, then scattered along the south of the Baltic, did this in the fourth and fifth centuries, and now, in the ninth century, they were becoming the victims of their old system, carried into practice by their kindred, the Danes, Swedes, Norwegians, and others. All these people were of the same race as the Saxons, being an after-torrent from the same Scandinavian fountain-head; and though time, and a change of country and religion on the part of the Anglo-Saxons, had made some difference between them, the common resemblance in physical appearance, language, and other essentials, was still strong. It is indeed remarkable that the three different conquests of England, made in the course of six centuries, were all the work of one race of men, bearing different names at different epochs; for the Normans of the eleventh century were called Danes in the ninth,

and were of the same stock as the Danes and Saxons they subdued in England. A settlement of 200 years in France, and an intermixture with the people of that country, had wonderfully modified the Scandinavian character, but still the followers of William the Conqueror had a much greater affinity with the Danes and Anglo-Saxons than is generally imagined.

Hume and other historians are of opinion that the remorseless cruelties practised by Charlemagne from the year 772 to 803, upon the pagan Saxons settled on the Rhine and in Germany, were the cause of the fearful reaction and the confirmed idolatry of that people.¹ There can be little doubt that this was partly the case; and it is a well-established fact, that the Northmen or Normans made the imbecile posterity of Charlemagne pay dearly for their father's cruelty. Retreating from the arms, the priests, and the compulsory baptisms of this conqueror, many of these Saxons fixed their homes in the peninsula of Jutland, which had been nearly evacuated three centuries before by the Jutes and Angles, who went to conquer England. A mixed population, of which the Jutes formed the larger portion, had, however, grown up in the interval on that peninsula, and, as they were unconverted, they were inclined to give a friendly reception to brethren suffering in the cause of Woden. The next step was obvious; and in the reprisals made on the French coasts, which were ravaged long before those of England were touched, the men of Jutland were probably joined by many of their neighbours from the mouth of the Baltic, the islands of Seeland, Funen, and the islets of the Kattegat. All these might probably be called Danes; but there are reasons for believing that the invaders of our island, under Alfred and his predecessors, were chiefly Norwegians, and not Danes; and that the real Danish invasions, which ended in final conquest, were not commenced until nearly a century later. Our old chroniclers, who applied one general name to all, call Rollo "the Ganger," one of the most formidable of our invaders, a Dane, and yet it is well ascertained that he was a Norwegian nobleman. It is difficult, however, and not very important, to distinguish between two nations speaking the same language, and having the same manners and pursuits. All the maritime Scandinavian tribes, from Jutland to the head of the Baltic—from Copenhagen nearly to the North Cape—were pirates alike; and the fleet that sailed from the coasts of Norway would often be mixed with

¹ Charlemagne massacred the Saxons by thousands, even after they had laid down their arms. The alternative he offered was death or a Christian baptism. Those who renounced their old gods, or pretended to do so, he sent in colonies into the interior of France. Some were even hurried into Italy.

ships from Jutland and Denmark, and *vice versa*. Moreover, on certain great occasions, when their highest numerical force was required, the "Seakings," the leaders of these hordes, were known to make very extensive leagues.

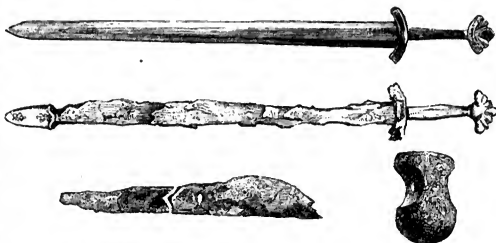
In their origin, the piratical associations of the Northmen partook somewhat of the nature of our privateering companies in war-time, but still more closely resembled the associations of the corsairs of the Barbary coast, who, crossing the Mediterranean, as the Danes and Norwegians did the German Ocean and the British Channel, for many ages plundered every Christian ship and

DANISH CHIUILE.¹

country they could approach. The governments at home, such as they were, licensed the depredations, and partook of the spoils, having, as it seems, a regularly fixed portion allotted them after every successful expedition. Like the Saxons we have described, the Danes, Norwegians, and all the Scandinavians, were familiar with the sea and its dangers, and expert mariners. Every family had its boat or its ship, and the younger sons of the noblest of the land had no other fortune than their swords and their chiuiles (keels). With these they fought their way to fame and fortune, or perished by the tempest or battle, which were both considered most honourable deaths. All

¹ This illustration, taken from the tombstone in Iona of Lachlan M'Kinnon, a descendant of a race of Norwegian kings in the Isle of Man, can only be regarded as an exaggerated type of the Scandinavian chiuile. It presents, however, this difference from the Roman galleys, characteristic of the vessels of the Northmen generally, of being sharp at both ends, and being propelled by a sail rigged upon a mast, placed nearly equidistant between the stem and the stern of the vessel. Instead, however, of a rudder inserted on the quarter at either end of the vessel, the figure before us has it placed as we use it in modern times. The coal-boats on the Tyne, called keels, are formed like the Danish chiuile.

the males were practised in the use of arms from their infancy, and the art of war was cultivated with more success than by any nation in Europe. The astonishing progress of the Danes (as they were called) in England, of the Normans in France, and later in Italy and Sicily, not only prove their physical vigour, their valour, and perseverance, but their military skill and address. Their religion and literature (for they had a literature at least as early as the eighth century) were subservient to the ruling passions for war and plunder; or, more properly speaking, they were both cast in the mould of those passions, and stamped with the deep impress of the national character. The blood of their enemies in war, and a rude hospitality, with a barbarous excess in drinking, were held to be the incense most acceptable to the god Woden, who himself had perhaps been nothing more than a mighty slayer and drinker. War and feasting were the constant themes of their scalds or bards; and what they called their history, which is mixed with fable to such a degree that the fragments remaining of it are seldom intelligible, recorded little else than piracy and bloodshed. Like their brethren the Saxons, they were not at one time very bigoted, or very intolerant to other modes of faith; but when they came to England, they were imbittered by recent persecution, and they treated the Saxons as renegadoes, who had for-



DANISH SWORDS AND AXE HEAD.—Drawn by H. G. Hine, from specimens in the British Museum.

saken the faith of their common ancestors to embrace that of their deadly enemies. This feeling was shown in their merciless attacks on priests, churches, monasteries, and convents.

With good steel arms the Danes were abundantly provided. Their weapons seem to have been much the same as those used by the Saxons at their invasion of the island, but the Scandinavian mace and battle-axe were still more conspicuous, particularly a double-bladed axe. "To shoot well with the bow" was also an indispensable qualification to a Danish warrior; and as

the Saxons had totally neglected archery, it should seem the English were indebted to the conquest, and intermixture with them of the Danes, for the high fame they afterwards enjoyed as bowmen. They had great skill in choosing and fortifying the positions they took up. Wherever a camp was established, a ditch was dug, and a rampart raised with extraordinary rapidity; and all the skill and bravery of the Saxons were generally baffled by these intrenchments. Their ships were large, and capable of containing many men; but in most of their expeditions they were attended by vessels drawing little water, that could easily run up the creeks and rivers of our island. Many of our rivers, however, must have been deeper in those times, for we constantly hear of their ascending such as would not now float the smallest embarkation. They frequently drew their vessels on shore, and having formed an intrenchment around them (as Cæsar had done with his invading fleet), they left part of their force to guard them, and then scattered themselves over the country to plunder and destroy. On many occasions they dragged their vessels overland from one river to another, or from one arm of the sea to another inlet.¹

If they met a superior force, they fled to their ships, and disappeared; for there was no dishonour in retreat, when they carried off the pillage they had made. They then suddenly appeared on some other distant or unprepared coast, and repeated the same manœuvres; thus, at length, as their numbers increased more and more, keeping every part of England in a constant state of alarm, and preventing the people of one country from marching to the assistance of those of another, lest in their absence their own district should be invaded, and their own families and property fall the victims of the marauders. The father and brothers of Alfred had established a sort of local district militia; but the same causes of self-interest and alarm continued, and it was seldom that a sufficient force could be concentrated on one point, in time to prevent the de-

predations of the pirates. On some occasions, however, these armed burghers and peasants, throwing themselves between the Danes and their ships, recovered their booty, and inflicted a fearful vengeance; quarter was rarely given to the defeated invaders. For a considerable time the Danes carefully avoided coming to any general engagement; for, like the Picts and Scots of old, their object was merely to make forays, and not conquests and settlements. Their success, with the weakness and divisions of England, gradually enlarged their views. They brought no horses with them; but as cavalry was necessary to scour the country, and an important component of an armed force, they seized and mounted all the horses they could catch; and as their operations extended inland, their first care was to provide themselves with those animals, for the procuring of which they would promise neutrality or an exemption from plunder, to the people or districts that furnished them. Thus, on one occasion, the men of East Anglia mounted the faithless robbers, who rushed upon the men of Mercia, vowing they would not injure the horse-lenders. But no promises or vows were regarded—no treaty was kept sacred by the Danes, who had always the ready excuse (when they thought fit to make one) that the peace or truce was broken by other bands, over whom those who made the treaty had no control. Thus, when the men of Kent resorted to the fatal expedient of offering money for their forbearance, the Danes concluded a treaty, took the gold, and, breaking from their permanent head-quarters in the Isle of Thanet, ravaged the whole of their country shortly after. The old writers continually call them "truce-breakers;" and the Danes well deserved the name.

We need not follow the gradual development of this sanguinary story, nor trace, step by step, how the Danes established themselves in the island. It will be enough to show their possessions and power on the accession of Alfred to the degraded throne. They held the Isle of Thanet,

¹ "The northern fleets and vessels, however dispersed in action, were always in communication with each other; so that the several hosts and bands might assist in their mutual exigencies, or best profit by their mutual good fortunes. In the British Islands, as well as on the Continent, their operations were uniform. Fleet after fleet, squadron after squadron, vessel after vessel, they sought to crush the country between river and river, or between river and sea, a battue encircling the prey.

"The littoral has sustained many alterations; cliff and beach, length and level, height and depth have changed and interchanged. Estimated according to a general average, we may assert that, bordering on the North Sea and the Channel, and as far as the Scheldt, the land has lost and the sea has gained. The bays on the coasts of France and England were generally much deeper than they are at present, and the rivers more abundant in water, whether flowing in the stream, spreading on the sheeted broad, or stagnating in the marsh. It is very important to notice these facts: such physical mutations, rarely recollected by historians, have been almost universally neglected

in historical geography, a branch of science yet imperfectly pursued. We have, for example, never seen a single map of Roman Britain whose delineator has not joined the Isle of Thanet to the Kentish land. On the Gaulish coasts, the tides, particularly in the Seine, rose much higher up than at present; and many of the existing peninsulas, which cause the river's sinuous course, increasing the landscape's beauty, were then not *presqu'îles*, but completely *eyots* and *islands*. The French academicians, who have investigated these questions with the most conscientious diligence, leave us in doubt whether the Isle d'Oiselle, a very important and celebrated military post during the northern invasions, has not been obliterated by alluvion.

"The facilities thus afforded for penetrating into the country encouraged the Northmen's desperate pertinacity; the seas, the blue billows, the *bolgen blau* of the Danish ballads, were their home. Beaten off from the Belgic or Neustrian coast, they would ply the oar, and hoist the black sail for Essex or Kent, East Anglia or Northumbria."—Palgrave, *Hist. Normandy and England*, vol. i. p. 320.

which gave them the command of the river Thames and the coasts of Kent and Essex; they had thoroughly overrun or conquered all Northumbria, from the Tweed to the Humber; they had planted strong colonies at York, which city, destroyed during the wars, they rebuilt. South of the Humber, with the exception of the Isle of Thanet, their iron grasp on the soil was less sure, but they had desolated Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, Cambridgeshire, Norfolk, and Suffolk; and, with numbers constantly increasing, they ranged through the whole length of the island, on this side of the Tweed, with the exception only of the western counties of England, and had established fortified camps between the Severn and the Thames. The Anglo-Saxon standard had been gradually retreating towards the south-western corner of our island, which includes Somersetshire, Devonshire, and Cornwall, and which was now about to become the scene of Alfred's most romantic adventures. For a while, the English expected the arrival of their foes during the spring and summer months, and their departure at the close of autumn; but now a Danish army had wintered seven years in the land, and there was no longer a hope of the blessing of their ever departing from it.

But Alfred, the saviour of his people, did not despair, even when worse times came: he calmly abode the storm over which his valour, but still more his prudence, skill, and wisdom finally triumphed. Though only twenty-three years of age, he had been already tried in many battles. He had scarcely been a month on the throne, when his army, very inferior in force to that of the Danes, was forced into a general engagement at Wilton. After fighting desperately through a great part of the day, the heathens fled; but seeing the fewness of those who pursued, they set themselves to battle again, and got the field. Alfred was absent at the time, and it is probable his army was guilty of some imprudence; but the Danes suffered so seriously in the battle of Wilton, that they were fain to conclude a peace with him, and evacuate his kingdom of Wessex, which they hardly touched again for three years. The invading army withdrew in the direction of London, in which city they passed the winter. In the following spring, having been joined in London by fresh hosts, both from Northumbria and from their own country, they marched into Lyndesey, or Lincolnshire, robbing and burning the towns and villages as they went, and reducing the people, whose lives they spared, to a complete state of slavery. From Lincolnshire they marched to Derbyshire, and wintered there at the town of Repton.

The next year (A.D. 875) one army, under Halfden, or Halfdene, was employed in settling Nor-

thumbria, and in waging war with that probably mixed population that still dwelt in Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Galloway, or what was called the kingdom of Strathclyde. They now came into hostile collision with the Scots, who were forced to retreat beyond the Friths of Clyde and Forth. Halfdene then divided the mass of the Northumbrian territory among his followers, who, settling among the Anglo-Saxons there, and intermarrying with them, became, in the course of a few generations, so mixed as to form almost one people. It is not easy, from the vagueness of the old writers, to fix limits; but this fusion was probably felt strongest along our north-eastern coast, between the Tees and the Tweed, where some Danish peculiarities are still detected among the people. While Halfdene was pursuing these measures in the north, a still stronger army, commanded by three kings, marched upon Cambridge, which they fortified and made their winter-quarters. By this time the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms of Northumbria, Mercia, and East Anglia, were entirely obliterated, and the contest lay between the Danes and Alfred's men of Wessex.

At the opening of the year 876, the host that had wintered in Cambridge took to their ships, and, resolving to carry the war they had renewed into the heart of Wessex, they landed on the coast of Dorsetshire, surprised the castle of Wareham, and scoured the neighbouring country. But in the interval of the truce, Alfred's mind had conceived an idea which may be looked upon as an embryo of the naval glory of England. After their establishment in our island, the Saxons, who, at their first coming, were as nautical a people as the Danes, imprudently neglected sea affairs; but in his present straits Alfred saw the advantages to be derived from the employment of ships along the coast, where they might either prevent the landing of an enemy, or cut off their supplies and reinforcements, which generally came by sea, and as frequently from the Continent as elsewhere. The first flotilla he launched was small, and almost contemptible; but in its very first encounter with the enemy it proved victorious, attacking a Danish squadron of seven ships, one of which was taken, the rest put to flight. This happened immediately after the surprise of Wareham; and when, in a few days, the Danes agreed to treat for peace, and evacuate the territory of Wessex, the consequences of the victory were magnified in the eyes of the people. In concluding this peace, after the Danish chiefs or kings had sworn by their golden bracelets—a most solemn form of oath with them—Alfred, who was not above all the superstitions of his age, insisted that they should swear upon the relics of some Christian saints.¹ The Danes swore by both, and

¹ *Aster*, 23.

the very next night fell upon Alfred as he was riding with a small force, and suspecting no mis-



GOLDEN BRACELET.—From Vallancey, Col. Reb. Heb.

chief, towards the town of Winchester. The king had a narrow escape; the horsemen who attended him were nearly all dismounted and slain; and, seizing their horses, the Danes galloped off in the direction of Exeter, whither, as they were no doubt informed, another body of their brethren were proceeding, having come round by sea, and landed at the mouth of the Exe. Their plan now was to take Alfred in the rear of his stronghold in the west of England, and to rouse again the people of Cornwall against the Saxons. A formidable Danish fleet sailed from the mouth of the Thames to reinforce the troops united in Devonshire; but Alfred's infant navy, strengthened by some new vessels, stood ready to intercept it. A storm which arose caused the wreck of half the Danish ships on the Hampshire coast; and when the others arrived, tardily and in a shattered condition, they were met by the Saxon fleet that blockaded the Exe, and entirely destroyed, after a gallant action. Before this, his second sea-victory, Alfred had come up with his land forces and invested Exeter, and King Guthrun, the Dane who held that town, on learning the destruction of his fleet, capitulated, gave hostages and oaths, and marched with his Northmen from Exeter and the kingdom of Wessex, into Mercia.

Alfred had now felt the value of the fleet he had created, and which, weak as it was, maintained his cause on the sea during the retreat to which he was now about to be condemned. The crews of these ships, however, must have been oddly constituted; for, not finding English mariners enough, he engaged a number of Friesland pirates, or rovers, to serve him. These men did their duty gallantly and faithfully. It is curious to reflect that they came from the same country which, ages before, had sent forth many of the Angles to the conquest of Britain; and they may have felt, even at that distance of time, a strong sympathy with the Anglo-Saxon adherents of Alfred. The reader has already weighed the

value of a Danish treaty of peace. Guthrun had no sooner retreated from Exeter than he began to prepare for another war, and this he did with great art, and by employing all his means and influence, for he had learned to appreciate the qualities of his enemy, and he was himself the most skilful, steady, and persevering of all the invaders. He fixed his head-quarters at no greater distance from Alfred than the city of Gloucester, around which he had broad and fertile lands to distribute among his warriors. His fortunate raven attracted the birds of rapine from every quarter; and when everything was ready for a fresh incursion into the west, he craftily proceeded in a new and unexpected manner. A winter campaign had hitherto been unknown among the Danes, but on the first day of January, 878, his choicest warriors received a secret order to meet him on horseback at an appointed place. Alfred was at Chippenham, a strong residence of the Wessex kings. It was the feast of the Epiphany, or Twelfth Night, and the Saxons were probably celebrating the festival when they heard that Guthrun and his Danes were at the gates. Surprised thus by the celerity of an overwhelming force, they could offer but an ineffectual resistance. Many were slain; the foe burst into Chippenham, and Alfred, escaping with a little band, retired, with an anxious mind, to the woods and the fastnesses of the moors. As the story is generally told, the king could not make head against the Danes, but other accounts state that he immediately fought several battles in rapid succession. We are inclined to the latter belief, which renders the broken spirits and despair of the men of Wessex more intelligible; but all are agreed in the facts that, not long after the Danes stole into Chippenham, they rode over the kingdom of Wessex, where no army was left to oppose them; that numbers of the population fled to the Isle of Wight and the opposite shores of the Continent, while those who remained tilled the soil for their hard taskmasters, the Danes, whom they tried to conciliate with presents and an abject submission. The brave men of Somerset alone retained some spirit, and continued, in the main, true to their king; but even in their country, where he finally sought a refuge, he was obliged to hide in fens and coverts, for fear of being betrayed to his powerful foe, Guthrun. Near the confluence of the rivers Thone and Parret there is a tract of country still called Athelney, or the Prince's Island. The waters of the little rivers now flow by corn-fields, pasture-land, a farm-house, and a cottage; but in the time of Alfred the whole tract was covered by a dense wood, the secluded haunt of deer, wild boars, wild goats, and other beasts of the forest. It has now long ceased to be an island; but in

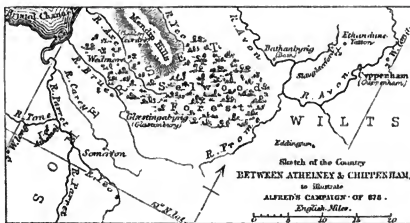
¹ This bracelet, presumed to be of the period spoken of, was found in Ireland; weight, 17 oz. 6 grs.

those days, where not washed by the two rivers, it was insulated by bogs and inundations, which could only be passed in a boat. In this secure lurking-place the king abode some time, making himself a small hold or fortress there. For sustenance he and his few followers depended upon hunting and fishing, and the spoil they could make by sudden and secret forays among the Danes. From an ambiguous expression of some of the old writers, we might believe he sometimes plundered his own subjects; and this is not altogether improbable, if we consider his pressing wants, and the necessity under which he lay of concealing who he was. This secret seems to have been most scrupulously kept by his few adherents, and to have been maintained on his own part with infinite patience and forbearance. A well-known story, endeared to us all by our earliest recollections, is told by his contemporary and bosom friend, the monk Asser; it is repeated by all the writers who lived near the time, and may safely be considered as authentic as it is interesting. In one of his excursions he took refuge in the humble cabin of a swineherd, where he stayed some time. On a certain day it happened that the wife of the swain prepared to bake her *loutas*, or loaves of bread. The king, sitting at the time near the hearth, was making ready his bow and arrows, when the shrew beheld her loaves burning. She ran hastily, and removed them, scolding the king for his shameful negligence, and exclaiming, "You man! you will not turn the bread you see burning, but you will be glad enough to eat it." "This unlucky woman," adds Asser, "little thought she was talking to the King Alfred."

From his all but inaccessible retreat in Athelney, the king maintained a correspondence with some of his faithful adherents. By degrees a few bold warriors gathered round him in that islet, which they more strongly fortified, as a point upon which to retreat in case of reverse; and between the Easter and Whitsuntide following his flight, Alfred saw hopes of his emerging from obscurity. The men of Somersetshire, Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, and Hampshire began to flock in; and, with a resolute force, Alfred was soon enabled to extend his operations against the Danes. In the interval, an important event in Devonshire had favoured his cause. Hubba, a Danish king or chief of great renown, in attempting to land there, was slain, with 800 or 900 of his followers, and their magical banner, a raven, which had been embroidered in one noon-tide by the hands of the

three daughters of the great Lodbroke, fell into the hands of the Saxons. Soon after receiving the welcome news at Athelney, the king determined to convert his skirmishes and loose partizan warfare into more decisive operations. Previously to this, however, he was anxious to know the precise force and condition of the army which Guthrun kept together; and, to obtain this information, he put himself in great jeopardy, trusting to his own resources and address. He assumed the habit of a wandering minstrel, or gleeman, and with his instruments of music in his hands, gained a ready entrance into the camp, and the tents and pavilions of the Danes. As he amused these idle warriors with songs and interludes, he espied all their sloth and negligence, heard much of their councils and plans, and was soon enabled to return to his friends at Athelney with a full and satisfactory account of the state and habits of that army. Then secret messengers were sent to all quarters, requesting the trusty men of Wessex to meet in arms at Egbert's Stone, on the east of Selwood Forest.¹ The summons was obeyed, though most knew not the king had sent it; and when Alfred appeared at the place of rendezvous he was received with enthusiastic joy, the men of Hampshire, and Dorset, and Wilts, rejoicing as if he had been risen from death to life. In the general battle of Ethandune which ensued (seven weeks after Easter), the Danes were taken by surprise, and thoroughly beaten. Alfred's concealment, counting from his flight from Chippenham, did not last above five months.

It is reasonably supposed that the present Yatton, about five miles from Chippenham, is the representative of Ethandune, or Assandune; but that the battle was fought a little lower on the Avon, at a place called "Slaughterford,"



where, according to a tradition of the country people, the Danes suffered a great slaughter. Guthrun retreated with the mournful residue of his army to a fortified position. Alfred followed him thither, cut off all his communications, and

¹ Asser, 33. The wood extended from Frome to Burham, and was probably much larger at one time.

established a close blockade. In fourteen days, famine obliged the Danes to accept the conditions offered by the Saxons. These conditions were liberal; for, though victorious, Alfred could not hope to drive the Danes by one, nay, nor by twenty battles, out of England. They were too numerous, and had secured themselves in too considerable a part of the island. The first points insisted upon in the treaty were, that Guthrun should evacuate all Wessex, and submit to be baptized.¹ Without a conversion to Christianity, Alfred thought it impossible to rely on the promises or oaths of the Danes; he saw that a change of religion would, more than anything else, detach them from their savage Scandinavian brethren across the seas; and as he was a devout man, with priests and monks for his counsellors, religion, no doubt, was as precious to him as policy, and he was moved with an ardent hope of propagating and extending the Christian faith. Upon Guthrun's ready acceptance of these two conditions, an extensive cession of territory was made to him and the Danes; and here the great mind of Alfred probably contemplated the gradual fusion of two people—the Saxons and the Danes—who differed in but few essentials; and foresaw that the pursuits of agriculture and industry, growing up among them, after a tranquil settlement, would win the rovers of the North from their old plundering, piratical habits. As soon as this took place, they would guard the coasts they formerly desolated. If it had even been in Alfred's power to expel them all (which it never was), he could have had no security against their prompt return and incessant attacks. There was territory enough, fertile, though neglected, to give away, without straitening the Saxons. In the most happy time of the Roman occupation, a great part of Britain was but thinly inhabited; and the famines, the pestilences, the almost incessant wars which had followed since then, had depopulated whole counties, and left immense tracts of land without hands to till them, or mouths to eat the produce they promised the agriculturist.²

Alfred thus drew the line of demarcation between him and the Danes:—"Let the bounds of

our dominion stretch to the river Thames, and from thence to the water of Lea, even unto the head of the same water; and thence straight unto Bedford; and finally, going along by the river Ouse, let them end at Watling-street." Beyond these lines, all the east side of the island, as far as the Humber, was surrendered to the Danes; and as they had established themselves in Northumbria, that territory was soon united, and the whole eastern country from the Tweed to the Thames, where it washes a part of Essex, took the name of the *Danelagh*, or "Dane-law," which it retained for many ages, even down to the time of the Norman conquest. The cession was large; but it should be remembered that Alfred, at the opening of his reign, was driven into the western corner of England, and that he now gained tranquil possession of five, or perhaps ten times more territory than he then possessed.³ In many respects, these his moderate measures answered the end he proposed. Soon after the conclusion of the treaty, Guthrun, relying on the good faith of the Saxons, went with only thirty of his chiefs to Aulre, near Athelney. His old but gallant and generous enemy, Alfred, answered for him at the baptismal font, and the Dane was christened under the Saxon name of Athelstan. The next week the ceremony was completed with great solemnity at the royal town of Wedmor, and after spending twelve days as the guest of Alfred, Guthrun departed (A.D. 878), loaded with presents, which the monk Asser says were *magnificent*. Whatever were his inward convictions, or the efficacy and sincerity of his conversion, the Danish prince was certainly captivated by the merits of his victor, and ever after continued the faithful friend and ally (if not vassal) of Alfred. The subjects under his rule in the Danelagh, or "Dane-law," assumed habits of industry and tranquillity, and gradually adopted the manners and customs of more civilized life. By mutual agreement, the laws of the Danes were assimilated to those of the Saxons; but the former long retained many of their old Scandinavian usages. All sales, whether of *men*, horses, or oxen, were declared illegal, unless the purchaser produced the voucher of the seller. This

¹ "We meet with nothing which can be construed into an indication of Alfred's having made this determination (to embrace Christianity) one of the conditions of peace. The first idea of such a thing, although it might not have been sincere, but merely suggested by the straits to which he was reduced, appears to have arisen in the soul of the heathen. He himself ruled over Christian subjects, who showed more courage for their religion than they did in war; and already, too, were the first signs of that so frequently recurring phenomenon apparent, namely, that the Christian religion generally triumphs, in the course of time, over the weapons of its oppressors."—Pauli, *Life of Alfred the Great*, p. 181.

² "The magnanimity of the plan was as great as its wisdom. Had Alfred suffered fear or revenge to have been his counsellors,

he would never have sheathed the exterminating sword till every Northman or every Saxon had perished. Common minds and vehement feelings would have chosen this alternative. But Alfred had the wisdom to discern and the virtue to believe, that the existence of his enemies was not incompatible with his own honour and his people's safety. He felt that the addition of Mercia was an increase of power, which placed him above any perilous assault, and he was contented to be secure."—Sh. Turner, *Hist. of Anglo-Saxons*, vol. ii. p. 209.

³ Mercia fell completely into the power of Alfred after the defeat of Guthrun. He abolished the regal honours of that state, and intrusted the military command of it to Ethelred, who was afterwards married to one of his daughters. Ethelred seems to have been merely styled the "Ealdorman of Mercia."

was to put a stop on both sides to the lifting of cattle, and the carrying off of the peasantry as slaves. Both kings engaged to promote the Christian religion, and to punish apostasy. We are not well informed as to the progress the faith made among his subjects on Guthrun's conversion; but it was probably rapid, though imperfect, and accompanied with a lingering affection for the divinities of the Scandinavian mythology.

It was about this time, or very soon after Alfred's breaking up from his retreat at Athelney, and gaining the victory of Ethandune, that, moved by the love of humane letters which distinguished him all his life, he invited Asser, esteemed the most learned man then in the island, to his court or camp, in order that he might profit by his instructive conversation. The monk of St. David's, who was not a Saxon, but descended from a Welsh family, obeyed the summons, and, according to his own account, he was introduced to the king at Dene, in Wiltshire, by the thanes who had been sent to fetch him. A familiar intercourse followed a most courteous reception, and then the king invited the monk to live constantly about his person. The vows of Asser, and his attachment to his monastery, where he had been nurtured and instructed, interfered with this arrangement; but, after some delays, it was agreed he should pass half his time in his monastery, and the rest of the year at court. Returning, at length, to Alfred, he found him at a place called Leonaford. He remained eight months constantly with him, conversing and reading with him all such books as the king possessed. On the Christmas Eve following, Alfred, in token of his high regard, gave the monk an abbey in Wiltshire, supposed to be at Amesbury, and another abbey at Banwell, in Somersetshire, together with a rich silk pall, and as much incense as a strong man could carry on his shoulders, assuring him, at the same time, that he considered these as small things for a man of so much merit, and that hereafter he should have greater. Asser was subsequently promoted to the bishopric of Sherburn, and thenceforward remained constantly with the king, enjoying his entire confidence and affection, and sharing in all his joys and sorrows. This rare friendship between a sovereign and subject continued unbroken till death; and when the grave closed over the great Alfred, the honourable testimony was read in his will, that Asser was a person in whom he had full confidence. To this singular connection Alfred and his subjects were, no doubt, indebted for some improvements in the royal mind, which wrought good alike for the king and for the people; and we, at the distance of nearly 1000 years, owe to it an endearing record of that monarch's personal character and habits.

But some time had yet to pass ere Alfred could give himself up to quiet enjoyments, to law-making, and the intellectual improvement of his people. Though Guthrun kept his contract, hosts of marauding Danes, who were not bound by it, continued to cross over from the Continent, and infest the shores and rivers of our island. In 879, the very year after Guthrun's treaty and baptism, a great army of pagans came from beyond the sea, and wintered at Fullanham, or Fulham, hard by the river Thames. From Fulham, this host proceeded to Ghent, in the Low Countries. At this period the Northmen alternated their attacks on England, and their attacks on Holland, Belgium, and East France, in a curious manner, the expedition beginning on one side of the British Channel and German Ocean, frequently ending on the other side. The rule of their conduct, however, seems to have been this—to persevere only against the weakest enemy. Thus, when they found France strong, they tried England; and when they found the force of England consolidated under Alfred, they turned off in the direction of France, or the neighbouring shores of the Continent. It is a melancholy fact, that England then benefited by the calamities of her neighbours. In the year 886, while the armies of the Northmen were fully employed in besieging or blockading the city of Paris, Alfred took that favourable opportunity to rebuild and fortify the city of London. Amongst other cities, we are told, it had been destroyed by fire, and the people killed; but he made it habitable again, and committed it to the care and custody of his son-in-law, Ethelred, Earl or Eolderman of the Mercians, to whom, before, he had given his daughter Ethelfleda. Each of the six years immediately preceding the rebuilding of London, he was engaged in hostilities; but he was generally fortunate by sea as well as by land, for he had increased his navy, and the care due to that truly national service. In the year 882 his fleet, still officered by Frieslanders, took four, and, three years after (in one fight), sixteen of the enemy's ships. In the latter year (885) he gained a decisive victory over a Danish host that had ascended the Medway, and were besieging Rochester, having built them a strong castle before the gates of that city. By suddenly falling on them, he took their tower with little loss, seized all the horses they had brought with them from France, recovered the greater part of their captives, and drove them to their ships, with which they returned to France in the utmost distress.

Alfred was now allowed some breathing time, which he wisely employed in strengthening his kingdom, and bettering the condition of his people. Instead, however, of tracing these things

strictly in their chronological order, it will add to the perspicuity of the narrative, if we follow at once the warlike events of his reign to their close.

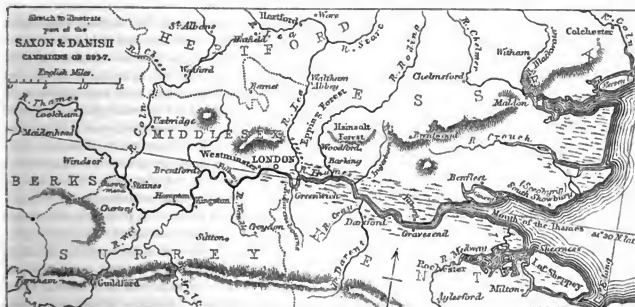
The siege of Paris, to which we have alluded, and which began in 886, employed the Danes or Northmen two whole years. Shortly after the heathens burst into the country now called Flanders, which was then a dependency of the Frankish or French kings, and were employed there for some time in a difficult and extensive warfare. A horrid famine ensued in those parts of the Continent, and made the hungry wolves look elsewhere for sustenance and prey. England had now revived, by a happy repose of seven years; her corn-fields had borne their plentiful crops; her pastures, no longer swept by the tempests of war, were well sprinkled with flocks and herds; and those good fatted beeves, which were always dear to the capacious stomachs of the Northmen, made the island a very land of promise to the imagination of the famished. It is true that of late years they had found those treasures were well defended, and that nothing was to be got under Alfred's present government without hard blows, and a desperate contest, at least doubtful in its issue. But hunger impelled them forward; they were a larger body than had ever made the attack at once; they were united under the command of a chief equal or superior in fame and military talent to any that had preceded him; and therefore the Danes, in the year 893, once more turned the prows of their vessels toward England. It was indeed a formidable fleet. As the men of Kent gazed seaward from their cliffs and downs, they saw the horizon darkened by it; as the winds and waves wafted it forward, they counted 250 several ships; and every ship was full of warriors and horses brought from Flanders and France, for the immediate mounting of them as a rapid, predatory cavalry. The invaders landed near Romney Marsh, at the eastern termination of the great wood or weald of Anderida (already mentioned in connection with an invasion of the Saxons), and at the mouth of a river, now dry, called Limine. They towed their ships four miles up the river towards the weald, and there mastered a fortress the peasants of the country were raising in the fens. They then proceeded to Apuldre, or Appledore, at which point they made a strongly fortified camp, whence they ravaged the adjacent country for many miles. Nearly simultaneously with these movements, the famed Haesten or Hasting, the skilful commander-in-chief of the entire expedition, entered the Thames with another division of eighty ships, landed at and took Milton, near Sittingbourne, and there threw up prodigiously strong intrenchments. Their past reverses had made them extremely cautious; and for nearly a

whole year, the Danes in either camp did little else than fortify their positions, and scour the country in foraging parties. Other piratical squadrons, however, kept hovering round our coasts, to distract attention and create alarm at many points at one and the same time. The honourable and trustworthy Guthrun had now been dead three years; and to complete the most critical position of Alfred, the Danes settled in the Danelagh, even from the Tweed to the Thames, violated their oaths, took up arms against him, and joined their marauding brethren under Hasting. It was in this campaign, or rather this succession of campaigns, which lasted altogether three years, that the military genius of the Anglo-Saxon monarch shone with its greatest lustre, and was brought into full play by the ability, the wonderful and eccentric rapidity, and the great resources of his opponent Hasting. To follow their operations the reader must place the map of England before him, for they ran over half of the island, and shifted the scene of war with almost as much rapidity as that with which the decorations of a theatre are changed.

The first great difficulty Alfred had to encounter was in collecting and bringing up sufficient forces to one point, and then in keeping them in adequate number in the field; for the Saxon "fyrd," or *levée en masse*, were only bound by law to serve for a certain time (probably forty days), and it was indispensable to provide for the safety of the towns, almost everywhere threatened, and to leave men sufficient for the cultivation of the country. Alfred overcame this difficulty by dividing his army, or militia, into two bodies; of these he called one to the field, while the men composing the other were left at home. After a reasonable length of service those in the field returned to their homes, and those left at home took their places in the field. The spectacle of this large and permanent army, to which they had been wholly unaccustomed, struck Hasting and his confederates with astonishment and dismay. Nor did the position the English king took up with it give them much ground for comfort. Advancing into Kent, he threw himself between Hasting and the other division of the Danes: a forest on one side, and swamps and deep waters on the other, protected his flanks, and he made the front and rear of his position so strong that the Danes dared not look at them. He thus kept asunder the two armies of the Northmen, watching the motions of both, being always ready to attack either, should it quit its intrenchments; and so active were the patrols and troops he threw out in small bodies, and so good the spirit of the villagers and town-folk, cheered by the presence and wise dispositions of the sovereign, that in a short time not

a single foraging party could issue from the Danish camp without almost certain destruction. Worn out in body and spirit, the Northmen resolved to break up from their camps, and, to deceive the king as to their intentions, they sent submissive messages and hostages, and promised to leave the kingdom. Hasting took to his shipping, and actually made sail, as if to leave the well-defended island; but while the eyes of the Saxons were fixed on his departure, the other division, in Alfred's rear, rushed suddenly from their intrenchments into the interior of the country, in order to seek a ford across the Thames, by which they hoped to be enabled to get into Essex, where the rebel Danes that had been ruled by Guthrun would give them a friendly reception, and where they knew they should meet Hasting and his division, who, instead of putting to sea, merely crossed the Thames, and took up a strong position at Benfleet, on the Essex coast. Alfred had not ships to pursue

those who moved by water; but those who marched by land he followed up closely, and brought them to action on the right bank of the Thames, near Farnham, in Surrey. The Danes were thoroughly defeated. Those who escaped the sword and drowning marched along the left bank of the Thames, through Middlesex, into Essex; but being hotly pursued by Alfred, they were driven right through Essex, and across the river Coln, when they found a strong place of refuge in the Isle of Mersey. Here, however, they were closely blockaded, and soon obliged to sue for peace, promising hostages, as usual, and an immediate departure from England. Alfred would have had this enemy in his hand through sheer starvation, but the genius of Hasting, and the defection of the Northmen of the Danelagh, called him to a distant part of the island. Two fleets, one of 100 sail, the second of forty, and both in good part manned by the Danes who had been so long, and for the last fifteen years so



peacefully settled in England, set sail to attack in two points, and make a formidable diversion. The first of these, which had probably been equipped in Norfolk¹ and Suffolk, doubled the North Foreland, ran down the southern coast as far as Devonshire, and laid siege to Exeter: the smaller fleet, which had been fitted out in Northumbria, and probably sailed from the mouth of the Tyne, took the passage round Scotland, ran

down all the western coast, from Cape Wrath to the Bristol Channel, and, ascending that arm of the sea, beleaguered a fortified town to the north of the Severn. Though Alfred had established friendly relations with the people of the west of England, who seem on many occasions to have served him with as much ardour as his Saxon subjects, he still felt that Devonshire was a vulnerable part. Leaving, therefore, a portion of his

¹ That Norfolk was now peopled by the Normans, under the name of Danes, may be inferred from its having the same reputation for producing litigants and lawyers that Normandy has in France, although Camden, oddly enough, attributes this to the goodness of the soil, which he admits to be very various. "The soil," says he, "is different, according to the several quarters; in some places it is fat, luscious, and moist; in others poor, lean, and sandy; and in others, clayey and chalky. But (to follow the directions of Varro) the goodness of the soil may be gathered from hence, that the inhabitants are of a bright, clear complexion; not to mention their sharpness of wit, and singular sagacity in the study of our common law, so that it is at present,

and always has been reputed, the most fruitful nursery of lawyers. But even among the common people you may meet with many who, as one expresses it, if no quarrel offers, are able to pick one out of the quirks and niceties of the law." "And," adds Bishop Gibson, "for the preventing of the great and frequent contentions that might ensue thereupon, and the inconveniences of too many attorneys, a special statute was made, as long since as the time of King Henry VI., to restrain the number of attorneys in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Norwich." Thus Norfolk and Normandy add their testimony to the force of the expression of a man's "being too far north to be cheated."

army on the confines of Essex, he mounted all the rest on horses, and flew to Exeter. Victory followed him to the west; he obliged the Danes to raise the siege of Exeter; he beat them back to their ships with great loss, and soon after the minor expedition was driven from the Severn. The blockade of the Danes in the Isle of Mersey does not appear to have been well conducted during his absence, and yet that interval was not devoid of great successes: for, in the meantime, Ethelred, Eolderman of the Mercians, and Alfred's son-in-law, with the citizens of London and others, went down to the fortified post at Benfleet, in Essex, laid siege to it, broke into it, and despoiled it of great quantities of gold, silver, horses, and garments; taking away captive also the wife of Hasting and his two sons, who were brought to London, and presented to the king on his return. Some of his followers urged him to put these captives to death—others to detain them in prison as a check upon Hasting; but Alfred, with a generosity which was never properly appreciated by the savage Dane, caused them immediately to be restored to his enemy, and sent many presents of value with them. By this time the untiring Hasting had thrown up another formidable intrenchment at South Showbury, in Essex, when he was soon joined by numbers from Norfolk and Suffolk, from Northumbria, from all parts of the Danelagh, and by fresh adventurers from beyond sea. Thus reinforced, he sailed boldly up the Thames, and thence spread the mass of his forces into the heart of the kingdom, while the rest returned with their vessels and the spoil they had so far made to the intrenched camp at South Showbury. From the Thames, Hasting marched to the Severn, and fortified himself at Buttington. But here he was surrounded by the Saxons and the men of North Wales, who now cordially acted with them; and in brief time Alfred, with Ethelred and two other ealdermen, cut off all his supplies, and blockaded him in his camp. After some weeks, when the Danes had eaten up nearly all their horses, and famine was staring them in the face, Hasting rushed from his intrenchments. Avoiding the Welsh forces, he concentrated his attack upon the Saxons, who formed the blockade to the east of his position. The conflict was terrific; several hundreds (some of the chroniclers say *thousands*) of the Danes were slain in their attempt to break through Alfred's lines; many were thrown into the Severn and drowned; but the rest, headed by Hasting, effected their escape, and, marching across the island, reached their intrenchment and their ships on the Essex coast. Alfred lost many of his nobles, and must have been otherwise much crippled, for he did not molest Hasting, who could have had hardly any

horse in any part of his retreat. Most of the Saxons who fought at Buttington were raw levies, and hastily got together. When Hasting next showed front it was in the neighbourhood of North Wales, between the rivers Dee and Mersey. During the winter that followed his disasters on the Severn, he had been again reinforced by the men of the Danelagh, and at early spring he set forth with his usual rapidity, and marched through the midland counties. Alfred was not far behind him, but could not overtake him until he had seized Chester, which was then almost uninhabited, and secured himself there. This town had been very strongly fortified by the Romans, and many of the works of those conquerors still remaining,¹ no doubt gave strength to Hasting's position, which was deemed too formidable for attack. But the Saxon troops pressed him on the land side, and a squadron of Alfred's ships, which had put to sea, ascended the Mersey and the river Wirall, and prevented his receiving succour in that direction. Dreading that Chester might become a second Buttington, the Danes burst away into North Wales. After ravaging part of that country, they would have gone off in the direction of the Severn and the Avon, but they were met and turned by a formidable royal army, upon which they retraced their steps, and finally marched off to the north-east. They traversed Northumbria, Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Suffolk—nearly the whole length of the Danelagh—where they were among friends and allies, and by that circuitous route at length regained their fortified post at South Showbury, in Essex, where they wintered and recruited their strength as usual.

Early next spring the persevering Hasting sailed to the mouth of the Lea, ascended that river with his ships, and at or near Ware,² about twenty miles above London, erected a new fortress on the Lea. On the approach of summer, the burgesses of London, with many of their neighbours, attacked the stronghold on the Lea, but were repulsed with great loss. As London was now more closely pressed than ever, Alfred found it necessary to encamp his army round about the city until the citizens got in their harvest. He then pushed a strong reconnoissance to the Lea, which (far deeper and broader than now) was covered by their ships, and afterwards surveyed, at great personal risk, the new fortified camp of the Danes. His active ingenious mind forthwith conceived a plan, which he confidently hoped would end in their inevitable destruction. Bringing up his army, he raised two

¹ Some noble arched gateways, built by the Romans, were standing almost entire until a recent period, when they were laid low by a barbarous decree of the Chester corporation.

² Some topographers contend that this fortified camp was not at Ware, but at Hertford.

fortresses, one on either side the Lea, somewhat below the Danish station, and then he dug three deep channels from the Lea to the Thames, in order to lower the level of the tributary stream. So much water was thus drawn off, that "where a ship," says an old writer, "might sail in time afore passed, then a little boat might scarcely row;"—and the whole fleet of Hasting was left aground, and rendered useless. But yet again did that remarkable chieftain break through the toils spread for him, to renew the war in a distant part of the island. Abandoning the ships where they were, and putting, as they had been accustomed to do, their wives, their children, and their booty under the protection of their friends in the Danelagh, the followers of Hasting broke from their intrenchments by night, and hardly rested till they had traversed the whole of that wide tract of country which separates the Lea from the Severn. Marching for some distance along the left bank of the Severn, they took post close on the river at Quatbridge, which is supposed to be Quatford, near Bridgenorth, in Shropshire. When Alfred came up with them there, he found them already strongly fortified.

On our first introducing the Northmen, we mentioned their skill in choosing and strengthening military positions; and the course of our narrative will have made their skill and speed in these matters evident, especially in the campaigns they performed under Hasting, who had many of the qualities that constitute a great general. Alfred was compelled to respect the intrenchments at Quatbridge, and to leave the Danes there undisturbed during the winter. In the meantime the citizens of London seized Hasting's fleet, grounded in the Lea. Some ships they burned and destroyed, but others they were enabled to get afloat and conduct to London, where they were received with exceeding great joy.

For full three years this Scandinavian Hannibal had maintained a war in the country of the enemy; but now, watched on every side, worn out by constant losses, and probably in good part forsaken as an unlucky leader, both by his brethren settled in the Danelagh and by those on the Continent, his spirit began to break, and he prepared to take a reluctant and indignant farewell of England. In the following spring of 897, by which time dissensions had broken out among their leaders, the Danes tumultuously abandoned their camp at Quatbridge, and utterly disbanded their army soon after, fleeing in small and separate parties, in various directions. Some sought shelter among their brethren of the Danelagh, either in Northumbria, or Norfolk and Suffolk; some built vessels, and sailed for the Scheldt and the mouth of the Rhine; while others, adhering to Hasting in his evil fortune, waited until he

was ready to pass into France. A small fleet, bearing his drooping raven, was hastily equipped on our eastern coast, and the humbled chieftain, according to Asser, crossed the Channel "*sine lucro et sine honore*," without profit or honour. It appears that he ascended the Seine, and soon after obtained a settlement on the banks of that river (probably in Normandy) from the weak King of the French.

A few desultory attacks made by sea, and by the men of the Danelagh, almost immediately after Hasting's departure, only tended to show the naval superiority Alfred was attaining, and to improve the Anglo-Saxons in maritime tactics. A squadron of Northumbrian pirates cruised off the southern coasts, with their old objects in view. It was met and defeated on several occasions by the improved ships of the king. Alfred, who had some mechanical skill himself, had caused vessels to be built, far exceeding those of his enemies in length of keel, height of board, swiftness, and steadiness; some of these carried sixty oars or sweepers, to be used, as in the Roman galleys, when the wind failed; and others carried even more than sixty. They differed in the form of the hull, and probably in their rigging, from the other vessels used in the North Sea. Hitherto the Danish and Friesland builds seem to have been considered as the best models; but these ships, which were found peculiarly well adapted to the service for which he intended them, were constructed after a plan of Alfred's own invention. At the end of his reign they considerably exceeded the number of 100 sail; they were divided into squadrons, and stationed at different ports round the island, while some of them were kept constantly cruising between England and the main. Although he abandoned their system of ship-building, Alfred retained many Frieslanders in his service, for they were more expert seamen than his subjects, who still required instruction. After an obstinate engagement near the Isle of Wight, two Danish ships, which had been much injured in the fight, were cast ashore and taken. When the crews were carried to the king at Winchester, he ordered them all to be hanged. This severity, so much at variance with Alfred's usual humanity, has caused some regret and confusion to historians. One writer says that the Danes do not seem to have violated the *law of nations*, as such law was then understood, and that, therefore, Alfred's execution of them was inexcusable. Another writer is of opinion that Alfred always, and properly, drew a distinction between pirates and warriors. This line would be most difficult to draw, when all were robbers and pirates alike; but the real rule of Alfred's conduct seems to have been this—to distinguish between such Danes as attacked him

from abroad, and such Danes as attacked him from the Danelagh at home. On the services and gratitude of the former he had no claim, but the men of Northumbria, Norfolk, and Sussex had, through their chiefs and princes, sworn allegiance to him, had received benefits from him, and stood bound to the protection of his states, which they were ravaging. From the situation they occupied they could constantly trouble his tranquillity, and in regard to them he may have been led to consider, after the experience he had had of their bad faith, that measures of extreme severity were allowable and indispensable. The two ships captured at the Isle of Wight came from Northumbria, and the twenty ships taken during the three remaining years of his life, and of which the crews were slain or hanged on the gallows, came from the same country, and the other English lands included in the Danelagh.

The excursions of Hasting were accompanied with other calamities, "so that," to use the words of the chronicler Fabian, "this land, for three years, was vexed with three manner of sorrows—with war of the Danes, pestilence of men, and murrain of beasts." The horrors of famine, to escape which the Danes had come to England, are not alluded to, but the pestilence, which is mentioned by all the chroniclers, carried off vast numbers. It seems to have continued some time after Hasting's departure, and then, on its cessation, Alfred enjoyed as much comfort as his rapidly declining health would permit.

Before we descend to the far inferior reigns of his successors, we must select from his biographers a few personal details, and cull a few of those flowers which adorned the great Alfred's reign, and which still give it a beauty and an interest we look for in vain elsewhere during those barbarous ages.

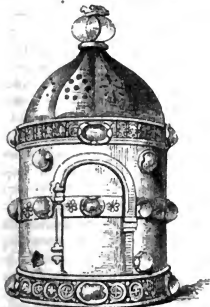
Historians have generally attached great consequences to his travels on the Continent through France and Italy; and, mere child as he was, it is not improbable that Alfred's mind received impressions in those countries that were afterwards of benefit to himself and his kingdom. On the first of these journeys to Rome, Alfred was only in his fifth year, but on the second, when he was accompanied by his father, and anointed by the pope, he was eight years old. On this last occasion he staid nearly a year at Rome, and returning thence through France, he resided some time at Paris. The Eternal City, though despoiled by the barbarians, and not yet enriched with the works of modern art, must have retained much of its ancient splendour; the Coliseum, and many other edifices that remain, are known to have been much more perfect in the days of Alfred than they are now; the proud Capitol was comparatively entire, and in various parts of the city,

where we now trace little but foundations of walls and scattered fragments, there then stood lofty and elegant buildings. Alfred, who at home had lived in wooden houses, and been accustomed to see mud huts with thatched roofs, could hardly fail of being struck with the superior splendour of Rome. The papal court, though as yet modest and unassuming, was regulated with some taste and great order, while the other court at which he resided (the French) was more splendid than any in Europe, with the exception of Constantinople.

But whatever effect these scenes may have had in enlarging the mind of Alfred, it should appear he had not yet learned to read—an accomplishment, by the way, not then very common, even among princes and nobles of a more advanced age. He, however, delighted in listening to the Anglo-Saxon ballads and songs, which were constantly recited by the minstrels and gleemen attached to his father's court. From frequent vocal repetition, to which he listened day and night,¹ he learned them by heart; and the taste he thus acquired for poetry lasted him, through many cares and sorrows, to the last day of his life. The story told by Asser is well known. One day his mother, Osburgha, was sitting, surrounded by her children, with a book of Saxon poetry in her hands. The precious MS. was gilded or illuminated, and the contents were probably new, and much to the taste of the boys. "I will give it," said she, "to him among you who shall first learn to read it." Alfred, the youngest of them all, ran to a teacher, and studying earnestly, soon learned to read Anglo-Saxon, and won the book. But, with the exception of popular poetry, Anglo-Saxon was the key to only a small portion of the literature or knowledge of the times; and as his curiosity and intellect increased, it became necessary for him to learn Latin. At a subsequent period of his life Alfred possessed a knowledge of that learned language, which was altogether extraordinary for a prince of the ninth century. It is not very clear when he obtained this degree of knowledge, but after teaching himself by translating, he was probably greatly improved in his mature manhood, when the monk Asser, Johannes Erigena, Grimbold, and other learned men, settled at his court. Alfred was accustomed to say that he regretted the neglected education of his youth, the entire want of proper teachers, and also the difficulties that then barred his progress to intellectual acquirements, much more than all the hardships, and sorrows, and crosses that befell him afterwards. As one of his great impediments had been the Latin language, which, even with our improved system of tuition, and with all our facilities and advantages, is not mastered without

¹ Asser, 10.

long and difficult study, he earnestly recommended from the throne, in a circular letter addressed to the bishops, that thenceforward "all good and useful books be translated into the language which we all understand, so that all the youths of England, but more especially those who are of gentle kind, and in easy circumstances, may be grounded in letters, for they cannot profit in any pursuit until they are well able to read English." Alfred's own literary works were chiefly translations from the Latin into Anglo-Saxon, the spoken language of his people. It excites surprise how he could find time for these laudable occupations; but he was steady and persevering, regular in his habits, when not kept in the field by the Danes, and a great economist of his time. Eight hours of each day he gave to sleep, to his meals, and exercise; eight were absorbed by the affairs of government; and eight were devoted to study and devotion. Clocks, clepsydras, and the other ingenious instruments for measuring time were then unknown in England. Alfred was, no doubt, acquainted with the sun-dial, which was in common use in Italy and parts of France; but this index is of no use in the hours of the night, and would frequently be equally unserviceable during our foggy sunless days. He, therefore, marked his time by the constant burning of wax torches or candles, which were made precisely of the same weight and size, and notched in the stem at regular distances. These candles were twelve inches long; six of them, or seventy-two inches of wax, were consumed in twenty-four hours, or 1440 minutes; and thus, supposing the notches at intervals of an inch, one inch would mark the lapse of twenty minutes.



SAXON LANTERN.—From Strutt's Chronicle of England.

It appears that these time-candles were placed under the special charge of his mass-priests or chaplains. But it was soon discovered that sometimes the wind, rushing in through the windows

and doors, and the numerous chinks in the walls of the palace, consumed the wax in a rapid and irregular manner. Hence Asser makes the great Alfred the inventor of horn lanterns! He says the king went skilfully and wisely to work; and having found out that white horn could be rendered transparent like glass, he, with that material, and with pieces of wood, admirably (*mirabiliter*) made a case for his candle, which kept it from wasting and flaring.

In his youth Alfred was passionately fond of field sports, and was famed as being "excellent cunning in all hunting;" but after his retreat at Athelney he indulged this taste with becoming moderation; and during the latter years of his reign he seems to have ridden merely upon business, or for the sake of his health. He then considered every moment of value, as he could devote it to lofty and improving purposes.

We have already mentioned the care and ingenuity he employed in creating a navy. Sea affairs, geography, and the discovery of unknown countries, or rather the descriptions of countries then little known, obtained by means of bold navigators, occupied much of his time, and formed one of his favourite subjects for writing. He endeavoured, by liberality and kindness, to attract to England all such foreigners as could give good information on these subjects, or were otherwise qualified to illuminate the national ignorance. From Audher, or Othhere, who had coasted the continent of Europe from the Baltic to the North Cape, he obtained much information; from Wulfstan, who appears to have been one of his subjects, and who undertook a voyage round the Baltic, he gathered many particulars concerning the diverse countries situated on that sea; and from other voyagers and travellers whom he sent out expressly himself, he obtained a description of Bulgaria, Slavonia, Bohemia, and Germany. All this information he committed to writing in the plain mother tongue, and with the noble design of imparting it to his people. Having learned that there were colonies of Christian Syrians settled on the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, he sent out Swithelm, Bishop of Sherburn, to India—a tremendous journey in those days. The stout-hearted ecclesiastic, however, making what is now called the overland journey, went and returned in safety, bringing back with him presents of gems and Indian spices. Hereby was Alfred's fame increased, and the name and existence of England probably heard of for the first time in that remote country, of which, nine centuries after, she was to become the almost absolute mistress.¹

¹ For further details relating to the commerce of this and subsequent periods, we refer the reader to *History of British Commerce from the Earliest Times*, by Geo. L. Craik, M.A.

While his active mind, which anticipated the national spirit of much later times, was thus engaged in drawing knowledge from the distant corners of the earth, he did not neglect home affairs. He taught the people how to build better houses; he laboured to increase their comforts; he established schools; he founded or rebuilt many towns; and having learned the importance of fortifications during his wars with the Danes, he fortified them all as well as he could. He caused a survey to be made of the coast and navigable rivers, and ordered castles to be erected at those places which were most accessible to the landing of the enemy. Fifty strong towers and castles rose in different parts of the country, but the number would have been threefold had Alfred not been thwarted by the indolence, ignorance, and carelessness of his nobles and people. He revised the laws of the Anglo-Saxons, being aided and sanctioned therein by his witenagemot or parliament; and he established so excellent a system of police, that towards the end of his reign it was generally asserted that one might have hung golden bracelets and jewels on the public highways and cross-roads, and no man would have dared to touch them, for fear of the law.



ALFRED'S JEWEL.¹—Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

Towards arbitrary, unjust, or corrupt administrators of the law, he was inexorable; and, if we can give credit to an old writer,² he ordered the execution of no fewer than forty-four judges and magistrates of this stamp in the course of one year. Those who were ignorant or careless he

reprimanded and suspended, commanding them to qualify themselves for the proper discharge of their office before they ventured to grasp its honours and emoluments. He heard all appeals with the utmost patience, and, in cases of importance, revised all the law proceedings with the utmost industry. His manifold labours in the court, the camp, the field, the hall of justice, the study, must have been prodigious; and our admiration of this wonderful man is increased by the well-established fact, that all these exertions were made in spite of the depressing influences of physical pain and constant bad health. In his early years he was severely afflicted by the disease called the *ficus*. This left him; but, at the age of twenty or twenty-one, it was replaced by another and still more tormenting malady, the inward seat and unknown mysterious nature of which baffled all the medical skill of his "leeches." The accesses of excruciating pain were frequent—at times almost unintermittent; and then if, by day or by night, a single hour of ease was mercifully granted him, that short interval was imbibed by the dread of the sure returning anguish.³ This malady never left him till the day of his death, which it must have hastened. He expired in the month of October, six nights before All-Hallows-mass Day, in the year 901, when he was only in the fifty-third year of his age, and was buried at Winchester, in a monastery he had founded.

In describing his brilliant and incontestable deeds, and in tracing the character of the great Alfred, we, in common with nearly all the writers who have preceded us in the task, have drawn a general eulogy, and a character nearly approaching to ideal perfection. But were there no spots in all this brilliancy and purity? As Alfred was a mortal man, there were, no doubt, many; but to discover them, we must ransack his private life, and his vaguely reported conduct when a mere stripling king; and the discovery, after all, confers no honour of sagacity, and does not justify the exultation with which a recent writer announces to the world that Alfred had not only faults, but crimes to bemoan. It is passed into a truism that he will seldom be in the wrong who deducts alike from the amount of virtue and vice in the characters recorded in history; but this deduction will be made according to men's tempers; and while some largely reduce the amount of virtue, they seem to leave the vice untouched—their incredulity extending rather to what elevates and ennobles human nature, than to the things which degrade and debase it. The directly contrary course, or that of reducing the crime, and leaving the virtue, if not the more correct (which we will not decide), is certainly

¹ This highly interesting relic, an ornament of gold, seemingly intended to be hung round the neck, was found near Athelney, in Somersetshire, the very place of Alfred's retreat and deliverance from the Danes. The jewel contains an effigy, conjectured to be that of St. Cuthbert, enamelled on gold, surrounded by the following inscription, which identifies it with the best of the Saxon kings—*ÆLFRED ME HANT GEWRICAN* (Alfred had me wrought). On the other side is represented a flower. The jewel measures about 3 in. long, and the workmanship of the whole is good. Malmesbury relates that St. Cuthbert appeared to Alfred in a vision at Athelney, and predicted his future triumph over the infidel Danes.

² Andrew Horne, author of *Miroir des Justices*, who wrote, in Norman French, under Edward I. or Edward II.

³ *Ascer.*

the more generous and improving. Every people above the condition of barbarity have their heroes and their national objects of veneration, and are probably improved by the high standard of excellence they present, and by the very reverence they pay to them. We may venerate the memory of our Alfred with as little danger of paying an unmerited homage as any of them. On this subject the late Sir James Mackintosh, whose historical sagacity was equal to his good feeling, says, "The Norman historians, who seem to have had his diaries and note-books in their hands, chose Alfred as the glory of the land which had become their own. There is no subject on which unanimous tradition is so nearly

sufficient evidence as on the eminence of one man over others of the same condition. His bright image may long be held up before the national mind. This tradition, however paradoxical the assertion may appear, is, in the case of Alfred, rather supported than weakened by the fictions which have sprung from it. Although it be an infirmity of every nation to ascribe their institutions to the contrivance of a man, rather than to the slow action of time and circumstances, yet the selection of Alfred by the English people, as the founder of all that was dear to them, is surely the strongest proof of the deep impression, left on the minds of all, of his transcendent wisdom and virtue."¹

CHAPTER III.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF EDWARD TO THE DEATH OF HARDICANUTE.—A.D. 901—1042.

Reign of Edward—Account of his sister, Ethelfleda—Reign of Athelstane—His victory at Brunanburgh—Reigns of Edmund the Atheling, Edred, and Edwy—Contest of Edwy with Dunstan—Tragical fate of Elgiva, the wife of Edwy—Reign of Edgar—His prosperity—His marriage with Elfrida—Reign of Edward the Martyr—His assassination at Corfe Castle—He is succeeded by Ethelred—Reign of Ethelred, surnamed the Unready—The Danes invade England—Their forbearance purchased with money—Massacre of the Danes in England—Invasion of England by Sweyn, King of Denmark—His invasion repeated—Ethelred's unwise proceedings—Invasion of Thurkill's host—Martyrdom of Alphege by the Danes—Sweyn once more invades England, and is proclaimed king—Ethelred's return to England, and death—Succeeded by Edmund Ironside—Canute becomes King of England—Marries the widow of Ethelred—His prosperous reign—His pilgrimage to Rome—His rebuke of the flattery of his courtiers—He is succeeded by his son Harold—Treacherous murder of Edward the son of Ethelred—Harold succeeded by Hardicanute—Death of Hardicanute at a banquet.



EDWARD. A.D. 901. Alfred, with all his wisdom and power, had not been enabled to settle the succession to the throne on a sure and lasting basis. On his death it was disputed between his son Edward and his nephew Ethelwald, the son of Ethelbald, one of Alfred's elder brothers. Each party armed; but as Ethelwald found himself the

weaker, he declined a combat at Wimburn, and fled into the Danelagh, where the Danes hailed him as their king. Many of the Saxons who lived in that country mixed with the Danes, preferred war to the restraints of such a government as Alfred had established; and an internal war was renewed, which did infinite mischief, and prepared the way for other horrors. Ethelwald was slain in a terrible battle fought in

¹ *Hist. Eng.* ch. xl. "The qualities of his mind were those of a statesman and a hero, but elevated, and at the same time, softened, by his ardent longing for higher and more imprishable things than those on which all the splendour and power of this world generally rest. The most unshakable courage was most certainly the first component of his being; he showed it, while still a youth, in the tumult of the battle of Assandune. There was one period when his courage seemed about to desert him. This was when the young king imagined that he saw his country for ever in the hands of the foe, and his people doomed to never-ending despair; but from the ordeal of Athelney he came out proved and victorious, and a large number of brave men rivalled each other in imitating his example.

"We have already had occasion, several times, in the course of this work, to notice another peculiarity of Alfred's mind that was attended with no less gratifying results; he possessed a decided turn for invention, which enabled him not only to extricate himself from personal difficulties, but to suggest new and original ideas in the execution of all sorts of artistic productions

and handiwork. The pillars on which the church at Athelney was built, the long ships he constructed, the manner in which he turned a river from its natural course, and his clock of tapers, afford us as convincing evidence of his powers of thought as the battles which he gained.

"Elevated by his piety above all his subjects and contemporaries, no one could be farther than he was from becoming a weak bigot, willingly bending beneath the yoke of an arrogant priesthood; and, while immersed in the fulfilment of his religious duties, forgetting the prosperity of worldly affairs, as well as that of his subjects. He was well aware what the country had suffered from the too yielding disposition of his father to the will of the higher ecclesiastics. It is impossible to draw a parallel between Alfred and his descendant Edward the Confessor. The latter lost his kingdom, and was made a saint; the former kept it by the aid of his sword and a firm reliance on the Almighty. The Church of Rome, it is true, did not thank him for this; but he lived, through his works, in the hearts of his people, who celebrated his praises in their songs."—*Pauli's Life of Alfred the Great.*

the year 905, upon which the Danes concluded a peace upon equal terms; for Edward was not yet powerful enough to treat them as a master. The sons of the princes and earls, and in many instances the individuals themselves, who had been tranquil and submissive under Alfred, soon aimed, not merely at making the Danelagh an independent kingdom, but at conquering the rest of the island. Edward was not deficient in valour or military skill. In the year 911 he gained a most signal victory over the Danes, who had advanced to the Severn; but the whole spirit of Alfred seemed more particularly to survive in his daughter Ethelfleda, sister of Edward, and wife of Ethelred, the Eolderman of Mercia, who has been so often mentioned, and whose death, in 912, left the whole care of that kingdom to his widow. Her brother Edward took possession of London and Oxford, but she claimed, and then defended the rest of Mercia, with the bravery and ability of an experienced warrior. Following her father's example, she fortified all her towns, and constructed ramparts and intrenched camps in the proper places; allowing them no rest, she drove the Danes out of Derby and Leicester, and compelled many tribes of them to acknowledge her authority. In the assault of Derby, four of her bravest commanders fell, but she boldly urged the combat until the place was taken. As some of the Welsh had become troublesome, she conducted an expedition, with remarkable spirit and rapidity, against Breccanmere or Brecknock, and took the wife of the Welsh king prisoner. In seeing these, her warlike operations, says an old writer, one would have believed she had changed her sex. The Lady Ethelfleda, as she is called by the chroniclers, died in 920, when Edward succeeded to her authority in Mercia, and prosecuted her plan of securing the country by fortified works. He was active and successful: he took most of the Danish towns between the Thames and the Humber, and forced the rest of the Danelagh that lay north of the Humber to acknowledge his supremacy. The Welsh, the Scots, the inhabitants of Strathclyde and Cumbria (who still figure as a separate people), and the men of Galloway, are said to have done him homage, and to have accepted him as their "father, lord, and protector."

ATHELSTANE. A.D. 925. Edward's dominion far exceeded in extent that of his father Alfred; but his son Athelstane, who succeeded him in 925, established a more brilliant throne, and made a still nearer approach to the sovereignty of all England. By war and policy he reduced nearly all Wales to an inoffensive tranquillity, if not to vassalage. A tribute was certainly paid during a part of the reign, and, together with gold and silver, and beoves, the Welsh were bound to send their best hounds and hawks to

the court of Athelstane. He next turned his arms against the old tribes of Cornwall, who were still turbulent, and impatient of the Saxon yoke. He drove them from Devonshire, where they had again made encroachments, and reduced them to obedience and good order beyond the Tamar.

In 937 he was assailed by a more powerful confederacy than had ever been formed against a Saxon king. Olave or Anlaf, a Danish prince, who had already been settled in Northumbria, but who had lately taken Dublin, and made considerable conquests in Ireland, sailed up the Humber with 620 ships; his friend and ally, Constantine, King of the Scots, the people of Strathclyde and Cumbria, and the northern Welsh were all up in arms, and ready to join him. Yet this coalition, formidable as it was, was utterly destroyed on the bloody field of Brunnsburgh,¹ where Athelstane gained one of the most splendid of victories, and where five Danish *kings* and seven earls fell. Anlaf escaped, with a wretched fragment of his forces, to Ireland; Constantine, bemoaning the loss of his fair-haired son, who had also perished at Brunnsburgh, fled to the hilly country north of the friths. After this great victory, none seem to have dared again to raise arms against Athelstane in any part of the island.

It appears to have been from this time that Athelstane laid aside the modest and limited title of his predecessors, and assumed that of "King of the Anglo-Saxons," or "King of the English," a title which had been given to several of them in the letters of the Roman popes and bishops, but had never till now been used by the sovereigns themselves. His father, and his grandfather Alfred, had simply styled themselves Kings of Wessex, or of the West Saxons.

Under Athelstane the English court was polished to a considerable degree, and became the chosen residence or asylum of several foreign princes. Harold, the King of Norway, intrusted his son Haco to the care and tuition of the enlightened Athelstane; and his son, by the aid of England, afterwards succeeded to the Norwegian throne, on which he distinguished himself as a legislator. Louis d'Outremer, the French king, took refuge in London before he secured his throne; and even the Celtic princes of Armorica or Brittany, when expelled their states by the Northmen or Normans, fled to the court of Athelstane in preference to all others. He bestowed his sisters in marriage on the first sovereigns of those times, and, altogether, he enjoyed a degree of respect, and exercised an influence on the general politics of Europe, that were not surpassed by any living sovereign.² A horrid suspicion of guilt

¹ Supposed by some to be Bourn, in the south of Lincolnshire; by others, Brugh, in the north of the same county.

² Among the costly presents sent to Athelstane by foreign so-

—the crime of murdering his own brother Edwin —has been cast upon him; but this is scarcely proved by any contemporary evidence, and his conduct as a sovereign seems almost irreproachable. He revised the laws, promulgated some new and good ones, made a provision for the poor and helpless, and encouraged the study of letters by earnest recommendations and by his own example. Like his grandfather Alfred, he was exceedingly fond of the Bible, and promoted the translation of it into the spoken language of the people. The life of this king was, in the words of William of Malmesbury, "in time little—in deeds great." Had it been prolonged, he might possibly have consolidated his power, and averted those tempests from the north which soon again desolated England. He died A.D. 940, being only in his forty-seventh year, and was buried in the abbey of Malmesbury.

EDMUND the Atheling, his brother, who was not quite eighteen years old, succeeded to the throne. In him the family virtue of courage knew no blemish or decrease; and he showed a determined taste for elegance and improvement, which obtained for him the name of "the Magnificent;" but his reign was troubled from the beginning, and he was cut off in his prime by the hand of an assassin. He had scarcely ascended the throne when the Danes of Northumbria recalled from Ireland Anlaf, the old opponent of Athelstane at Brunnsburgh. The Danish prince came in force, and the result of a war was, that Edmund was obliged to resign to him, in separate sovereignty, the whole of the island north of Watling-street. But Anlaf did not enjoy these advantages many months; and when he died Edmund repossessed himself of all the territory he had ceded. During his troubles the people of Cumbria, who had submitted to Athelstane, broke out in rebellion. He marched against them in 946, expelled their king, Dunmail, and gave the country as a fief to Malcolm of Scotland, whom he at the same time bound to defend the north of the island against Danish and other invaders. The two sons of Dunmail, whom he took prisoners, he barbarously deprived of their eyes. Such abominable operations, together with the amputating of limbs, cutting off of tongues and noses of captive princes, had become common on the Continent, but hitherto had very rarely disgraced the Anglo-Saxons. Edmund did not long survive the perpetration of this atrocity. On the festival of St. Augustine, in the same year, as he was carousing with his nobles and officers, his eye fell upon a banished robber, named Leof, who had dared to mingle with the company. The royal cup-bearer, or *dapifer*, ordered him to

withdraw. The robber refused. Incensed at his insolence, and heated by wine, Edmund started from his seat, and seizing him by his long hair, tried to throw him to the ground. Leof had a dagger hid under his cloak, and in the scuffle he stabbed the king in a vital part. The desperate villain was cut to pieces by Edmund's servants, but not before he had slain and hurt divers of them. The body of the king was interred in Glastonbury Abbey, where Dunstan, who was soon to occupy a wider scene, was then abbot.

EDRED (946), who succeeded his brother Edmund, was another son of Edward the Elder, and grandson of Alfred. He was not twenty-three years old, but a loathsome disease had brought on a premature old age. He was afflicted with a constant cough, he lost his teeth and hair, and he was so weak in his lower extremities that he was nick-named "Edredus debilis pedibus" (Edred weak in the feet). According to some authorities, his mind was as feeble as his body, and the vigour that marked his reign sprung from the energy of Dunstan, the abbot of Glastonbury, who now began to figure as a statesman, and of Torketul, another churchman, who was chancellor of the kingdom. Other writers, however, affirm that Edred's weak and puny body did not affect his mind, which was resolute and vigorous, and such as became a grandson of Alfred. Though, in common with the other states of the north, the Danes of Northumbria had sworn fealty to Edred at Tadwine's Cliff, they rose soon after his accession, and being joined by Eric, and other princes and pirates from Denmark, Norway, Ireland, the Orkneys, and the Hebrides (where the sea-kings had established themselves), they once more tried the fortune of war with the Saxons. The operations of Edred's armies, though disgraced by cruelty and the devastation of the land, were marked with exceeding vigour and activity, and, after two or three most obstinate and sanguinary battles, they were crowned with success. The Danes in England, humbled and apparently crushed, were condemned to pay a heavy pecuniary fine; Northumbria was incorporated with the rest of the kingdom much more completely than it had hitherto been; the royal title was abolished, and the administration put into the hands of an earl appointed by the king. Even the victorious Athelstane had left the title of king, or sub-king, to the Danish rulers of Northumbria, and it is assumed that the constant rebellions of those rulers were principally excited by their anxious wish to throw off the allegiance due to the English crown. We believe, however, there was a powerful excitement from without. The sea-kings still roamed the ocean in search of plunder or settlements; many princes or chiefs in Denmark and Norway claimed kindred with

verolga, was one from the King of Norway, "of a goodly ship-of-fine workmanship, with gilt stern and purple sails, furnished round about the deck within with a row of gilt pavises (or shields)."

those who had made conquests and obtained kingdoms in England, and whenever an opportunity offered they pretended to those possessions by an indefeasible, hereditary right. Such a right might not be recognized by the Anglo-Saxons, but it would pass unquestioned among the Scandinavian rovers, who would profit by its being enforced. The names of a whole series of these Danish pretenders may probably be found in the mythical historians—in the more than half fabulous Edda and Sagas of the north—but we are not aware that the discovery of them would cast any very important light on our annals.

Edred died soon after the reduction of Northumbria, and, leaving no children, was succeeded by the son of his brother and predecessor on the throne.

EDWY was a boy of fifteen when he began his troublous reign (A.D. 955). One of the first acts of his government seems to have been the appointment of his brother Edgar (whom the monks soon played off against him) to be sub-regulus or vassal-king of a part of England,¹ most probably of the old kingdom of Mercia, where he was to acknowledge Edwy's supremacy. As the Northumbrians remained in subjection, and as the Danes generally seem to have ceased from troubling the land, he might have enjoyed a tranquil reign but for some irregularities of his own, and his quarrels with a body more powerful than his warriors and sea-kings, and who fought with a weapon more deadly than the sword.

We now reach an interesting part of our history, which, after passing current for many ages, has been fiercely disputed by some recent writers, whose main course of argument is weakened by the glaring fact, that in shifting all the blame from Dunstan to Edwy, they had party or sectarian purposes to serve. For ourselves, who are perfectly impartial between the king and the monk, we think the old narrative has been disturbed without rendering any service to historical truth, and that this is proved to be the case, almost by a demonstration, by a learned and acute writer who has sifted the whole question.² Like nearly every other part of the Saxon history, the story of Edwy and Elgiva is certainly involved in some difficulties or obscurities. Avoiding discussion and disputation, we will briefly state the facts as they seem to us best established.

Edwy, who was gay, handsome, thoughtless,

and very young, became enamoured of Elgiva, a young lady of rank, and married her, although she was related to him in a degree within which the canonical laws forbade such union. She was probably his first or second cousin; and we need not go nearer, as such marriages are still illegal in Catholic countries, without the express dispensation of the pope. Her mother, Ethelgiva, lived with her at the court of Edwy, and seems to have been a person of good repute, for, under the honourable designation of the "king's wife's mother," she attested an agreement between St. Ethelwold and the Bishop of Wells, to which three other bishops were subscribing witnesses. We are entitled to assume, that had there been anything more than a slight infringement of church-law in the marriage of Elgiva, or had she and her mother been the depraved characters some writers have represented them, such personages as saints, and bishops, and most orthodox churchmen would not be found frequenting the court, where both the ladies lived in pre-eminence and honour. Dunstan and his party, however, must surely have had other provocations than the irregularity of the marriage, or the thoughtlessness of Edwy in quitting their company, when they proceeded to the insolent extremities we are now to relate. On the day of the king's coronation the chief nobles and clergy were bidden to a feast, where they sat long carousing, deep in their cups, which they were too much accustomed to do.³ The stomach of the youthful king may have been incapable of such potations—his taste may have been revolted by such coarse excesses—he was still passionately enamoured of his beautiful bride; and, stealing from the banquetting-hall, he withdrew with her and her mother to an inner apartment of the palace. His absence was remarked by Odo, the Archbishop of Canterbury, a Dane by birth,⁴ a harsh, ambitious man, who may be more than suspected of having played false with Edwy's father, King Edmund, when engaged in the Northumbrian troubles, and obliged to renounce half the island to Anlaf. Odo was probably exasperated himself, and perceiving that the company were displeased at the king's leaving them, he ordered some persons to go and bring him back to partake of the general conviviality. The individuals addressed seem to have declined the office, from motives of respect and decency; but Dunstan, the friend of Odo, feeling no such scruples, rushed to the inner apartment, dragged the young king from the side of his wife, and thrust him back into the banquetting-hall by main force. Such an outrage—such a humiliation in the face of his assembled

¹ "This fact, which is of some importance, is proved, like many other points of a similar description, not by historians, but by a charter. The document, however, does not designate the locality of the dominions assigned to Edgar."—Palgrave, *Hist. Eng.* ch. xii. We follow this learned investigator in supposing it was Mercia.

² See article on Lingard's *Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, in *Edinburgh Review*, vol. xxv. pp. 346-354; and article on Lingard's *History of England*, in the same work, vol. xliii. pp. 1-31. Both these reviews are acknowledged to be by the late John Allen, Esq., in his *Letter to Francis Jeffrey, Esq.*, in reply to Dr. Lingard's *Vindication*, 8vo. Lond. 1827.

³ "Quibus Angli nimis sunt assueti."—Hallingford.

⁴ He was the son of one of the chieftains who had invaded England.

subjects—must have passed Edwy's endurance. Nor was this all the wrong. While in the chamber Dunstan addressed the queen and her mother in the most brutal language, and threatened the latter with infamy and the gallows. The king had a ready rod wherewith to scourge the monk. Dunstan, among other offices, filled that of treasurer to Edred, the preceding sovereign, and Edwy, it is said, had all along suspected him of having been guilty of peculation in his charge. If Edwy had ever whispered these suspicions—and from his youth, imprudence, and hastiness of temper, he had probably done so often—this alone would account for Dunstan's ire. However this may be, the fiery abbot of Glastonbury, who returned from the festival to his abbey, was now questioned touching the moneys; his property was sequestered; his court places were taken from him; the monks who professed celibacy were driven out, and his monastery was given to the secular clergy, who still insisted on having wives like other men; and finally a sentence of banishment was hurled at Dunstan. He fled for the monastery of St. Peter's, in Ghent, but was scarcely three miles from the shore, on his way to Flanders, when messengers reached it, despatched by Edwy or his mother-in-law, and who, it is said, had orders to put out his eyes if they caught him in this country.

Before this extreme rupture Edwy had probably meddled with the then stormy politics of the church, or betrayed an inclination to favour the secular clergy in opposition to the monks; and this again would, and of itself, suffice to account for Dunstan's outrageous behaviour at the coronation feast. After Dunstan's flight the king certainly made himself the protector of the "married clerks;" for, expelling those who professed celibacy, he put the others in possession, not only of Glastonbury and Malmesbury, but of several other abbeys, which he thus made (to speak the language of Dunstan's adherents and successors) "styes for canons." In so doing, Edwy, fatally for himself, espoused the weaker party, and still further exasperated Odo, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who entertained the same views in state matters and church discipline as his friend Dunstan.

Shortly after the departure of Dunstan, a general rising of the people, instigated by Odo, took place in Northumbria (the reader will bear in mind that the archbishop was a Dane), and a corresponding movement following, under the same influence or holy sanction, in Mercia, it was determined to set one brother in hostile array against the other; and, in brief time, Edgar was declared independent sovereign of the whole of the island north of the Thames! Dunstan then returned in triumph from his brief exile, which had scarcely lasted a year.

But while these events were in progress, and

before they were completed, the young soul of Edwy was racked by an anguish more acute than any that could be caused by the loss of territory and empire. Some knights and armed retainers of the implacable archbishop tore his beautiful wife Elgiva from one of his residences, branded her in the face with a red-hot iron, to destroy her beauty, and then hurried her to the coast, whence she was transported to Ireland, probably as a slave. Her melancholy fate, her high birth, gracefulness, and youth (for she seems to have been now not more than sixteen or seventeen years old), probably gained her friends among a kind-hearted people. She was cured of the cruel wounds inflicted; her scars were obliterated; and, as radiant in beauty as ever, she was allowed (and no doubt assisted) to return to England. It is not clear whether Elgiva had actually joined her husband or was fleeing to his embraces, when she was seized near Gloucester; but all the early accounts agree in stating that she was there barbarously mangled and hamstrung, and that she expired a few days after in great torture. The generally received statement is, that the perpetrators of this atrocious deed were armed retainers of the Archbishop Odo: others, however, are of opinion that the young queen fell into the hands of the Mercians, who were in insurrection against her husband, and that in neither case was the execution ordered either by Otho or Dunstan. However this may be, the deed was undeniably done by the adherents of those churchmen (for the Mercians were armed in their quarrel), and praised as an act of inflexible virtue by their encomiasts. The palliation set up by a recent historian—who cannot deny the fact of the hamstringing—that such a mode of punishment, "though cruel, was not unusual in that age," leaves the question of justice and law untouched, and seems to us to be conceived in the spirit of an inquisitor of the worst ages. Edwy did not long survive his wife: he died in the following year (958), when he could not have been more than eighteen or nineteen years old. His death is generally attributed to grief and a broken heart, but it is just as probable that he was assassinated by his enemies.¹ From the comeliness of his person, he was generally called Edwy the Fair.

EDGAR (958-9), his brother, who had been put forward against him in his lifetime, now succeeded to all his dignities. As a boy of fifteen, he could exercise little authority: he was long a passive instrument in the hands of Dunstan and

¹ An old MS. in the Cottonian Library says explicitly, "In pago Gloucestrensi interfectus fuit." Another old MS., quoted by Mr. Sharon Turner, says, "Miseri morte expiravit;" but this would apply as well (or better) to death by grief as to death by the dagger.

his party, who used their power in establishing their cause, in enforcing the celibacy of the clergy, and in driving out, by main force, from all abbeys, monasteries, cathedrals, churches, and chantries, all such married clergymen as would not separate from their wives. At the same time, it cannot be denied that Dunstan and the monks ruled the kingdom with vigour and success, and consolidated the detached states into more compact integrity and union than had ever been known before. Several causes favoured this process. Among others, Edgar, who had been brought up among the Danes of East Anglia and Northumbria, was endeared to that people, who, in consequence, allowed him to weaken their states, by dividing them into several separate earldoms or governments, and to make other innovations, which they would have resented with arms in their hands under any of his predecessors. His fleet was also wisely increased to the number of 360 sail; and these ships were so well disposed, and powerful squadrons kept so constantly in motion, that the sea-kings were held in check on their own element, and prevented from landing and troubling the country. At the same time, tutored by the indefatigable Dunstan, who soon was made, or rather who soon made himself, Archbishop of Canterbury, the king accustomed himself to visit in person every part of his dominions annually. In the land progresses he was attended by the primate, or by energetic ministers of Dunstan's appointing; and as he went from Wessex to Mercia, from Mercia to Northumbria, courts of justice were held in the different counties, audiences and feasts were given, appeals were heard, and Edgar cultivated the acquaintance of all the nobles and principal men of the kingdom. The neighbouring princes—his vassals or allies—of Wales, Cumbria, and Scotland, were awed into respect or obedience, and on several occasions seem to have bowed before his throne. When he held his court at Chester, and had one day a wish to visit the monastery of St. John's, on the

river Dee, eight crowned kings (so goes the story) plied the oars of his barge, while he guided the helm. These sovereign-bargemen are said to have been Kenneth, King of Scotland; Malcolm, his son, King of Cumbria; Maccus the Dane, King of Anglesey, the Isle of Man, and the Hebrides; the Scottish Kings of Galloway and "Westmere;" and the three Welsh Kings of Dynwall, Siferth, and Edwall.¹

Edgar certainly bore prouder and more sounding titles than any of his predecessors. He was styled Basileus or Emperor of Albion, King of the English, and of all the nations and islands around.² He obtained the more honourable epithet of the Peaceable or Pacific; for, luckily, during his whole reign, his kingdom was not troubled by a single war.³ He commuted a tribute he received from a part or the whole of Wales, into 300 wolves' heads annually, in order to extirpate those ravenous animals; and, according to William of Malmesbury, this tribute ceased in the fourth year, for want of wolves to kill. The currency had been so diminished in weight by the fraudulent practice of clipping, that the actual value was far inferior to the nominal. He therefore reformed the coinage, and had new coins issued all over the kingdom. Though Edgar was now in mature manhood, there is pretty good evidence to show that these measures, with others, generally of a beneficial nature, were suggested and carried into effect by Dunstan, who, most indubitably, had his full share in the next operations, which are mentioned with especial laud and triumph by the monkish writers. He made married priests so scarce or so timid, that their faces were nowhere to be seen; and he founded or restored no fewer than fifty monasteries, which were all subjected to the rigid rules of the Benedictine order. It is curious that the monks, who had a debt of gratitude to pay, and who, in their summary of his whole character, indeed, uphold Edgar as a godly, virtuous prince, should have recorded actions which prove him to have been one of the most vicious profligate of

¹ "Hence, his fame being noised abroad, foreigners—Saxons, Flemings, and even Danes—frequently sailed hither, and were on terms of intimacy with Edgar, though their arrival was highly prejudicial to the natives; for from the Saxons they learned an untamable ferocity of mind; for the Flemings, an unmanly delicacy of body; and from the Danes, drunkenness; though they were before free from such propensities, and disposed to observe their own customs with native simplicity, rather than admire those of others."—*William of Malmesbury*, book ii. ch. viii. Yet, in spite of these corrupting influences, the monk of Malmesbury adds: "At this time the light of holy men was so resplendent in England, that you would believe the very stars from heaven smiled upon it. Among these was Dunstan, . . . who, without preaching total abstinence as a remedy for the growing vice of drunkenness, "ordered gold or silver pegs to be fastened in the pots; that whilst every man knew his just measure, shame should compel each neither to take more himself, nor to oblige others to drink more than their proportional share."—See *Giles*'s ed. p. 143.

² "Nothing," says Mr. Turner, "can more strongly display Edgar's vanity than the pompous and boasting titles which he assumes in his charters. They sometimes run to the length of fifteen or eighteen lines. How different from Alfred's *Ego occidentalium Saxonum Rex*!"—*Sharon Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons*.

³ "Edgar the Pacific, as he was called, gave a greater extent and majesty to the Anglo-Saxon dominion than any Bretwalda had hitherto obtained. Peace, it was believed, was prophesied to him by Dunstan, and peace certainly prevailed. A combat with the Britons, faintly indicated, is the only sign of war which can be traced in the annals of his reign. Yet such obedience was rendered to Edgar as no sovereign of Britain had ever claimed before. Circumnavigating the island with a fleet whose numbers are said to have amounted to 5000 vessels, he led his mighty force to the city of Chester, where the vassals of the Anglo-Saxon crown had assembled, pursuant to his behest."—*Palgrave's History of the Anglo-Saxons*.

the Saxon kings. The court of this promoter of celibacy and chastity swarmed at all times with concubines, some of whom were obtained in the most violent or flagitious manner. To pass over less authentic cases, in an early part of his reign, during the life of his first wife, he carried off from the monastery of Wilton a beautiful young lady of noble birth, named Wulfreda, who was either a professed nun, or receiving her education under the sacred covering of the veil. It has been said that Dunstan here interfered with a courage which absolves him from the charge of reserving his reproofs for those who stood, like the unfortunate Edwy, in the position of enemies. But what was the amount of his interference in this extreme case, where the sanctity of the cloister itself was violated? He condemned the king to lay aside an empty, inconvenient bauble—not to wear his crown on his head for seven years—and to a penance of fasting, which was probably in good part performed by deputy. This was not the measure of punishment that was meted out to Edwy; and, for all that we can learn to the contrary, Edgar was allowed to retain Wulfreda as his mistress! On another occasion, when the guest of one of his nobles at Andover, he ordered that the fair and honourable daughter of his host should be sent to his bed. The young lady's mother artfully substituted a handsome slave or servant; and this menial was added to his harem, or taken to court, where, according to William of Malmesbury, she enjoyed his exceeding great favour, until he became enamoured of Elfrida, his second *lawful* wife. Romantic as are its incidents, the story of his marriage with the execrable Elfrida rests on about as good authority as we can find for any of the events of the time. The fame of this young lady's beauty reached the ears of Edgar, ever hungry of such reports. To ascertain whether her charms were not exaggerated, the royal voluptuary despatched Athelwold, his favourite courtier, to the distant castle of her father, Ordgar, Earl of Devonshire. Athelwold became himself enamoured of the beauty, wedded her, and then represented her to the king as being rich, indeed, but not otherwise commendable. Edgar suspected or was told the real truth. He insisted on paying her a visit. The unlucky husband was allowed to precede him, that he might put his house in order; but he failed in his real object, which was to obtain his wife's forgiveness for having stepped between her and a throne, and to induce her to disguise or conceal the brilliancy of her charms by homely attire and rustic demeanour. The visit was made: the king was captivated, as she intended he should be. Soon after Athelwold was found murdered in a wood, and Edgar married his widow. This union, begun in crime,

led to the foul murder of Edgar's eldest son: and under the imbecile Ethelred, the only son he had by Elfrida, the glory of the house of Alfred was eclipsed for ever. He himself did not survive the marriage more than six or seven years, when he died, at the early age of thirty-two, and was buried in the abbey of Glastonbury, which he had made magnificent by vast outlays of money and donations of land.¹

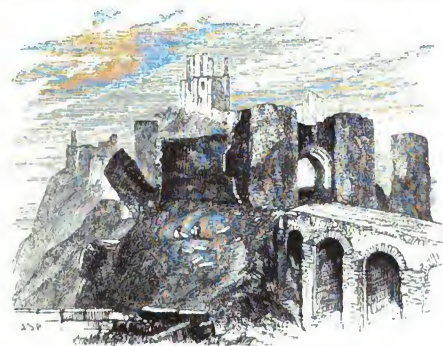
EDWARD, commonly called the Martyr, who succeeded (A.D. 975), was Edgar's son by his first marriage. Like all the kings since Athelstane, he was a mere boy at his accession, being not more than fourteen or fifteen years old. His rights were disputed, in favour of her own son, Ethelred, who was only six years old, by the ambitious and remorseless Elfrida, who boldly maintained that Edward, though the elder brother, and named king in his father's will, was excluded by the illegitimacy of his birth. The legitimacy of several of the Saxon princes who had worn the crown was more than doubtful; but in the case of Edward the challenge seems to have been unfounded. The cause of Edward and his half-brother was decided on far different grounds. As soon as Edgar was dead the church war was renewed, and Dunstan, after a long and unopposed triumph, was compelled once more to descend to the arena with his old opponents, the "married clerks," or secular clergy, who again showed themselves in force in many parts of the kingdom, and claimed the abbey and churches of which they had been dispossessed. The nobles and the governors of provinces chose different sides. Alfre, the powerful Ealdorman of Mercia, declared for the secular clergy, and drove the monks from every part of his extensive dominions. Alwyn, of East Anglia, on the contrary, stood by Dunstan and the monks, and chased the seculars. Elfrida, no doubt because Dunstan and his friends had got possession of Edward, gave the weight of her son Ethelred's name and herself to the party of Alfre and the seculars, which soon proved again to be the weaker of the two factions. Had it been the stronger, Ethelred would have been crowned; as it turned out,

¹ "Edgar's reign has been celebrated as the most glorious of all the Anglo-Saxon kings. No other sovereign, indeed, converted his prosperity into such personal pomp, and no other sovereign was more degraded in his posterity. With his short life—for he died at thirty-two—the gaudy pageantry ceased, and all the vast dominion in which he so ostentatiously exulted vanished from his children's grasp. His eldest son perished by the scheme of his beloved Elfrida; his youngest reigned only to show that one weak reign is sufficient to ruin even a brave and great people. Edgar made kings his watermen; the son of his love five times bought his kingdom from Danish foreigners, was the fool of traitors, and surrendered his throne to a foreign invader. Of Edgar's grandsons, one perished violently soon after his accession. The other was the last of his race who ruled the Anglo-Saxon nation."—Sharon Turner's *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, vol. iii. p. 186.

Dunstan was enabled to place Edward upon the throne. But the animosities of two religious parties were not to be reconciled by the decisions of national or church councils, by disputations, or even by miracles; nor was the ambition of the perfidious Elfrida to be cured by a single reverse. She continued her intrigues with the secular party; she united herself more closely than ever with Alfere, the Eolderman of Mercia; and soon saw herself at the head of a powerful confederacy of nobles, who were resolved her son should reign, and Dunstan be deprived of that immense power he had so long held. But not even this resolution would prepare us for the horrible catastrophe that followed. About three years after his accession, as Edward was hunting one day in Dorsetshire, he quitted his company and attendants to visit his half-brother, Ethelred, who was

cup to his lips, one of Elfrida's attendants stabbed him in the back. The wounded king put spurs to his horse, but soon fainting from loss of blood, he fell out of the saddle, and was dragged by one foot in the stirrup through woods and rugged ways until he was dead. His but too negligent companions in the chase traced him by his blood, and at last found his disfigured corpse, which they burned, and then buried the ashes of it at Wareham, without any pomp or regal ceremonies. "No worse deed than this," says the *Saxon Chronicle*, "had been committed among the people of the Angles since they first came to the land of Britain."

It is believed that Alfere, the Eolderman of Mercia, with other nobles opposed to Dunstan and the monks, was engaged with the queen-dowager in a plot to assassinate Edward, but that Elfrida, impatiently seizing an unlooked-for opportunity, took the bloody execution instantly and wholly upon herself. The boy **ETHELRED**, who was not ten years old, had no part in the guilt which gave him a crown, though that crown certainly sat upon him like a curse. It is related of him that he dearly loved his half-brother Edward, and wept his death, for which his virago mother, seizing a large torch, beat him with it until he was almost dead himself. Such, however, was the popular odium that fell both on son and mother, that an attempt was made to exclude him from the throne, by substituting Edgitha, Edgar's natural daughter



CORFE CASTLE, Dorsetshire.—From Turner's *Southern Coast*.

living with his mother, hard by, in Corfe Castle. Elfrida came forth with her son to meet him at the outer gate: she bade him welcome with a smiling face, and invited him to dismount; but the young king, with thanks, declined, fearing he should be missed by his company, and craved only a cup of wine, which he might drink in his saddle to her and his brother, and so be gone. The wine was brought, and as Edward was carrying the

ter by the lady he had stolen from the nunnery of Wilton. This Edgitha was herself at the time a professed nun in the same monastery from which her mother had been torn; and it is said that nothing but her timidity and the dread inspired by her brother Edward's murder, and her firm refusal to exchange the tranquillity of the cell for the dangers of the throne, prevented Dunstan from causing her to be proclaimed Queen of all England. There was no other prince of the blood-royal—no other pretender to set up; so the prelates and thanes, with no small repugnance, were compelled to bestow the crown on the son of the murderer; and Dunstan, as primate, at the festival of Easter (A. D. 979) put it on his weak head in the old chapel of Kingston, at this time the usual crowning place of the Saxon monarchs. The vehement monk, who was now soured by age, and exasperated at the temporary triumph

¹ The foundation of this castle is considered to date from the tenth century. Its great strength, and its situation on a high hill, caused it to be regarded formerly as a fortress of peculiar importance, and it was used as a resting-place by the West Saxon princes. It was the occasional residence of King John, and here he deposited his regalia for security. Here Edward II., when he fell into the hands of his enemies, was for a time imprisoned; it was stoutly defended in the war of the Parliament, but taken by treachery in 1645-6, when it was dismantled. The castle is separated from the town to which it gives its name by a ditch, now dry, crossed by a bridge of four very narrow, high arches.

of his enemies, is said to have pronounced a malediction on Ethelred, even in the act of crowning him, and to have given public vent to a prophecy of woe and misery, which some think was well calculated to insure its own fulfilment; for Dunstan already enjoyed among the nation the reputation of being both a seer and a saint, and the words he dropped could hardly fail of being treasured in the memory of the people, and of depressing their spirits at the approach of danger. Ethelred, moreover, began his reign with an unlucky nickname, which it is believed was given him by Dunstan—he was called “the Unready.” His personal and moral qualities were not calculated to overcome a bad prestige, and the unpopular circumstances attending his succession: in him the people lost their warm affection for the blood of Alfred, and by degrees many of them contemplated with indifference, if not with pleasure, the transfer of the crown to a prince of Danish race. This latter feeling more than half explains the events of his reign. During the first part of the minority, the infamous Elfrida enjoyed great authority, but as the king advanced in years, her influence declined, and, followed by the execrations of nobles and people (even by those of her own party), she at last retired to expiate her sins, according to the fashion of the times, in building and endowing monasteries.

Although the Northmen settled in the Dane-lagh had so frequently troubled the peace of the kingdom, and had probably at no period renounced the hope of gaining an ascendancy over the Saxons of the island, and placing a king of their own race on the throne of England, the Danes beyond sea had certainly made no formidable attacks since the time of Athelstane, and of late years had scarcely been heard of. This suspension of hostility on their part is not to be

attributed solely to the wisdom and valour of the intermediate Saxon kings. There were great political causes connected with the histories of Norway and Denmark, and France and Normandy; and circumstances which, by giving the Danes employment and settlement in other countries, kept them away from England. But now, when unfortunately there was neither wisdom nor valour in the king and council, nor spirit in the people, these extraneous circumstances had changed, and instead of checking, they threw the men of the North on our shores.



CROWNING-STONE OF THE SAXON KINGS.—J. W. Archer, from his drawing on the spot.

Sweyn, a son of the King of Denmark, had quarrelled with his father, and been banished from his home. Young, brave, and enterprising, he soon collected a host of mariners and adventurers round his standard, with whom he resolved to obtain wealth, if not a home in our island. His first operations were on a small scale, intended merely to try the state of defence of the island, and were probably not conducted by himself.

In the third year of Ethelred's reign (A.D. 981), the Danish raven was seen floating in Southampton Water, and that city was plundered, and its inhabitants carried into slavery. In the course of a few months Chester and London partook of the fate of Southampton, and attacks were multiplied on different points—in the north, in the south, and in the west—as far as the extremity of Cornwall. These operations were continued for some years, during which Ethelred seems to have been much occupied by quarrels with his bishops and nobles. Alfer, the Mercian, who had conspired with Elfrida against Edward the Martyr, was dead, and his extensive earldom had fallen to his son Alfric, a notorious name in these annals. In consequence of a conspiracy, real or alleged, this Alfric was banished. The weak king was soon obliged to recall him, but the revengeful nobleman never forgot the past. In the year 991 a more formidable host of the sea-kings ravaged all that part of East Anglia that lay between Ipswich and Maldon, and won a great battle, in which Earl Brithnoth, a Dane by descent, but a Christian, and a friend to the established government, was slain. Ethelred, then, for the first time, had recourse to the fatal expedient of purchasing their forbearance with money. Ten thousand pounds of silver were paid

¹ This stone was invested with a traditionary sanctity somewhat similar to that in the coronation chair at Westminster Abbey. It formerly stood in the ancient chapel of St. Mary, at Kingston-on-Thames, which fell down about fifty years ago. It has been recently set up upon a new pedestal in the High Street of that town.

“The Anglo-Saxon kings were crowned at Winchester until that city was burned by the Danes, in the reign of Ethelbert, when the court was removed to Kingston. Edward (called the Elder) was the first Anglo-Saxon king crowned at Kingston.”—Brayley's *Surrey*.

down, and the sea-kings departed for a while, carrying with them the head of Earl Brithnoth as a trophy. In the course of the following year the witenagemot adopted a wiser plan of defence. A formidable fleet was collected at London, and well manned and supplied with arms. But this wise measure was defeated by Alfric the Mercian, who, in his hatred to the king, had opened a correspondence with the Danes, and being intrusted with a principal command in the fleet, he went over to them on the eve of a battle, with many of his ships. The traitor of course escaped, and Ethelred wreaked his savage vengeance on Elfgar, the son of Alfric, whose eyes he put out. In 993 a Danish host landed in the north, and took Bamborough Castle by storm. Three chiefs, of Danish origin, who had been appointed to command the natives, threw down the standard of Ethelred, and ranged themselves under the Danish raven. All through Northumbria, and the rest of the Danelagh, the Danish settlers gradually either joined their still pagan brethren from the Baltic, or offered them no resistance. In the meantime, the fortunes of Sweyn the exile had undergone a change. By the murder of his father he had ascended the throne of Denmark, and, formidable himself, he had gained a powerful ally in Olave, King of Norway, a prince of the true Scandinavian race, a son of an old pirate, who, in former times, had often pillaged the coast of England. In 994 the two North kings ravaged all the southern provinces of our island, doing "unspeakable harm," and meeting nowhere with a valid resistance. It was again agreed to treat, and buy them off with money. Their pretensions of course rose, and this time *sixteen thousand* pounds of silver were exacted and paid. By a clause in the treaty, Olave and some chiefs were bound to embrace the Christian religion. Sweyn had been baptized already more than once, and had relapsed to idolatry. One of the chiefs boasted that he had been washed *twenty times* in the water of baptism, by which we are to understand that the marauder had submitted to what he considered an idle ceremony, whenever it suited his convenience. Olave, the Norwegian king, however, stood at the font with a better spirit; his conversion was sincere; and an oath he there took, never again to molest the English, was honourably kept. During the four following years the Danes continued their desultory invasions; and when (in 998) Ethelred had got ready a strong fleet and army to oppose them, some of his own officers gave the plunderers timely warning, and they retreated unhurt. On their next returning in force (A.D. 1001), Ethelred seems to have had neither fleet nor army in a condition to meet them; for, after two conflicts by land, they were allowed to ravage the whole kingdom from

the Isle of Wight to the Bristol Channel, and then they were stayed, not by steel, but by gold. Their price of course still rose; this time *twenty-four thousand* pounds were paid to purchase their departure. These large sums were raised by direct taxation upon land; and the "Dane-geld," as it was called, was an oppressive and humiliating burden, that became permanent. Nor was this all. The treaties of peace or truce generally allowed bands of the marauders to winter in the island, at Southampton or some other town; and during their stay the English people, whom they had plundered and beggared, were obliged to feed them. Their appetites had not decreased since the days of Guthrun and Hasting.

As if the Danes were not enemies enough, Ethelred had engaged in hostilities with Richard II., Duke of Normandy, and had even, at one time, prepared an armament to invade his dominions. The quarrel was made up by the mediation of the pope; and then the English king, who was a widower, thought of strengthening his hands by marrying Emma, the Duke of Normandy's sister. The alliance, which laid the first grounds for the pretext of Norman claims on England, afterwards pressed by William the Conqueror, was readily accepted by the Duke Richard, and in the spring of 1002 Emma, "the Flower of Normandy," as she was styled, arrived at the court of Ethelred, where she was received with great pomp.

The long rejoicings for this marriage were scarcely over when a memorable atrocity covered the land with amazement, blood, and horror. This was the sudden massacre of the Danes, perpetrated by the people with whom they were living intermixed as fellow-subjects. It is universally asserted that the plot was laid beforehand, the fatal order given by the king himself; and there is little in Ethelred's general conduct and character to awaken a doubt in his favour. At the same time, be it observed, the people must have been as guilty, as secret, as treacherous, as cruel as the king, and must have entered fully into the spirit which dictated the bloody order of which they were to be the executioners. Such being the case, we think they were fully equal to the conception of the plot themselves, and that, from the loose, unguarded manner in which the Danes lived scattered among them, such a mode of disposing of them would naturally suggest itself to a very imperfectly civilized people, madened by the harsh treatment and insults of their invaders. In the simultaneous massacre of the French invaders all over Sicily, in 1282, the same mystery was observed; but it is still a matter of doubt whether the "Sicilian Vespers" were ordered by John of Procida, or sprung spontaneously from the people. These two cases, which

belong alike to the class of the terrible acts of vengeance that signalize a nation's despair, are nearly parallel in their circumstances; and in England, as afterwards in Sicily, it was the insults offered by the invaders to their women that extinguished the last sentiments of humanity in the hearts of the people. The outrages of the Danish *pagans* were extreme. According to the old chroniclers, they made the English yeomanry among whom they were settled, perform the most menial offices for them; they held their houses as their own, and, eating and drinking of the best, scantily left the real proprietor his fill of the worst; the peasantry were so sorely oppressed that, out of fear and dread, they called them, *in every house where they had rule*, "Lord Danes." Their wives and daughters were everywhere a prey to their lust, and when the English made resistance or remonstrance, they were killed, or beaten and laughed at. All this description seems to point at soldiers and adventurers, and men recently settled in the land, and not to the converted married Danes, who had been living a long time in different parts of the country (as well as in the Danelagh, where they were too numerous to be touched), who had contracted quiet, orderly habits, and successfully cultivated the friendship of the English. It was resolved, however, to destroy them all at one blow; the good with the bad, the innocent infant at the breast with the hardened ruffian, the neighbour of years with the intruder of yesterday. As the story is told, Ethelred sent secretly to all his good burghs, cities, and towns, charging the rulers thereof to rise, all on a fixed day and hour, and, by falling suddenly on the Danes, exterminate them from the land by sword and fire. By whatever means this simultaneous movement was arranged, it certainly took place. On Nov. 13, 1002 (the holy festival of St. Brice), the Danes, dispersed through a great part of England, were attacked by surprise, and massacred, without distinction of quality, age, or sex, by their hosts and neighbours. Gunhilda, the sister of Sweyn, King of Denmark, who had embraced Christianity, and married an English earl of Danish descent, after being made to witness the murder of her husband and child, was barbarously murdered herself.

This tale of horror was soon wafted across the ocean, where Sweyn prepared for a deadly revenge. He assembled a fleet more numerous than any that had hitherto invaded England. The Danish warriors considered the cause a national and sacred one; and in the assembled host there was not a slave, or an emancipated slave, or a single old man, but every combatant was a freeman, the son of a freeman, and in the prime of life.¹

These choice warriors embarked in lofty ships, every one of which bore the ensign or standard of its separate commander. Some carried at their prow such figures as lions, bulls, dolphins, dragons, or armed men, all made of metal, and gayly gilded; others carried on their topmast-head the figures of large birds, as eagles and ravens, that stretched out their wings and turned with the wind; the sides of the ships were painted with different bright colours, and, larboard and starboard, from stem to stern, shields of burnished steel were suspended in even lines, and glittered in the sun. Gold, silver, and embroidered banners were profusely displayed, and the whole wealth of the pirates of the Baltic was made to contribute to this barbaric pomp. The ship that bore the royal standard of Sweyn was moulded in the form of an enormous serpent, the sharp head of which formed the prow, while the lengthening tail coiled over the poop. It was called "The Great Dragon." The first place where the avengers landed was near Exeter, and that important city was presently surrendered to them, through the treachery of Ethelred's governor, a Norman nobleman, and one of the train of favourites and dependents that had followed Queen Emma. After plundering and dismantling Exeter, the Danes marched through the country into Wiltshire, committing every excess that a thirst for vengeance and rapine could suggest. In all the towns and villages through which they passed, after gayly eating the repasts the Saxons were forced to prepare for them, they slew their hosts, and, departing, set fire to their houses.² At last an Anglo-Saxon army was brought up to oppose their destructive progress; but this force was commanded by another traitor—by Alfric the Mercian—who had already betrayed Ethelred, and whose son, in consequence, had been barbarously blinded by the king. We are not informed by what means he had been restored to favour and employment after such extreme measures, but Alfric now took the opportunity offered him for further revenge on the king. He pretended to be seized with a sudden illness, called off his men when they were about to join battle, and permitted Sweyn to retire with his army and his immense booty through Salisbury to the seacoast. In the following year Norwich was taken, plundered, and burned, and the same fate befell nearly every town in Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, and Lincolnshire. The Danes then (A.D. 1004) returned to the Baltic, retreating from a famine which their devastations had caused in England.

By marrying the Norman princess Emma, Ethelred had hoped to secure the assistance of her

¹ Sax. Chron.² Hen. Hunting. Hist.

brother, Duke Richard, against the Danes; but it was soon found that the only Normans who crossed the Channel were a set of intriguing, ambitious courtiers, hungry for English places and honours; and by his inconstancy and neglect of his wife, Ethelred so irritated that princess that she made bitter complaints to her brother, and caused a fresh quarrel between England and Normandy. Duke Richard seized all the native English who chanced to be in his dominions, and after shamefully killing some, threw the rest into prison. According to Walsingham, and some of the old Norman writers, Ethelred then actually sent a force to invade Normandy, and this force, after effecting a landing near Coutances, was thoroughly defeated. We are inclined to believe that the expedition was less important than the Norman chronicles represent it, but it shows the impolicy of the Saxon king, and had, no doubt, some effect in weakening an already weak and dispirited nation.

In 1006 Sweyn, whose vengeance and rapacity were not yet satisfied, returned, and carried fire and sword over a great part of the kingdom; and when it was resolved in the great council to buy him off with gold, £36,000 was the sum demanded. The frequent raising of these large sums utterly exhausted the people, whose doors were almost constantly beset either by the king's tax-gatherers or the Danish marauders. Those few who had, as yet, the good fortune of escaping the pillage of the Danes, could not now escape the exactions of Ethelred, and, under one form or another, they were sure of being plundered of all they possessed. By an insolent and cruel mockery, the royal tax-gatherers were accustomed to demand an additional sum from those who had paid money to the Danes directly, in order to save their persons and their houses from destruction, affecting to consider such transactions with the enemy as illegal.

In 1008 the people were oppressed with a new burden; but had this been properly apportioned, had the country been less exhausted, and had the measure for which the money was to be applied been carried vigorously and honestly into effect, it seems as if it ought to have saved England from the Danes. Every 310 hides of land were charged with the building and equipping of one ship for the defence of the kingdom; and in addition to this, every nine hides of land were bound to provide one man, armed with a helmet and

iron breastplate. It is calculated that, if all the land which still nominally belonged to Ethelred had supplied its proper contingent, more than 800 ships and about 35,000 armed men would have been provided. The force actually raised is not stated, but, in spite of the exhaustion of the country, it appears to have been large; some of the old writers stating, particularly as to the marine, that there never were so many ships got together in England before. This fleet, however, was soon rendered valueless by dissensions and treachery at home. Ethelred, who had always a favourite of some kind, was now governed by Eadric, a man of low birth, but eloquent, clever, and ambitious. He obtained in marriage one of the king's daughters, and about the same time one of the highest offices in the state. His family shared, as usual, in his promotion. Brihtric, the brother of this powerful favourite, conspired against Earl Wulfnoth. Wulfnoth fled, and carried twenty of the new ships with him, with which he plundered all the southern coast of England, even as if he had been a Danish pirate. Eighty other ships were placed under the command of Brihtric, who pursued the man he had sought to ruin. A storm arose; these eighty vessels were wrecked on the coast, where Wulfnoth succeeded in burning them all; and then the rest of the king's fleet appear to have dispersed in anarchy and confusion. This story, like so many others of the period, is imperfectly told; but the annalists agree in stating that the new navy was dissipated or lost; and that thus perished the last hope of England.

As soon as the intelligence of this disaster reached the mouth of the Baltic, a large army of Danes, called, from their leader, "Thurkill's host," set sail for England, where, during the three following years, they committed incalculable mischief, and by the end of that period had made themselves masters of a large part of the kingdom. They now and then sold short and uncertain truces to the Saxons, but they never evinced an intention of leaving the island, as Sweyn had left it on former occasions, when well loaded with gold. As Ethelred's difficulties increased, he was surrounded more and more by the basest treachery, and he seems, at last, not to have had a single officer on whom he could depend. During this lamentable period of baseness and cowardice, a noble instance of courage and firmness occurred in the person of a churchman.¹ Alphege, Arch-

¹ "In the earlier years of Ethelred, the struggle commenced between the two races of the inhabitants of England. The superiority of the Saxons in art and wealth was, for a time, compensated by the inexhaustible aid which their opponents drew from Scandinavia, now almost united under one king paramount. The Saxon people continued faithful, though dispirited. But the defection and treachery of several of the provincial chiefs, especially of Eilfric, Earl of Mercia, seem to indicate a growing

familiarity between men of rank in both nations, and a disposition to regard the war as the contest of two national parties for the mastery. Three times did Ethelred purchase a momentary respite from their ravages by large bribes, which served to insure their return. In the midst of these ignominious submissions, the Archbishop of Canterbury, a prisoner in the Danish camp, acted with a magnanimity more signal than that which patriotic fiction ascribed to Regulus."—*Sir James Mackintosh*.

bishop of Canterbury, defended that city for twenty days, and when a traitor opened its gates to the Danes, and he was made prisoner and loaded with chains, he refused to purchase liberty and life with gold, which he knew must be wrung from the people. Tired out by his resistance, they thought to overcome it by lowering the rate of his ransom; and they proposed to take a small sum from him, if he would engage to advise the king to pay them a further amount as a largess. "I do not possess so much money as you demand from me," replied the Saxon archbishop, "and I will not ask or take money from anybody, nor will I advise my king against the honour of my country." He continued immovable in this resolution, even refusing the means of ransom voluntarily offered by his brother, saying it would be treason in him to enrich, in any degree, the enemies of England. The Danes, more covetous of money than desirous of his blood, frequently renewed their demands. "You press me in vain," said Alphege; "I am not the man to provide Christian flesh for pagan teeth, by robbing my poor countrymen to enrich their enemies." The Danes at length lost patience, and one day, when they were assembled at a drunken banquet, they caused him to be dragged into their presence. "Gold, bishop! give us gold! gold!" was their cry, as they gathered about him in menacing attitudes. Still unmoved, he looked round that circle of fierce men, who presently broke up in rage and disorder, and running to a heap of bones, horns, and jaw-bones, the remains of their gross feast, they threw these things at him, until he fell to the ground half dead. A Danish pirate, whom he had previously converted, or, at least, baptized with his own hands, then took his battle-axe, and put an end to the agony and life of Archbishop Alphege.¹

This heroic example had no effect upon King Ethelred, who continued to pay gold as before. After receiving £48,000 (for still their demands rose), and the formal cession of several counties, Thurkill took the oaths of peace, and became, with many of his chiefs, and a large detachment of his host, the ally and soldier of the weak Saxon monarch. It is probable that Earl Thurkill entered the service of Ethelred for the purpose of betraying him, and acted all along in concert with Sweyn; but the Danish king affected to consider the compact as treason to himself, and, with a show of jealousy towards Thurkill, prepared a fresh expedition, which he gave out was equally directed against Ethelred and his vassal Thurkill. The fact at all events was, that Sweyn, who had so often swept the land from east to west, from north to south, had now resolved to attempt

the permanent conquest of our island. He sailed up the Humber with a numerous and splendid fleet, and landed as near as he could to the city of York. As the Danes advanced into the country, they stuck their lances into the soil, or threw them into the current of the rivers, in sign of their entire domination over England. They marched escorted by fire and sword, their ordinary satellites.² Nearly all the inhabitants of the Danelagh joined them at once: the men of Northumbria, Lindsey, and the "Five Burghs" welcomed the banner of Sweyn, and finally all the "host" north of Watling-street took up arms in his favour.³ Even the provinces in the centre of England, where the Danish settlers or troops were far less numerous, prepared themselves for a quiet surrender. Leaving his fleet to the care of his son Canute, Sweyn conducted the main body of his army to the south, exacting horses and provisions as he marched rapidly along. Oxford, Winchester, and other important towns threw open their gates at his approach; but he was obliged to retire from before the walls of London, and the determined valour of its citizens, among whom the king had taken refuge. Sweyn then turned to the west, where he was received with open arms. The ealdern of Devonshire, and nearly every other thane in that part of the kingdom, repaired to his head-quarters at Bath, and did homage to him as their lawful or chosen sovereign. Seeing the whole kingdom falling from him, Ethelred abandoned London, which soon followed the general example, and submitted to the Danes. This unready king then fled to the Isle of Wight, whence he secretly sent his children with Emma, his Norman wife, to the court of her brother at Rouen. He was for some short time doubtful where he should lay his own head; for, after the hostilities and insults which had passed between them, he reasonably doubted the good-will of his brother-in-law. The Duke of Normandy, however, not only received Emma and her children with great kindness, but offered a safe and honourable asylum to Ethelred, which that luckless prince was fain to accept as his only resource.

SWEYN was now (about the middle of Jan., 1013) acknowledged as "full King of England;" but the power which had been obtained with so much labour, and at the expense of so much bloodshed and wretchedness, remained to the conqueror a very short time. He died suddenly at Gainsborough; and, only six weeks after the time when he had been allowed to depart for Normandy, "abandoned, deserted, and betrayed" by all, Ethelred was invited by the Saxon nobles and prelates to return and take possession of his

¹ Vita Alphegi, in *Anglia Sacra*; Ingulph' Chron. Sax.; Eadmer; Brompton.

² *Scriptores Rer. Danic.*, quoted in Thierry's *Histoire de la Conquête*; Brompton.

³ *Chron. Sax.*

kingdom, which was pledged to his defence and support—*provided only that he would govern them better than he had done before.* Ethelred, before venturing himself, sent over his son Edward, with solemn promises and assurances. Pledges were exchanged for the faithful performance of the new compact between king and people.¹ A sentence of perpetual outlawry was pronounced against every kind of Danish name and race; and before the end of Lent, Ethelred was restored to those dominions which he had already misgoverned thirty-five years. In the meantime, the Danish army in England had proclaimed Canute, the son of Sweyn, as king of the whole land; and in the northern provinces they and their adherents were in a condition to maintain the election they had made. Indeed, north of Watling-street the Danes were all-powerful; and Canute, though beset by some difficulties, was not of a character to relinquish his hold of the kingdom without a hard struggle. A sanguinary warfare was renewed, and murdering and bribing, betraying and betrayed, Ethelred was fast losing ground, when he died of disease, about three years after his return from Normandy.²

The law of succession continued as loose as ever; and in seasons of extreme difficulty like the present, when so much depended on the personal character and valour of the sovereign, it was altogether neglected or despised. Setting aside Ethelred's legitimate children, the Saxons chose for their king a natural son, EDMUND, surnamed *Ironside*, who had already given many proofs of courage in the field and wisdom in the council. By general consent, indeed, Edmund was a hero; but the country was too much worn out and divided, and the treasons that had torn his father's court and camp were too prevalent in his own, to permit of his restoring Saxon independence throughout the kingdom. After twice relieving London, when besieged by Canute and all his host, and fighting five pitched battles with unvarying valour, but with various success, Ironside proposed that he and his rival should decide their claims in a single combat, saying "it was pity so many lives should be lost and perilled for their ambition."³ Canute declined the duel, saying that he, as a man of slender make, would stand no chance with the stalwart Edmund; and he added, that it would be wiser and better for them both to divide England between them, even as their forefathers had done in other times. This proposal is said to have been received with en-

thusiastic joy by both armies; and however the negotiation may have been conducted, and whatever was the precise line of demarcation settled between them, it was certainly agreed that Canute should reign over the north, and Edmund Ironside over the south, with a nominal superiority over the Dane's portion. The brave Edmund did not survive the treaty more than two months. His death, which took place on the feast of St. Andrew, was sudden and mysterious. As Canute profited so much by it as to become sole monarch of England immediately after, it is generally believed he planned his assassination; but judging from the old chroniclers who lived at or near the time, it is not clear who were the contrivers and actual perpetrators of the deed, or whether he was killed at all. There is even a doubt as to the place of his death, whether it was London or Oxford.

CANUTE. A.D. 1017. Although the death of Edmund removed all obstacles, and the south



CANUTE AND HIS QUEEN.—From an illumination in the Registry of Hyde Abbey.

lay prostrate before the Danes, Canute began with a show of law and moderation. A great council of the bishops, "duces," and "optimates" was convened at London; and before them Canute appealed to those Saxons who had been witnesses to the convention and treaty of partition between himself and Edmund, and called upon

¹ "This remarkable transaction laid the foundations for the greatest alterations in the principles of the constitution. With the full acknowledgment of hereditary right, the nation stipulated that the king should not abuse his power. They imposed terms upon Ethelred—they vindicated their national liberty, at the same time that they respected the sanctity of the crown; and in the concessions made by Ethelred we may discern the

germ of Magna Charta, and of all the subsequent compacts between the king and people of England."—Palgrave, *Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons*, p. 308.

² "His death put an end to a reign in which all the elements of Anglo-Saxon society seemed to have fallen into the most complete and the most frightful dissolution."—Borlase, *Le quatre Conquetes de l'Angleterre*, t. ii. p. 28.

³ *Malmesb.*

them to state the terms upon which the compact was concluded. Intimidated by force, or won by promises, and the hopes of conciliating the favour of the powerful survivor, who seemed certain to be king, with or without their consent, they all loudly testified that Edmund had never intended to reserve any right of succession to his brothers, the sons of Ethelred, who were absent in Normandy, and that it was his (Edmund's) express wish that Canute should be the guardian of his own children during their infancy. The most imperfect and faint semblance of a right being thus established, the Saxon chiefs took an oath of fidelity to Canute, as King of all England; and Canute, in return, swore to be just and benevolent, and clasped their hands with his naked hand, in sign of sincerity. A full amnesty was promised; but the promise had scarcely passed the royal lips ere Canute began to proscribe those whom he had promised to love. The principal of the Saxon chiefs who had formerly opposed him, and the relations of Edmund and Ethelred, were banished or put to death. "He who brings me the head of one of my enemies," said the ferocious Dane, "shall be dearer to me than a brother." The *witenagemot* or parliament, which had so recently passed the same sentence against the Danish princes, now excluded all the descendants of Ethelred from the throne. They declared Edwy, a grown-up brother of Ironside, an outlaw, and when he was pursued and murdered by Canute, they tacitly acknowledged the justice of that execution.

Edmund and Edward, the two infant sons of the deceased king, Edmund Ironside, were seized, and a feeling of shame, mingled perhaps with some fear of the popular odium, preventing him from murdering them in England, Canute sent them over sea to his ally and vassal, the King of Sweden, whom he requested to dispose of them in such a manner as should remove his uneasiness on their account. He meant that they should be murdered; but the Swedish king, moved by the innocence of the little children, instead of executing the horrid commission, sent them to the distant court of the King of Hungary, where they were affectionately and honourably entertained, beyond the reach of Canute. Of these two orphans, Edmund died without issue, but Edward married a daughter of the German emperor, by whom he became father to Edgar Atheling, Christina, and Margaret. Edgar will be frequently mentioned in our subsequent pages; Margaret became the wife of Malcolm, King of Scotland, and through her the rights of the line of Alfred and Cerdic were transmitted to Malcolm's progeny, after the Norman conquest of England. There were still two princes whose claims to the crown might some day disquiet

Canute, but they were out of his reach, in Normandy. These were Edward and Alfred, the sons of King Ethelred by Emma. Their uncle Richard, the Norman duke, at first sent an embassy to the Dane, demanding, on their behalf, the restitution of the kingdom; but though his power was great, he adopted no measures likely to induce Canute to a surrender or partition of the territories he was actually possessed of; and very soon after, he entered into close and friendly negotiations with that enemy of his nephews, and even offered him *their* own mother and *his* sister in marriage. According to some historians, the first overtures to this unnatural marriage, which was followed by most unnatural consequences, proceeded from Canute. However this may be, the Dane wooed the widowed "Flower of Normandy;" and the heartless Emma, forgetful of the children she had borne, and only anxious to become again the wife of a king, readily gave her hand to the man who had caused the ruin and hastened the death of her husband Ethelred. In this extraordinary transaction an old chronicler is at a loss to decide whether the greater share of dishonour falls to Queen Emma or to her brother, Duke Richard.¹ Having soon become the mother of another son, by Canute, this Norman woman neglected and despised her first-born; and those two princes, being detained at a distance from England, became by degrees strangers to their own country, forgot its language and its manners, and grew up Normans instead of Saxons. The Danish dynasty of Canute was not destined to take root; but the circumstance just alluded to most essentially contributed to place a long line of Norman princes upon the throne of England.

Canute was not one that loved blood for the sake of bloodshedding. When he had disposed of all those who gave him fear or umbrage, he stayed his hand, and was praised, like so many other conquerors, for his merciful forbearance. The Danish warriors insulted, robbed, and sorely oppressed the Saxons, and he himself wrung from them more "geld" than they had ever paid before; but by degrees Canute assumed a mild tone towards his new subjects, and partially succeeded in gaining their good-will. They followed him willingly to his foreign wars, of which there was no lack, for, besides that of England, Canute now held, or pretended to, the crowns of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. In these distant wars the Saxons, who had not been able to defend themselves, fought most bravely under their own conqueror, for the enslaving of other nations. But this is a case of very common occurrence, both in ancient and modern history. Canute's

¹ Malmebo.

last military expedition (A.D. 1017-9) was against the Cumbrians and Scots. Duncan, the regulus or under-king of Cumbria, refused homage and allegiance to the Dane, on the ground that he was an usurper; and Malcolm, King of Scotland, equally maintained that the English throne belonged of right to the legitimate heir of King Ethelred. Had the powerful Duke of Normandy seconded these demonstrations in favour of his nephews, Canute's crown might have been put in jeopardy; but the Cumbrians and Scots were left to themselves, and compelled to submit, in the face of a most formidable army which the Dane had collected.

These constant successes, and the enjoyment of peace which followed them, together with the sobering influence of increasing years, though he was yet in the prime of manhood, softened the conqueror's heart; and though he continued to rule despotically, the latter part of his reign was marked with no acts of cruelty, and was probably, on the whole, a happier time than the English had known since the days of Alfred and Athelstane.¹ He was cheerful and accessible to all his subjects, without distinction of race or nation. He took pleasure in old songs and ballads, of which both Danes and Saxons were passionately fond; he most liberally patronized the scalds, minstrels, and glee-men, the poets and musicians of the time, and occasionally wrote verses himself, which were orally circulated among the common people, and taken up and sung by them. He could scarcely have hit upon a surer road to popularity. A ballad of his composition continued long after to be a special favourite with the English peasantry. All of it is lost except the first verse, which has been preserved in the *Historia Eliensis*, or History of Ely. The interesting royal fragment is simply this:—

Merie sungeu the munches binnen Ely,
Tha Crut Ching rowd there by.
Roweth, crihtes, near the land,
And hear we thes munches soeng.

That is:—

Merrily sung the monks within Ely,
When Canute king rowed there by.
Row, my knights, row near the land,
And hear we these monks' song.

The verses are said to have been suggested to him one day as he was rowing on the river Nene, near Ely minster, by hearing the sweet and so-

lemn music of the monastic choir floating over the waters.² In his days of quiet the devotion of the times had also its full influence on the character of Canute. This son of an apostate Christian showed himself a zealous believer, a friend to the monks, a visitor and collector of relics, a founder of churches and monasteries. His soul was assailed with remorse for the blood he had shed and the other crimes he had committed; and, in the year 1030, he determined to make a pilgrimage to Rome. He started on his journey to the Holy City with a wallet on his back and a pilgrim's staff in his hand. He visited all the most celebrated churches on the road between the Low Countries and Rome, leaving at every one of them some proof of his liberality. According to a foreign chronicler, all the people on his way had reason to exclaim—"The blessing of God be upon the King of the English!" But no one tells us how dearly this munificence cost the English people. Returning from Rome, where he resided a considerable time, in company with other kings (there seems to have been a sort of royal and ecclesiastical congress held), he purchased, in the city of Pavia, the arm of St. Augustine, "the Great Doctor." This precious relic, for which he paid 100 talents of gold and 100 talents of silver, he afterwards presented to the church of Coventry—an act of liberality by which, no doubt, he gained many friends and many prayers.

On re-crossing the Alps, Canute did not make his way direct to England, but went to his other kingdom of Denmark, where, it appears, he had still difficulties to settle, and where he remained some months. He, however, despatched the abbot of Tavistock to England with a long letter of explanation, command, and advice, addressed "to Egelnth the metropolitan, to Archbishop Alfric, to all bishops and chiefs, and to all the nation of the English, both nobles and commoners, greeting." This curious letter, which appears to have been carefully preserved, and which is given entire by writers who lived near the time, begins with explaining the motives of his pilgrimage, and the nature of the sacred omnipotence of the Church of Rome. It then continues:—

"And be it known to you that, at the solemn festival of Easter, there was held a great assemblage of illustrious persons; to wit,—the Pope John, the Emperor Conrad, and the chiefs of all

¹ "The character of the Scandinavian nations was in some measure changed from what it had been during their first invasions. They had embraced the Christian faith; they were consolidated into great kingdoms; they had lost some of that predatory and ferocious spirit which a religion invented, it seems, for pirates, had stimulated. Those, too, who had long been settled in England, became gradually more assimilated to the natives, whose laws and language were not radically different from their own. Hence the accession of a Danish line of kings produced neither any evil nor any sensible change of polity. But the English still outnumbered their conquerors, and eagerly

returned, when an opportunity arrived, to the ancient stock. Edward the Confessor, notwithstanding his Norman favourites, was endeared by the mildness of his character to the English nation; and subsequent miseries gave a kind of posthumous credit to a reign not eminent either for good fortune or wise government."—Hallam's *Constitutional History of England*, vol. ii. p. 379.

² The meaning of the old English "merry," and "merrily," it is to be remembered, was different from that which we now attach to the words. A "merry" song was merely a sweet or touching melody, and might be plaintive as well as gay.

the nations from Mount Garganus to the neighbouring sea. They all received me with distinction, and honoured me with rich presents, giving me vases of gold and vessels of silver, and stuffs and garments of great price. I discoursed with the Lord Pope, the Lord Emperor, and the other princes, on the grievances of my people, English as well as Danes. I endeavoured to obtain for my people justice and security in their journeys to Rome; and, above all, that they might not henceforth be delayed on the road by the shutting up of the mountain passes, the erecting of barriers, and the exaction of heavy tolls. My demands were granted both by the emperor and King Rudolf, who are masters of most of the passes; and it was enacted that all my men, as well merchants as pilgrims, should go to Rome and return in full security, without being detained at the barriers, or forced to pay unlawful tolls. I also complained to the Lord Pope that such enormous sums had been extorted up to this day from my archbishops, when, according to custom, they went to the apostolic see to obtain the pallium; and a decree was forthwith made that this grievance likewise should cease. Wherefore I return sincere thanks to God that I have successfully done all that I intended to do, and have fully satisfied all my wishes. And now, therefore, be it known to you all, that I have dedicated my life to God, to govern my kingdoms with justice, and to observe the right in all things. If, in the time that is passed, and in the violence and carelessness of youth, I have violated justice, it is my intention, by the help of God, to make full compensation. Therefore I beg and command those unto whom I have intrusted the government, as they wish to preserve my good-will, and save their own souls, to do no injustice either to rich or poor. Let those who are noble, and those who are not, equally obtain their rights, according to the laws, from which no deviation shall be allowed, either from fear of me, or through favour to the powerful, or for the purpose of supplying my treasury. *I want no money raised by injustice.*" The last clause of this remarkable and characteristic epistle had reference to the clergy. "I entreat and order you all, the bishops, sheriffs, and officers of my kingdom of England, by the faith which you owe to God and to me, so to take measures that before my return among you all our debts to the church be paid up; to wit, the

plough alms, the tithes on cattle of the present year, the Peter-pence due by each house in all towns and villages, the tithes of fruit in the middle August, and the kirk-shot at the feast of St. Martin to the parish church. And if, at my return, these dues are not wholly discharged, I will punish the delinquents according to the rigour of the laws, and without any grace. So fare ye well."

It does not clearly appear whether the old writers refer the following often-repeated incident to a period preceding or one subsequent to this Roman pilgrimage. When at the height of his power, and when all things seemed to bend to his lordly will (so goes the story), Canute, disgusted one day with the extravagant flatteries of his courtiers, determined to read them a practical lesson. He caused his throne to be placed on the verge of the sands on the sea-shore, as the tide was rolling in with its resistless might, and, seating himself, he addressed the ocean, and said—"Ocean! the land on which I sit is mine, and thou art a part of my dominion—therefore rise not—obey my commands, nor presume to wet the edge of my robe." He sat for some time, as if expecting obedience, but the sea rolled on in its immutable course; succeeding waves broke nearer and nearer to his feet, till at length the skirts of his garments and his legs were bathed by the waters. Then, turning to his courtiers and captains, Canute said, "Confess ye now how frivolous and vain is the might of an earthly king compared to that great Power who rules the elements, and can say unto the ocean, 'Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther!'" The chroniclers conclude the apologue by adding that he immediately took off his crown, and depositing it in the cathedral of Winchester, never wore it again.

This great Danish sovereign died in A.D. 1035, at Shaftesbury, about three years after his return from Rome, and was buried at Winchester. The churches and abbeys he erected have long since disappeared, or their fragments have been imbedded in later edifices erected on their sites; but the great public work called the *King's Delf*, a causeway connecting Peterborough and Ramsey, and carried through the marshes by Canute's command, is still serviceable.²

On his demise there was the usual difficulty and contention respecting the succession. Canute left but one legitimate son, Hardekanute,

¹ *Malmesb. Florent. Wigorn.* The substance of the letter is also found in *Torfa's Hist. Norweg.*, and in *Dümark. Script. Rer. Danicar.*

² "The northerns have transmitted to us the portrait of Canute. He was large in stature, and very powerful; he was fair, and distinguished for his beauty; his nose was thin, eminent, and aquiline; his hair was profuse; his eyes bright and fierce.

"He was chosen king by general assent; for who could resist his power? His measures to secure his crown were sanguinary

and tyrannical; but the whole of Canute's character breathes an air of barbaric grandeur. He was formed by nature to tower over his contemporaries; but his country and his education internalized his greatness with a fervency that compels us to tremble even while we admire. In one respect he was fortunate—his mind and his manners refined as his age matured. The first part of his reign was cruel and despotic. His latter days shone with a glory more unclouded."—*Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons*, vol. iii.

whom he had by Ethelred's widow, the Lady Emma of Normandy. He had two illegitimate sons, Sweyn and Harold. In royal families bastardy was none, or a very slight objection in those days; but according to the contemporary writers, it was the prevalent belief, or popular scandal, that these two young men were not the children of Canute, even illegitimately, but were imposed upon him as such by his acknowledged concubine Alfgiva, daughter of the Eolderman of Southampton, who, according to this gossip, knew full well that Sweyn was the son of a priest by another woman, and Harold the offspring of a cobbler and his wife. Whoever were their fathers and mothers, it is certain that Canute intended that his dominions should be divided among the three young men, and this without any apparent prejudice in favour of legitimacy; for Harold, and not Hardicanute (the lawful son), was to have England, which was esteemed by far the best portion. Denmark was to fall to Hardicanute, and Norway to Sweyn. Both these princes were in the north of Europe, and apparently in possession of power there, when Canute died. The powerful Earl Godwin, and the Saxons of the south generally, wished rather to choose for King of England either one of the sons of Ethelred, who were still in Normandy, or Hardicanute, the son of Emma, who was at least connected with the old Saxon line. But Earl Leofric of Mercia, with the thanes north of the Thames, and all the Danes, supported the claims of the illegitimate Harold; and when the influential city of London took this side, the cause of Hardicanute seemed almost hopeless. But still all the men of the south and the great Earl Godwin adhered to the latter, and a civil war was imminent (to escape the horrors of which many families had already fled to the morasses and forests), when it was wisely determined to effect a compromise by means of the witenagemot. This assembly met at Oxford, and there decided that Harold should have all the provinces north of the Thames, with London for his capital, while all the country south of that river should remain to his real or fictitious half-brother, Hardicanute.

Hardicanute, showing no anxiety for his dominions in England, lingered in Denmark, where the habits of the Scandinavian chiefs, and their hard drinking, were to his taste; but his mother, Emma, and Earl Godwin, governed in the south on his behalf, and held a court at Winchester. Harold, however, who saw his superiority over his absent half-brother, took his measures for attaching the provinces of the south to his dominions, and two fruitless invasions from Normandy only tended to increase his power and facilitate that aggrandizement.

Soon after the news of Canute's death reached Normandy, Edward, the eldest of the surviving sons of Ethelred by Emma, and who eventually became King of England under the title of Edward the Confessor, made sail for England with a few ships, and landed at Southampton, in the intention of claiming the crown. He threw himself in the midst of his mother's retainers, and was within a few miles of her residence at Winchester. But Emma had no affection for her children by Ethelred; she was at the moment making every exertion to secure the English throne for her son by Canute, and, instead of aiding Edward, she set the whole country in hostile array against him. He escaped with some difficulty, from a formidable force, and fled back to Normandy, determined, it is said, never again to touch the soil of his fathers.

The second invasion from Normandy was attended with more tragical results, and part of the history of it is enveloped in an impenetrable mystery.

An affectionate letter,¹ purporting to be written by the queen-mother, Emma, was conveyed to her sons Edward and Alfred, reproaching them with their apathy, and urging that one of them at least should return to England, and assert his right against the tyrant Harold. This letter is pronounced a forgery by the old writer who preserves it; but those who are disposed to take the darkest view of Emma's character, may object that this writer was a paid encomiast of that queen (and paid by her living self), and therefore not likely to confess her guilty of being a participator in her own son's murder, even if such were the fact. The same authority, indeed, even praises her for her ill-assorted, shameful marriage with Canute, which undeniably alienated her from her children by the former union. For ourselves, although she did not escape the strong suspicion of her contemporaries, any more than Earl Godwin, who was then in close alliance with her, we rather incline to the belief that the letter was forged by the order of Harold, though, again, there is a possibility that it may have been actually the production of the queen, who may have meant no harm to her son, and that the harm he suffered may have fallen upon him through Godwin, on that chief's seeing how he came attended. However this may be, Alfred, the younger of the two brothers, accepted the invitation. The instructions of Emma's letter were to come without any armament;² but he raised a considerable force (*milites non parvi numeri*)³ in Normandy and Boulogne. When he appeared off Sandwich there was a far superior force there, which rendered

¹ *Encom. Emm.*

² *Rogo unius vestrum ad me velociter et private veniat.*—*Encom. Emm.*

³ *Quil. Guedicmna.*

his landing hopeless. He therefore bore round the North Foreland, and disembarked "opposite to Canterbury," probably about Herne Bay, between the Triculvers and the Isle of Sheppey. Having advanced some distance up the country without any opposition, he was met by Earl Godwin, who is said to have sworn faith to him, and to have undertaken to conduct him to his mother Emma. Avoiding London, where the party of Harold was predominant, they marched to Guildford, where Godwin billeted the strangers, in small parties of tens and scores, in different houses of the town. There was plenty of meat and drink prepared in every lodging, and Earl Godwin, taking his leave for the night, promised his dutiful attendance on Alfred for the following morning. Tired with the day's journey, and filled with meat and wine, the separated company went to bed suspecting no wrong; but in the dead of night, when disarmed and buried in sleep, they were suddenly set upon by King Harold's forces, who seized and bound them all with chains and gyves. On the following morning they were ranged in a line before the executioners. There are said to have been 600 victims, and, with the exception of every tenth man, they were all barbarously tortured and massacred. Prince Alfred was reserved for a still more cruel fate. He was hurried away to London, where, it should seem, Harold personally insulted his misfortunes; and from London he was sent to the Isle of Ely, in the heart of the country of the Danes. He made the sad journey mounted on a wretched horse, naked, and with his feet tied beneath the animal's belly. At Ely he was arraigned before a mock court of Danish miscreants as a disturber of the country's peace, and was condemned to lose his eyes. His eyes were instantly torn out by main force, and he died a few days after, in exquisite anguish. Some believe that Earl Godwin was guilty of betraying, or at least deserting the prince after he had landed in England, without having premeditated treachery in inviting him over; and they say his change of sentiment took place the instant he saw that Alfred, instead of coming alone to throw himself on the affections of the Saxon people, had surrounded himself with a host of ambitious foreigners, all eager to share in the wealth and honours of the land. Henry of Huntingdon, a writer of the twelfth century, supports this not irrational view of the case, and says that Godwin told his Saxon followers that Alfred came escorted by too many Normans, that he had promised these Normans rich possessions in England, and that it would be an act of imprudence in them (the Saxons) to permit this race of foreigners, known through the world for their audacity and cunning, to gain a footing in Eng-

land. Shortly after the murder of Alfred, Emma was either sent out of England by Harold, or retired a voluntary exile. It is to be remarked that she did not fix her residence in Normandy, where her son Edward, brother of Alfred, was living, but went to the court of Baldwin, Earl of Flanders.

HAROLD had now little difficulty in getting himself proclaimed "full king" over all the island. The election, indeed, was not sanctioned by legislative authority; but this authority, always fluctuating and uncertain, was at present almost worthless. A more important opposition was that offered by the church, in whose ranks the Saxons were far more numerous than the Danes, or priests of Danish descent; and in all these contentions the two hostile races must be considered, and not merely the quarrels or ambition of the rival princes. The question at issue was, whether the Danes or the Saxons should have the upper hand. Ethelnoth, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was a Saxon, refused to perform the ceremonies of the coronation. Taking the crown and sceptre, which it appears had been intrusted to his charge by Canute, he laid them on the altar, and said, "Harold! I will neither give them to thee, nor prevent thee from taking the ensigns of royalty; but I will not bless thee, nor shall any bishop consecrate thee on the throne." It is said that on this, like a modern conqueror, the Dane put the crown on his head with his own hands. According to some accounts, he subsequently won over the archbishop, and was solemnly crowned. His chief amusement was hunting; and, from the fleetness with which he could follow the game on foot, he acquired the name of "Harold Harefoot." Little more is known about him, except that he died after a short reign of four years, in A.D. 1040, and was buried at Westminster.

HARDICANUTE, his half-brother, was at Bruges, and on the point of invading England, when Harold died. After long delays in Denmark he listened to the urgent calls of his exiled mother, the still stirring and ambitious Emma; and, leaving a greater force ready at the mouth of the Baltic, he sailed to Flanders with nine ships to consult his parent. He had been but a short time at Bruges when a deputation of English and Danish thanes arrived there to invite him to ascend the most brilliant of his father's thrones in peace. The two great factions in England had come to this agreement, but, according to the chroniclers, they were soon made to repent of it by the exactions and rapacity of Hardicanute. Relying more on the Danes, among whom he had lived so long, than on the English, and being averse to part with the companions of his revels and drinking-bouts, he brought with him a great

number of Danish chiefs and courtiers, and retained an expensive Danish army and navy. This obliged him to have frequent recourse to "Danegelds," the arbitrary levying of which by his "huscarles," or household troops, who were all Danes, caused frequent insurrections or commotions. The people of Worcester resisted the huscarles with arms in their hands, and slew Feader and Turstane, two of the king's collectors. In revenge for this contempt that city was burned to the ground, a great part of the surrounding country laid desolate, and the goods of the citizens put to the spoil "by such power of lords and men-of-war as the king sent against them." It should appear that not even the church was exempted from these oppressive levies of Danegeld, for a monkish writer complains that the clergy were forced to sell the very chalices from the altar in order to pay their assessments.

On his first arriving in England, Hardicanute showed his horror of Prince Alfred's murder, and his revenge for the injury done by Harold to himself and his relatives, in a truly barbarous manner. By his order the body of Harold was dug up from the grave, its head was struck off, and then both body and head were thrown into the Thames. To increase the dramatic interest of the story, some of the old writers, who maintain that the great earl had murdered Alfred to serve Harold, say that Godwin was obliged to assist at the disinterment and decapitation of the corpse, the mutilated remains of which were soon after drawn out of the river by some Danish fishermen, who secretly interred them in the church-yard of St. Clement Danes, "without Temple Bar at London." Earl Godwin, indeed, a very short time after, was formally accused of Alfred's murder, but he cleared himself in law by his own oath, and the oaths of many of his peers, and a rich and splendid present is generally supposed to have set the question at rest between him and Hardicanute, though it failed to quit him in popular opinion. This present was a ship of the first class, covered with gilded metal, and bearing a figure-head in solid gold; the crew, which formed an intrinsic part of the gift, were four-score picked warriors, and each warrior was furnished with dress and appointments of the most costly description—a gilded helmet was on his head, a triple hauberk on his body, a sword with a hilt of gold hung by his side, a Danish battle-axe, damasked with silver, was on his shoulder, a

gold-studded shield on his left arm, and in his right hand a gilded *ategar*.¹



DANISH SOLDIER of the period.
FROM STRUTT.

During the remainder of Hardicanute's short reign, Earl Godwin and Emma, the queen-mother, who were again in friendly alliance, divided nearly all the authority of government between them, leaving the king to the tranquil enjoyment of the things he most prized in life—his banquets, which were spread four times a day, and his carousals at night. From many incidental passages in the old writers, we should conclude that the Saxons themselves were sufficiently addicted to drinking and the pleasures of the table, and required no instructors in those particulars; yet it is pretty generally stated that hard drinking became fashionable under the Danes, and more than one chronicler laments that Englishmen learned from the example of Hardicanute "their excessive gormandizing and unmeasurable filling of their bellies with meats and drinks."

This king's death was in keeping with the tenor of his life. When he had reigned two years all but ten days, he took part, with his usual zest, in the marriage feast of one of his Danish thanes, which was held at Lambeth, or, more probably, at Clapham.² At a late hour of the night, as he stood up to pledge that jovial company, he suddenly fell down speechless, with the wine-cup in his hand: he was removed to an inner chamber, but he spoke no more; and thus the last Danish king in England died drunk. He was buried in the church of Winchester, near his father Canute.

¹ The same scythe-shaped weapon as the Moorish "*asegai*," the Turkish "*yataghan*," &c. It was a common weapon with the Danes, and is still so in the East.

² The name of the bride's father, in whose house the feast is supposed to have been held, was *Osgod Clapa*; and *Clapaham*, the name or home of Clapa, is taken as the etymology of our suburban village.—*Palgrave, Hist. ch. xiii.*

CHAPTER IV.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR TO THE NORMAN CONQUEST.—A.D. 1042—1066.

Hardicanute succeeded by Edward the Confessor—Edward's behaviour to his wife and mother—His favour towards the Normans—Visit of Eustace, Count of Boulogne, and its consequences—Quarrels between the Confessor and Earl Godwin—William, Duke of Normandy, visits England—His gracious reception by Edward the Confessor—Earl Godwin drives the Normans out of England—Popular character and achievements of his son, Harold—Death of Edward the Atheling in London—Harold's journey to Normandy—He falls into the hands of William, Duke of Normandy—Promises and oaths exacted of him by William—Unpopular proceedings of Tostig, the brother of Harold—Last illness of Edward the Confessor—Question of the succession to the throne.—Harold proclaimed king—William of Normandy asserts his right to the throne of England—His preparations to maintain it—Hardrada, King of Norway, invades England—Is defeated and slain at Stamford Bridge—Hostile arrival of William, Duke of Normandy—His proposals to Harold—Battle of Hastings—Defeat and death of Harold.



EDWARD THE CONFESSOR. Hardicanute was scarcely in his grave, when his half-brother Edward, who was many years his senior, ascended the throne (A.D. 1042) with no opposition, except such as he found from his own fears and scruples, which, had he been left to himself, would probably have induced him to prefer a monastery, or some other quiet retirement in Normandy. During his very brief reign, Hardicanute had recalled the exile to England, had received him with honour and affection, granted him a handsome allowance, and even proposed, it is said, to associate him in his government. Edward was, therefore, at hand, and in a favourable position at the moment of crisis; nor, according to the modern laws of hereditary succession, could any one have established so good a right; for his half-nephew Edward, who was still far away in Hungary, was only illegitimately descended from the royal line of Cerdic and Alfred, his father, Edmund Ironside, though older than Edward, being a natural son of their common father Ethelred. But, in truth, rules of succession had little to do with the settlement of the crown, which was affected by a variety of other and more potent agencies. The connection between the Danish and English crowns was evidently breaking off; there was a prospect that the two parties in England would soon be left to decide their contest without any intervention from Denmark; for some time the Saxon party had been gaining ground, and, before Hardicanute's death, formidable associations had been made, and more than one successful battle fought against the Danes. On their side, the Danes, having no descendant of the great Canute around whom to rally, became less vehement for the expulsion of the Saxon line, while many of them settled in the

south of the island were won over by the reputed virtue and sanctity of Edward. If we may judge by the uncertain light of some of the chronicles, many leading Danes quitted England on Hardicanute's decease; and it seems quite certain that when the nobles and prelates of the Saxons (were there not Danes among these?) assembled in London, with the resolution of electing Edward, they encountered no opposition from any Danish faction. But the great Earl Godwin, the still suspected murderer of the new king's brother, Alfred, had by far the greatest share in Edward's elevation. This veteran politician, of an age considered barbarous, and of a race (the Saxon) generally noted rather for stupidity and dulness than for acuteness and adroitness, trimmed his sails according to the winds that predominated, with a degree of skill and remorselessness which would stand a comparison with the manoeuvres of the most celebrated political intriguers of the most modern and civilized times. In all the struggles that had taken place since the death of Canute, he had changed sides with astonishing facility and rapidity—going back more than once to the party he had deserted, then changing again, and always causing the faction he embraced to triumph just so long as he adhered to it, and no longer. Changes, ruinous to others, only brought him an accession of strength. At the death of Hardicanute, he was Earl of all Wessex and Kent; and by his alliances and intrigues, he controlled nearly the whole of the southern and more Saxon part of England. His abilities were proved by the station he had attained; for he had begun life as a cow-herd. He was a fluent speaker; but his eloquence, no doubt, owed much of its faculty of conveying conviction, to the power or material means he had always at hand to enforce his arguments. When he rose in the assembly of thanes and bishops, and gave it as his opinion that Ed-

ward the Atheling, the only surviving son of Ethelred, should be their king, there were but very few dissentient voices; and the earl carefully marked the weak minority, who seem all to have been Saxons, and drove them into exile shortly after. It is pretty generally stated that his relation, William, Duke of Normandy (afterwards the Conqueror), materially aided Edward by his influence, having firmly announced to the Saxons, that if they failed in their duty to the sons of Emma, they should feel the weight of his vengeance; but we more than doubt the authenticity of this fact, from the simple circumstances of Duke William's being only fifteen years old at the time, and his states being in most lamentable confusion and anarchy, pressed from without by the French king, and troubled within by factious nobles, who all wished to take advantage of his youth and inexperience.

The case, perhaps, is not very rare, but it must always be a painful and perplexing one. Edward hated the man who was serving him; and while Godwin was placing him on the throne, he could not detach his eyes from the bloody grave to which, in his conviction, the earl had sent his brother Alfred. Godwin was perfectly well aware of these feelings, and, like a practised politician, before he stirred in Edward's cause, and when the fate of that prince, even to his life or death, was in his hands, he made such stipulations as were best calculated to secure him against their effects. He obtained an extension of territories, honours, and commands for himself and his sons; a solemn assurance that the past was forgiven; and, as a pledge for future affection and family union, he made Edward consent to marry his daughter. The fair Editha, the daughter of the fortunate earl, became Queen of England; but the heart was not to be controlled, and Edward was never a husband to her. Yet, from contemporary accounts, Editha was deserving of love, and possessed of such a union of good qualities as ought to have removed the deep-rooted antipathies of the king to herself and her race. Her person was beautiful; her manners graceful; her disposition cheerful, meek, pious, and generous, without a taint of her father's or brothers' pride and arrogance. Her mental accomplishments far surpassed the standard of that age; she was fond of reading, and had read many books.

If Edward neglected, and afterwards persecuted his wife, he behaved in a still harsher and more summary manner to his mother Emma, who, though she has few claims on our sympathy, was, in spite of all her faults, entitled to some consideration from him. But he could not forgive past injuries; he could not forget that, while she lavished her affections and ill-gotten treasures on her children by Canute, she had left

him and his brother to languish in poverty in Normandy, where they were forced to eat the bitter bread of other people; and he seems never to have relieved her from the horrid suspicion of having had part in Alfred's murder. These feelings were probably exasperated by her refusing to advance him money at a moment of need, just before or at the date of his coronation. Shortly after his coronation he held a council at Gloucester, whence, accompanied by Earls Godwin, Leofric, and Siward, he hurried to Winchester, where Emma had again established a sort of court, seized her treasures, and all the cattle, the corn, and the forage on the lands which she possessed as a dower, and behaved otherwise to her with great harshness. Some say she was committed to close custody in the abbey of Wearwell; but, according to the more generally received account, she was permitted to retain her lands, and to reside at large at Winchester, where, it appears, she died in 1052, the tenth year of Edward's reign.

In the second year of Edward's reign (A.D. 1043) a faint demonstration to re-establish the Scandinavian supremacy in England was made by Magnus, King of Norway and Denmark; but the Saxons assembled a great fleet at Sandwich; the Danes in the land remained quiet; and, his last hopes expiring, Magnus was soon induced to declare that he thought it "right and most convenient" that he should let Edward enjoy his crown, and content himself with the kingdoms which God had given him. But though undisturbed by foreign invasions, or the internal wars of a competitor for the crown, Edward was little more than a king in name. This abject condition arose in part, but certainly not wholly, from his easy, pacific disposition; for he not unfrequently showed himself capable of energy, and firm and sudden decisions; and although superstitious and monk-ridden, he was, when roused, neither deficient in talent nor in moral courage. A wider and deeper spring, that sapped the royal authority, was the enormous power of which Godwin and other earls had possessed themselves before his accession; and this power, be it remembered, he himself was obliged to augment before he could put his foot on the lowest step of the throne. When he had kept his promises with the "great earl"—and he could not possibly evade them—what with the territories and commands of Godwin, and of his six sons, Harold, Sweyn, Wulnot, Tostig, Gurth, and Leofwin, the whole of the south of England, from Lincolnshire to the end of Devonshire, was in the hands of one family. Nor had Edward's authority a better basis elsewhere, for the whole of the north was unequally divided between Leofric and the greater Earl Siward, whose dominions extended from the Humber to the Scottish border. These earls possessed all that was valuable

in sovereignty within the territories they held. They appointed their own judges, received fines, and levied what troops they chose. The chief security of the king lay in the clashing interests and jealousies of these mighty vassals. As the king endeared himself to his people by reducing taxation and removing the odious Danegeld altogether, by reviving the old Saxon laws, and administering them with justice and promptitude—as he gained their reverence by his mild virtues, and still more by his ascetic devotion, which eventually caused his canonization, he might have been enabled to curb the family of Godwin and the rest, and raise his depressed throne by means of the popular will and affection; but unfortunately there were circumstances interwoven which neutralized Edward's advantages, and gave the favourable colour of nationality and patriotism to the cause of Godwin, whenever he chose to quarrel with the king. It was perfectly natural—and it would have been as



IMPRESSIONS FROM THE GREAT SEAL OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.
British Museum.

excusable as natural, if the imprudence of a king ever admitted of an excuse—that Edward should have an affection for the Normans, among whom the best years of his life had been passed, and who gave him food and shelter when abandoned by all the rest of the world. He was only thirteen years old when he was first sent into Normandy; he was somewhat past forty when he ascended the English throne, so that for twenty-seven years, commencing with a period when the young mind is not formed, but ductile, and most susceptible of impressions, he had been accustomed to foreign manners and habits, and to convey all his thoughts and feelings through the medium of a foreign language. He was accused of a predilection for the French or "Romance," which by this time had superseded their Scandinavian dialect, and become the vernacular language of the Normans; but it is more than probable he had forgotten his Saxon. Relying on Edward's gratitude and friendship, several Normans came over with him when he was invited to England by Hardicanute; this number was augmented after his accession to the throne; and as the king provided for them all, or gave them constant entertainment at his court, fresh adventurers continued to cross the Channel. It should appear it was chiefly in the church that Edward provided for his foreign favourites. Robert, a Norman, and, like most of his race, a personal enemy to Earl Godwin, was promoted to be Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of all

England; Ulf and William, two other Normans, were made Bishops of Dorchester and London; and crosiers and abbots' staffs were liberally distributed to the king's exotic chaplains and house-clerks, who are said to have closed all the avenues of access to his person and favour against the English-born. Those Saxon nobles who yet hoped to prosper at court, learned to speak French, and imitated the dress, fashions, and manner of living of the Normans. Edward adopted, in all documents and charters, the handwriting of the Normans, which he thought handsomer than that of the English; he introduced the use of the "great seal," which he appended to his parchments, in addition to the simple mark of the cross, which

had been used by the Anglo-Saxon kings; and as his chancellor, secretaries of state, and legal advisers were all foreigners, and, no doubt, like the natives of France of all ages, singularly neglectful of the tongue of the people among whom they were settled, the English lawyers were obliged to study French, and to employ a foreign language in their deeds and papers. Even in those rude ages fashion had her influence and her votaries. The study of the French language, to the neglect of the Saxon, became very general; and the rich, the young, and the gay of both sexes were not satisfied unless their tunics, their *chausses*, their streamers, and mufflers were cut after the latest Norman pattern. Not one of these things was trifling in its influence—united, their effect must have been most important; and it seems to us that historians in general have not sufficiently borne them in mind, as a prelude to the great drama of the Norman conquest.

All this, however, was distasteful to the great body of the Saxon people, and highly irritating to Earl Godwin, who is said to have exacted an express and solemn promise from the king not to inundate the land with Normans, ere he consented to raise him to the throne. The earl could scarcely take up a more popular ground; and he made his more private wrongs—the king's treatment of his daughter, and disinclination to the society of himself and his sons—all close and revolve round this centre. Even personally the sympathy of the people went with him. "Is it astonishing," they said, "that the author and supporter of Edward's reign should be wroth to see new men, of a foreign nation, preferred to himself?"²

¹ This seal measures 3 in. in diameter.

² Malmeib.

In 1044 a crime, committed by a member of his family, somewhat clouded Godwin's popularity. Sweyn, the earl's second son, and a married man, violated an abbess, and was exiled by the king—for this, of all others, was the crime Edward was least likely to overlook. After keeping the seas for some time as a pirate, Sweyn returned to England, on the promise of a royal pardon. Some delay occurred in passing this act of grace; and it is said that Beorn, his cousin, and even Harold, the brother of Sweyn, pleaded strongly against him at court. The fury of the outlaw knew no bounds; but, pretending to be reconciled with his cousin Beorn, he won his confidence, got possession of his person, and then caused him to be murdered. In spite of this accumulated guilt, Edward was fain to grant a pardon to the son of the powerful earl; and Sweyn, though he had rendered himself odious, and injured the popularity of his family, was restored to his government.

But in 1051 an event occurred which exasperated the whole nation against the Normans, and gave Godwin the opportunity of recovering all his reputation and influence with the Saxon people. Among the many foreigners that came over to visit the king was Eustace, Count of Boulogne, who had married the Lady Goda, a daughter of Ethelred, and sister to Edward. This Eustace was a prince of considerable power, and more pretension. He governed hereditarily, under the supremacy of the French crown, the city of Boulogne and the contiguous territory on the shores of the Channel; and as a sign of his dignity as chief of a maritime country, when he armed for war he attached two long aigrettes, made of whalebone, to his helmet. This loving brother-in-law, with rather a numerous retinue of warriors and men-at-arms, was hospitably entertained at the court of Edward, where he saw Frenchmen, and Normans, and everything that was French and foreign, so completely in the ascendant, that he was led to despise the Saxons as a people already conquered. On his return homewards Eustace slept one night at Canterbury. The next morning he continued his route for Dover, and when he was within a mile of that town he ordered a halt, left his travelling palfrey, and mounted his war-horse, which a page led in his right hand. He also put on his coat of mail; all his people did the same; and in this warlike harness they entered Dover. The foreigners marched insolently through the town, choosing the best houses in which to pass the night, and taking free quarters on the citizens without asking permission, which was contrary to the laws and customs of the Saxons. One of the townsmen boldly repelled from his threshold a retainer who pretended to take up his quarters in his house. The stranger drew his sword, and wounded the Englishman;

the Englishman armed in haste, and he, or one of his house, slew the Frenchman. At this intelligence, Count Eustace and all his troop mounted on horseback, and, surrounding the house of the Englishman, some of them forced their way in, and murdered him on his own hearth-stone. This done, they galloped through the streets with their naked swords in their hands, striking men and women, and crushing several children under their horses' hoofs. This outrage roused the spirit of the burghers, who armed themselves with such weapons as they had, and met the mailed warriors in a mass. After a fierce conflict, in which nineteen of the foreigners were slain and many more wounded, Eustace, with the rest, being unable to reach the port and embark, retreated out of Dover, and then galloped with loose rein towards Gloucester, to lay his complaints before the king. Edward, who was, as usual, surrounded by his Norman favourites, gave his peace to Eustace and his companions; and believing, on the simple assertion of his brother-in-law, that the inhabitants of Dover were in the wrong, and had begun the affray, he sent immediately to Earl Godwin, in whose government the city lay. "Set out forthwith," said the king's order; "go and chastise with a military execution those who attack my relations with the sword, and trouble the peace of the country." "It ill becomes you," replied Godwin, "to condemn, without a hearing, the men whom it is your duty to protect."¹ The circumstances of the fight at Dover were now known all over the country; the assault evidently had begun by a Frenchman's daring to violate the sanctity of an Englishman's house, and, right or wrong, the Saxon people would naturally espouse the cause of their countrymen. Instead, therefore, of chastising the burghers, the earl sided with them. Before proceeding to extremities, Godwin proposed that, instead of exercising that indiscriminate vengeance on all the inhabitants which was implied by a military execution, the magistrates of Dover should be cited in a legal manner to appear before the king and the royal judges, to give an account of their conduct. It should seem that, transported by the indignation of his brother-in-law, the Earl Eustace, and confounded by the clamours of his Norman favourites, Edward would not listen to this just and reasonable proposition, but summoned Godwin to appear before his *foreign* court at Gloucester; and on his hesitating to put himself in so much jeopardy, threatened him and his family with banishment and confiscation. Then the great earl armed; and though some of the chroniclers assert it was only to redress the popular grievances, and to make an appeal to the English against the

¹ Chron. Sic.² Malmeb.

courtiers from beyond sea, and that nothing was farther from his thoughts than to offer insult or violence to the king of his own creation, we are far from being convinced of the entire purity of his motives, or the moderation of his objects.

Godwin, who ruled the country south of the Thames, from one end to the other, gathered his forces together, and was joined by a large body of the people, who voluntarily took up arms. Harold, the eldest of his sons, collected many men all along the eastern coast between the Thames and the Wash; and Sweyn, his second son, whose guilt was forgotten in the popular excitement, arrayed his soldiers, and formed a patriotic association among the Saxons who dwelt on the banks of the Severn and along the frontiers of Wales. These three columns soon concentrated near Gloucester, then the royal residence; and, with means adequate to enforce his wish, Godwin demanded that the Count Eustace, his companions, and many other Normans and Frenchmen, should be given up to the justice of the nation. Edward, knowing he was wholly at the mercy of his irritated father-in-law, was still firm. To gain time he opened a negotiation; and so much was he still esteemed by the people, that Godwin was obliged to save appearances, and to grant him that delay which, for a while, wholly overcast the earl's fortunes. Edward had secured the good-will of Godwin's great rivals—Siward, Earl of Northumbria, and Leofric, Earl of Mercia: to these chiefs he now applied for protection, summoning to his aid at the same time Ranulf or Ralph, a Norman knight, whom he had made Earl of Worcestershire. When these forces united and marched to the king's rescue, they were equal or superior in number to those of Godwin, who had thus lost his moment. The people, however, had improved in wisdom; and on the two armies coming in front of each other, it was presently seen, by their respective leaders, that old animosities had in a great measure died away—that the Anglo-Danes from the north were by no means anxious to engage their brethren of the south for the cause of Normans, and men equally alien to them both—and that the Saxons of the south were averse to shedding the blood of the Anglo-Danes of the north. The whispers of individual ambition—the mutterings of mutual revenge—the aspirations of the great were mute, for once, at the loud and universal voice of the people. An armistice was concluded between the king and Godwin, and it was agreed to refer all differences to an assembly of the legislature, to be held at London in the following autumn. Hostages and oaths were exchanged—both king and earl swearing “God's peace and full friendship” for one another. Edward employed the interval between the armistice and the meeting

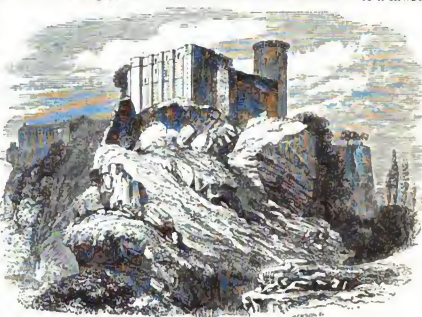
of the witenagemot in publishing a ban for the levying of a royal army all over the kingdom, in engaging troops, both foreign and domestic, and in strengthening himself by all the means he could command. In the same time the forces of Harold, which consisted in chief part of burghers and yeomen, who had armed under the first excitement of a popular quarrel, and who had neither pay nor quarters in the field, dwindled rapidly away. According to the *Saxon Chronicle*, the king's army, which was cantoned within and about London, soon became the most numerous that had been seen in this reign. The chief, and many of the subordinate commands in it, were given to Norman favourites, who thirsted for the blood of Earl Godwin. At the appointed time the earl and his sons were summoned to appear before the witenagemot, without any military escort whatsoever, and that, too, in the midst of a most formidable army and of deadly enemies, who would not have spared their persons, even if the king and the legislative assembly had been that way inclined. Godwin, who before now had frequently both suffered and practised treachery, refused to attend the assembly unless proper securities were given that he and his sons should go thither and depart thence in safety. This reasonable demand was repeated, and twice refused; and then Edward and the great council pronounced a sentence of banishment, decreeing that the earl and all his family should quit the land for ever within five days. There was no appeal; and Godwin and his sons, who, it appears, had marched to Southwark, on finding that even the small force they had brought with them was thinned by hourly desertion, fled by night for their lives. The sudden fall of this great family confounded and stupified the popular mind. “Wonderful would it have been thought,” says the *Saxon Chronicle*, “if any one had said before that matters would come to such a pass.” Before the expiration of the five days' grace a troop of horsemen was sent to pursue and seize the earl and his family; but these soldiers were wholly or chiefly Saxons, and either could not or would not overtake them. Godwin, with his wife and his three sons, Sweyn, Tostig, and Gurth, and a ship well stored with money and treasures, embarked on the east coast, and sailed to Flanders, where he was well received by Earl Baldwin; Harold and his brother Leofwin fled westward, and, embarking at Bristol, crossed the sea to Ireland. Their property, their broad lands, and houses, with everything upon them and within them, were confiscated; their governments and honours distributed, in part among foreigners; and scarcely a trace was left in the country of the warlike earl or his bold sons. But a fair daughter of that house remained; Editha was still Queen of England,

and on her Edward determined to pour out the last vial of his wrath, and complete his vengeance on the obnoxious race that had given him the throne. He seized her dower, he took from her her jewels and her money, "even to the uttermost farthing," and allowing her only the attendance of one maiden, he closely confined his virgin wife in the monastery of Wearwell, of which one of his sisters was lady abbess; and in this cheerless captivity she, in the language of one of the old chroniclers, "in tears and prayers expected the day of her release and comfort."

Delivered from the awe and timidity he had always felt in Earl Godwin's presence, the king now put no restraint on his affection for the Normans, who flocked over in greater shoals than ever to make their fortunes in England. A few months after Godwin's exile he expressed his anxious desire to have William, Duke of Normandy, for his guest; and that ambitious and most crafty prince, who already began to entertain projects on England, readily accepted the invitation, and came over with a numerous retinue, in the fixed purpose of turning the visit to the best account, by personally informing himself of the strength and condition of the country, and by influencing the councils of the king, who had no children to succeed him, and was said to be labouring under a vow of perpetual chastity, even as if he had been a cloistered monk.

William was the natural son of Robert, Duke of Normandy, the younger brother of Duke Richard III., and the son of Duke Richard II., who was brother to Queen Emma, the mother of King Edward, and of the murdered Alfred, by Ethelred, as also of the preceding kings, Harold and Hardicanute, by her second husband, Canute the Great. On the mother's side William's descent was sufficiently obscure. One day, as the Duke Robert was returning from the chase, he met a fair girl, who, with companions of her own age, was washing clothes in a brook. Struck by her surpassing beauty, he sent one of his discreetest knights to make proposals to her family. Such a mode of proceeding is startling enough in our days, but in that age of barbarism and the license of power, the wonder is he did not seize the lowly maiden by force, without treaty or negotiation. The father of the maiden, who was a currier or tanner, of the town of Falaise, at first received the proposals of Robert's love-ambassador with in-

dignation; but, on second thoughts, he went to consult one of his brothers, a hermit in a neighbouring forest, and a man enjoying a great religious reputation; and this religious man gave it as his opinion that one ought, in all things, to conform to the will of the powerful man. The name of the maid of Falaise was Arlete, Harlotta, or Herleva, for she is indiscriminately called by these different appellations, which all seem to come from the old Norman or Danish compound, *Her-leve*, "the much-loved." And the duke continued to love her dearly; and he brought up the boy William, he had by her, with as much care and honour as if he had been the son of a lawful



THE CASTLE OF FALAISE.¹—From Cotman's Antiquities of Normandy.

spouse. Although—or perhaps it will be more correct to say *because*—their conversion was of a comparatively recent date, no people in Europe surpassed the Normans in their devotion, or their passion for distant pilgrimages. When William was only seven years old, his father, Duke Robert, resolved to go to Jerusalem as a pilgrim, to obtain the remission of his sins. As he had governed his states wisely, his people heard of his intention with alarm and regret; but his worldly advantage could not be put in the balance against his spiritual welfare. The Norman chiefs, still anxious to retain him among them, represented that it would be a bad thing for them to be left without a head. The native chroniclers put the following naive reply into the mouth of Duke Robert—"By my faith, Sirs, I will not leave you without a seigneur. I have a little bastard, who will grow big, if it pleases God! Choose him from this moment, and, before you all, I will put

¹ The keep of the castle was built in the year 1000, or prior to that date. The lofty circular tower was added in the year 1430, by the English general Talbot, then governor of the town, and to the present day it bears his name. A room in the keep is still shown, in which, according to tradition, William the Conqueror was born.—Dawson Turner, in Cotman's *Normandy*.

him in possession of this duchy as my successor." The Normans did what the Duke Robert proposed, "because," says the chronicle, "it suited them so to do." According to the feudal practice they, one by one, placed their hands within his hands, and swore fidelity to the child. Robert had a presentiment that he should not return; and he never did; he died about a year after (A.D. 1034), on his road home. He had scarcely donned his pilgrim's weeds and departed from Normandy, when several of the chiefs, and above all the relations of the old duke, protested against the election of William, alleging that a bastard was not worthy of commanding the children of the Scandinavians. A civil war ensued, in which the party of William was decidedly victorious. As the boy advanced in years he showed an inimitable spirit, and a wonderful aptitude in learning those knightly and warlike exercises which then constituted the principal part of education. This endeared him to his partizans; and the important day on which he first put on armour, and mounted his battle-steed without the aid of stirrup, was held as a festal day in Normandy. Occasions were not wanting for the practice of war and battles, but were, on the contrary, frequently presented both by his own turbulent subjects and his ambitious neighbours. From his tender youth upwards, William was habituated to warfare and bloodshed, and to the exercise of policy and craft, by which he often succeeded when force and arms failed. His contemporaries tell us that he was passionately fond of fine horses, and caused them to be brought to him from Gascony, Auvergne, and Spain, preferring above all those steeds which bore proper names, by which their genealogy was distinguished. His disposition was revengeful and pitiless in the extreme. At an after period of life, when he had imposed respect or dread upon the world, he scorned the distinctions between legitimate and illegitimate birth, and more than once bravely put "We, William the Bastard," to his charters and declarations;¹ but at the commencement of his career he was exceedingly susceptible and sore on this point, and often took sanguinary vengeance on those who scoffed at the stain of his birth.

The fame of William's doings had long preceded him to this island, where they created very different emotions, according to men's dispositions and interests. But when he arrived himself in England, with a numerous and splendid train, it is said that the Duke of Normandy might have doubted, from the evidence of his senses, whether he had quitted his own country. Normans commanded the Saxon fleet he met at Dover, Normans garrisoned the castle and a fortress on a

hill at Canterbury; and as he advanced on the journey, Norman knights, bishops, abbots, and burgesses met him at every relay to bid him welcome. At the court of Edward, in the midst of Norman clerks, priests, and nobles, who looked up to him as their "natural lord," he was more a king than the king himself; and every day he spent in England must have conveyed additional conviction of the extent of Norman influence, and of the weakness and disorganization of the country.

It is recorded by the old writers that King Edward gave a most affectionate welcome to his good cousin Duke William, that he lived lovingly with him while he was here, and that at his departure he gave him a most royal gift of arms, horses, hounds, and hawks.² But what passed in the private and confidential intercourse of the two princes these writers knew not, and attempted not to divine; and the only evident fact is that, after William's visit, the Normans in England carried their assumption of superiority still higher than before.

But preparations were in progress for the interrupting of this domination. Ever since his flight into Flanders, Godwin had been actively engaged in devising means for his triumphant return, and in corresponding with and keeping up the spirits of the Saxon party at home. In the following summer (A.D. 1052), the great earl having well employed the money and treasure he took with him, got together a number of ships, and, eluding the vigilance of the royal fleet, which was commanded by two Normans, his personal and deadly enemies, he fell upon our southern coast, where many Saxons gave him a hearty welcome. He had previously won over the Saxon garrison and the mariners of Hastings, and he now sent secret emissaries all over the country, at whose representations hosts of people took up arms, binding themselves by oath to the cause of the exiled chief, and "promising, all *with one voice*," says Roger of Hoveden, "to live or die with Godwin." Sailing along the Sussex coast to the Isle of Wight, he was met there by his sons Harold and Leofwin, who had brought over a considerable force in men and ships from Ireland. From the Isle of Wight the Saxon chiefs sailed to Sandwich, where they landed part of their forces without opposition, and then, with the rest, boldly doubled the North Foreland, and sailed up the Thames towards London. As they advanced, the popularity of their cause was manifestly displayed; the Saxon and Anglo-Danish troops of the king, and all the royal ships they met, went over to them; the burghers and peasants hastened to supply them with provisions,

¹ In one of his English charters, preserved in Hicok's, he styles himself, with less truth, "Rex Hereditarius."

² *Maistre Wace, Roman du Rou.*

and to join the cry against the Normans. In this easy and triumphant manner did the exiles reach the suburb of Southwark, where they anchored, and landed without being obliged to draw a sword or bend a single bow. Their presence threw everything into confusion; and the court party soon saw that the citizens of London were as well affected to Godwin as the rest of the people had shown themselves. The earl sent a respectful message to the king, requesting for himself and family the revision of the irregular sentence of exile, the restoration of their former territories, honours, and employments, promising, on these conditions, a dutiful and entire submission. Though he must have known the critical state of his affairs, Edward was firm or obstinate, and sternly refused the conditions. Godwin despatched other messengers, but they returned with an equally positive refusal, and then the old earl had the greatest difficulty in restraining his irritated partizans. But the game was in his hand, and his moderation and aversion to the spilling of kindred blood greatly strengthened his party. On the opposite side of the river a royal fleet of fifty sail was moored, and a considerable army was drawn up on the bank, but it was soon found there was no relying either on the mariners or the soldiers, who, for the most part, if not won over to the cause of Godwin, were averse to civil war. Still, while most of his party were trembling around him, and not a few seeking safety in flight or concealment, the king remained inflexible, and, to all appearance, devoid of fear. The boldest of his Norman favourites, who foresaw that peace between the Saxons would be their ruin, ventured to press him to give the signal for attack; but the now openly expressed sentiments of the royal troops, and the arguments of the priest Stigand and many of the Saxon nobles, finally induced Edward to yield, and give his reluctant consent to the opening of negotiations with his detested father-in-law. At the first report of this prospect of a speedy reconciliation, there was a hurried gathering together of property or spoils, and a shoeing and saddling of horses for flight. No Norman or Frenchman of any consequence thought his life safe. Robert, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and William, Bishop of London, having armed their retainers, took horse, and fought their way, sword in hand, through the city, where many English were killed or wounded. They escaped through the eastern gate of London, and galloped with headlong speed to Ness, in Essex. So great was the danger or the panic of these two prelates, that they threw themselves into an ill-conditioned, small, open fishing-boat, and thus, with great suffering and at imminent hazard, crossed the Channel to France. The rest of the foreign

favourites fled in all directions, some taking refuge in the castles or fortresses commanded by their countrymen, and others making for the shores of the British Channel, where they lay concealed until favourable opportunities offered for passing over to the Continent.

In the meantime the witenagemot was summoned, and when Godwin, in plenitude of might, appeared before it, after having visited the humbled king, the "earls" and "all the best men of the land" agreed in the proposition that the Normans were guilty of the late dissensions, and Godwin and his sons innocent of the crimes of which they had been accused. With the exception of four or five obscure men, a sentence of outlawry was hurled against all the Normans and French; and, after he had given hostages to Edward, Godwin and his sons, with the exception only of Sweyn, received full restitution; and, as a completion of his triumph, his daughter Editha was removed from her monastic prison to court, and restored to all her honours as queen. The hostages granted were Wulnot, the youngest son, and Haco, a grandson of Godwin. Edward had no sooner got them into his hands than, for safer custody, he sent them over to his cousin, William of Normandy, and from this circumstance there arose a curious episode, or under-act, in the treacherous and sanguinary drama. The exclusion of Sweyn from pardon, and a nominal restoration to the king's friendship, did not arise from the active part he had taken in the Norman quarrel, but was based in his old crimes, and more particularly the treacherous murder of his cousin Beorn. It seems that his family acquiesced in the justice of his sentence of banishment, and that Sweyn himself, now humble and penitent, submitted without a struggle. He threw aside his costly mantle and his chains of gold, his armour, his sword, and all that marked the noble and the warrior; he assumed the lowly garb of a pilgrim, and, setting out from Flanders, walked barefoot to Jerusalem—that great pool of moral purification, which, according to the notion of the times, could wash out the stains of all guilt. He reached the Holy City in safety, he wept and prayed at all the holiest places there; but, returning through Asia Minor, he died in the province of Lycia.

Godwin did not long survive the re-establishment of Saxon supremacy, and his complete victory over the king. According to Henry of Huntingdon, and other chroniclers, a very short time after their feigned reconciliation, as Godwin sat at table with the king at Windsor, Edward again reproached the earl with his brother Alfred's murder. "O, king!" Godwin is made to say, "whence comes it that, at the least remembrance of your brother, you show me a bad coun-

tenance? If I have contributed, even indirectly, to his cruel fate, may the God of heaven cause this morsel of bread to choke me!" He put the bread to his mouth, and, of course, according to this story, was choked, and died instantly. But it appears, from better authority, that Godwin's death was by no means so sudden and dramatic; that though he fell speechless from the king's table on Easter Monday (most probably from apoplexy), he was taken up and carried into an inner chamber by his two sons, Tostig and Gurth, and did not die till the following Thursday. Harold, the eldest, the handsomest, the most accomplished, and in every respect the best of all the sons of Godwin, succeeded to his father's territories and command, and to even more than Godwin's authority in the nation; for, while the people equally considered him as the great champion of the Saxon cause, he was far less obnoxious than his father to the king; and whereas his father's iron frame was sinking under the weight of years, he was in the prime and vigour of life. The spirit of Edward, moreover, was subdued by misfortune, the fast-coming infirmities of age, and a still increasing devotion, that taught him all worldly dominion was a bauble not worth contending for. He was also conciliated by the permission to retain some of his foreign bishops, abbots, and clerks, and to recal a few other favourites from Normandy.

The extent of Harold's power was soon made manifest. On succeeding to Godwin's earldom he had vacated his own command of East Anglia, which was bestowed by the court on Algar, the son of Earl Leofric, the hereditary enemy of the house of Godwin, who had held it during Harold's disgrace and exile. As soon as he felt confident of his strength, Harold caused Algar to be expelled his government and banished the land, upon an accusation of treason; and, however unjust the sentence may have been, it appears to have been passed with the sanction and concurrence of the witenagemot. Algar, who had married a Welsh princess, the daughter of King Griffith, fled into Wales, whence, relying on the power and influence possessed by his father, the Earl Leofric, and by his other family connections and allies, he shortly after issued with a considerable force, and fell upon the county and city of Hereford, in which latter place he did much harm, burning the minster and slaying seven canons, besides a multitude of laymen. Rulph or Radulf, the Earl of Hereford, who was a Norman, and nephew of the king's, made him a feeble resistance; and it is said he destroyed the efficiency of the Saxon troops by making them fight the Welsh on horseback, "against the custom of their country." Harold soon hastened to the scene of action, and advancing from Gloucester with a well-appointed

army, defeated Algar, and followed him in his retreat through the mountain defiles, and across the moors and morasses of Wales. Algar, however, still showed himself so powerful that Harold was obliged to treat with him. By these negotiations he was restored to his former possessions and honours; and when, very shortly after, his father Leofric died, Algar was allowed to take possession of his vast earldoms. The king seems to have wished that Algar should have been a counterpoise to Harold, as Leofric had once been to Godwin; but, both in council and camp, Harold carried everything before him, and his jealousy being again excited, he again drove Algar into banishment. Algar, indeed, was no mean rival. Both in boldness of character, and in the nature of his adventures, he bore some resemblance to Harold. This time he fled into Ireland, whence he soon returned with a small fleet and an army, chiefly raised among the Northmen who had settled on the Irish coasts, and who thence made repeated attacks upon England. With this force, and the assistance of the Welsh under his father-in-law, King Griffith, he recovered his earldoms by force of arms, and held them in defiance of the decrees of the king, who, whatever were his secret wishes, was obliged openly to denounce these proceedings as illegal and treasonable. After enjoying this triumph little more than a year, Algar died (A.D. 1059), and left two sons, Morcar and Edwin, who divided between them part of his territories and commands.

While these events were in progress, other circumstances had occurred in the north of England which materially augmented the power of Harold. Siward, the great Earl of Northumbria, another of Godwin's most formidable rivals, had died, after an expedition into Scotland, and as his elder son Osberne had been slain, and his younger son Waltheof was too young to succeed to his father's government, the extensive northern earldom was given to Tostig, the brother of Harold. Siward, as will be presently related more at length, had proceeded to Scotland to assist in seating his relation, Prince Malcolm, the son of the late King Duncan, upon the throne of that country, which had been usurped by Duncan's murderer, Macbeth. It was in this enterprise, and before it was crowned with final success, that, as has just been mentioned, Osberne, the pride of his father's heart, was slain. He appears to have fallen in the first battle fought with Macbeth (A.D. 1054), near the hill of Dunsinnaue.

Siward, who was a Dane, either by birth or near descent, was much beloved by the Northumbrians, who were themselves chiefly of Danish extraction. They called him *Sigward-Dig*, or Siward the Strong; and many years after his

death they showed, with pride, a rock of solid granite which they pretended he had split in two with a single blow of his battle-axe. To his irregular successor, Tostig, the brother of Harold, they showed a strong dislike from the first, and this aversion was subsequently increased by acts of tyranny on the part of the new earl. In another direction the popularity of Harold was increased by a most successful campaign against the Welsh, who had inflamed the hatred of the Saxon people by their recent forays and cruel murders. Their great leader, King Griffith, had been weakened and exposed by the death of his son-in-law and Harold's rival, the Earl Algar, in 1059; and after some minor operations, in one of which Rees, the brother of Griffith, was taken prisoner and put to death, by the order of King Edward, as a robber and murderer, Harold was commissioned, in 1063, to carry extreme measures into effect against the ever-turbulent Welsh. The great earl displayed his usual ability, bravery, and activity; and by skilfully combined movements, in which his brother Tostig and the Northumbrians acted in concert with him—by employing the fleet along the coast, by accoutring his troops with light helmets, targets, and breast-pieces made of leather (instead of their usual heavy armour), in order that they might be the better able to follow the fleet-footed Welsh—he gained a succession of victories, and finally reduced the mountaineers to such despair that they decapitated their king, Griffith, and sent his bleeding head to Harold, as a peace-offering and token of submission. The two half-brothers of Griffith swore fealty and gave hostages to King Edward and Harold. They also engaged to pay the ancient tribute; and a law was passed, that every Welshman found in arms to the east of Offa's Dyke should lose his right hand. From this memorable expedition, the good effects of which were felt in England, through the tranquillity of the Welsh, for many years after, Harold returned in a sort of a Roman triumph to the mild and peaceable Edward, to whom he presented the ghastly head of Griffith, together with the rostrum or beak of that king's chief war-ship.

The king's devotion still kept increasing with his years, and now, forgetful of his bodily infirmities, which, in all probability, would have caused his death on the road, and indifferent to the temporal good of his people, he expressed his intention of going in pilgrimage to Rome, asserting that he was bound thereto by a solemn vow. The Witan objected that, as he had no children, his absence and death would expose the nation to the dangers of a disputed succession; and then the king, for the first time, turned his thoughts to his nephew and namesake, Edward, the son of his half-brother, Edmund Ironside. The long

neglect of this prince of the old race of Cerdic and Alfred, which, counting from the time of King Edward's accession, had extended over a period of more than twenty years, shows but slight affection for that Saxon family; and, as the king had never expected any children of his own to succeed him, it seems to confirm the statement of those old writers who say he had all along intended to bequeath his crown to his cousin, William of Normandy. But at this moment Norman interest and influence, though not dried up, were at a low ebb; be his wishes what they might, Edward durst not propose the succession of William, and being pressed by the Witan, and his own eager desire of travelling to Rome, he sent an embassy to the German emperor, Henry III., whose relative the young prince had married, requesting he might be restored to the wishes of the English nation. Edward the Atheling, or Edward the Outlaw, as he is more commonly called, obeyed the summons with alacrity, and soon arrived in London, with his wife Agatha and his three young children—Edgar, Margaret, and Christina. The race of their old kings was still dear to them; Edmund Ironside was a national hero, inferior only to the great Alfred; his gallantry, his bravery, his victories over the Danes, were sung in popular songs, and still formed the subject of daily conversation among the Saxon people, who therefore received his son and grandchildren with the most hearty welcome and enthusiastic joy. But though King Edward had invited over his nephew with the professed intention of proclaiming him his heir to the crown, that prince was never admitted into his presence. This circumstance could not fail of creating great disgust; but this and all other sentiments in the popular mind were speedily absorbed by the deep and universal grief and despondence caused by Prince Edward's death, who expired in London shortly after his arrival in that city, and was buried in the cathedral of St. Paul's. This sudden catastrophe, and the voluntary or constrained coyness of the king towards his nephew, awakened horrid suspicions of foul play. The more generally received opinion seems to have been that the prince was kept at a distance, by the machinations and contrivances of the jealous Harold, and that that earl caused him to be poisoned, in order to remove what he considered the greatest obstacle to his own future plans. In justice, however, the memory of Harold ought not to be loaded with a crime which, possibly, after all, was never committed; for the prince might very well have died a natural death, although his demise tallied with the views and interests of Harold. There is no proof, nor shadow of proof, that Harold circumvented and then destroyed the prince. It is merely presumed

that, because the earl gained most by his death, he caused him to be killed. But William of Normandy gained as much as Harold by the removal of the prince, and was, at the very least, as capable of extreme and treacherous measures. During his visit in England, the king may have promised the duke that he would never receive his nephew Edward; and while this circumstance would of itself account for the king's shyness, the coming of the prince would excite the jealousy and alarm of William, who had emissaries in the land, and friends and partizans about the court. Supposing, therefore, Prince Edward to have been murdered (and there is no proof that he was), the crime was as likely to have been committed by the orders of the duke as by those of the earl.

The demise of Edward the Outlaw certainly cut off the national hope of a continuance of the old Saxon dynasty; for though he left a son, called Edgar the Atheling, that prince was very young, feeble in body, and in intellect not far removed from idiocy. The latter circumstance forbade all exertion in his favour; but had he been the most promising of youths, it is very doubtful whether a minor would not have been crushed by one or other of two such bold and skilful competitors as William and Harold. As matters stood, the king, whose journey to Rome could be no more talked of, turned his eyes to Normandy, while many of the Saxons began to look up to Harold, the brother of the queen, as the best and most national successor to the throne.

That Harold went to Normandy at this time is certain, but it is said that his sole object in going was to obtain the release of his brother Wulnot and his nephew Haco, the two hostages for the Godwin family, whom Edward had committed to the custody of Duke William, but whom he was now willing to restore. Another opinion is, that Harold's going at all was wholly accidental. According to this version, being one day at his manor of Bosenham, or Bosham, on the Sussex coast, he went into a fishing-boat for recreation, with but few attendants, and those not very expert mariners; and scarcely was he launched into the deep, when a violent storm suddenly arose, and drove the ill-managed boat upon the opposite coast of France; but whether he went by accident or design, or whatever were the motives of the voyage, the following facts seem to be pretty generally admitted.

Harold was wrecked or stranded near the mouth of the river Somme, in the territory of Guy, Count of Ponthieu, who, according to a barbarous practice, not uncommon, and held as good law in the middle ages, seized the wreck as his right, and made the passengers his prisoners

until they should pay a heavy ransom for their release. From the castle of Belram, now Beaurain, near Montreuil, where the earl and his retinue were shut up, after they had been despoiled of the best part of their baggage, Harold made his condition known to Duke William, and entreated his good offices. The duke could not be blind to the advantages that might be derived from this accident, and he instantly and earnestly demanded that Harold should be released, and sent to his court. Careful of his money, William at first employed threats, without talking of ransom. The Count of Ponthieu, who knew the rank of his captive, was deaf to these menaces, and only yielded on the offer of a large sum of money from the duke, and a fine estate on the river d'Eaune. Harold then went to Rouen; and the Bastard of Normandy had the gratification of having in his court, and in his power, and bound to him by this recent obligation, the son of the great enemy of the Normans, one of the chiefs of the league that had banished from England the foreign courtiers—the friends and relations of William—those on whom his hopes rested—the intriguers in his favour for the royalty of that kingdom. Although received with much magnificence, and treated with great respect and even a semblance of affection, Harold soon perceived he was in a more dangerous prison at Rouen than he had been in the castle of Belram. His aspirations to the English crown could be no secret to himself, and his inward conscience would make him believe they were well known to William, who could not be ignorant of his past life and present power in the island. If he was indeed uninformed as yet as to William's intentions, that happy ignorance was soon removed, and the whole peril of his present situation placed full before him by the duke, who said to him one day, as they were riding side by side—"When Edward and I lived together, like brothers, under the same roof, he promised me that, if ever he became King of England, he would make me his successor. Harold! I would, right well, that you helped me in the fulfilment of this promise; and be assured that if I obtain the kingdom by your aid, whatever you choose to ask shall be granted on the instant." The liberty and life of the earl were in the hands of the proposer, and so Harold promised to do what he could. William was not to be satisfied with vague promises. "Since you consent to serve me," he continued, "you must engage to fortify Dover Castle, to dig a well of good water there, and to give it up to my men-at-arms; you must also give me your sister, that I may marry her to one of my chiefs; and you yourself must marry my daughter Adele. Moreover, I wish you, at your departure, to leave me, in pledge of your promises, one of the

hostages whose liberty you now reclaim; he will stay under my guard, and I will restore him to you in England when I arrive there as king." Harold felt that to refuse or object would be not only to expose himself, but his brother and nephew, also, to ruin; and the champion of the Saxon cause, hiding his heart's abhorrence, pledged himself verbally to deliver the principal fortress of his country to the Normans, and to fulfil all the other engagements, which were as much forced upon him as though William had held the knife to his defenceless throat. But the ambitious, crafty, and suspicious Norman was not yet satisfied.

In the town of Avranches, or, according to other authorities, in the town of Bayeux, William summoned a grand council of the barons and headmen of Normandy, to be witnesses to the oaths he should exact from the English earl. The sanctity of an oath was so frequently disregarded in these devout ages, that men had begun to consider it not enough to swear by the majesty of heaven and the hopes of eternal salvation; and had invented sundry plans, such as swearing upon the host or consecrated wafer,

and upon the relics of saints and martyrs, which, in their dull conception, were things far more awful and binding. But William determined to gain this additional guarantee by a trick. On the eve of the day fixed for the assembly, he caused all the bones and relics of saints preserved in all the churches and monasteries in the country, to be collected and deposited in a large tub, which was placed in the council-chamber, and covered and concealed under a cloth of gold. At the appointed meeting, when William was seated on his chair of state, with a rich sword in his hand, a golden diadem on his head, and all his Norman chieftains round about him, the missal was brought in, and being opened at the evangelists, was laid upon the cloth of gold which covered the tub, and gave it the appearance of a rich table or altar. Then Duke William rose and said, "Earl Harold, I require you, before this noble assembly, to confirm by oath the promises you have made me—to wit, to assist me in obtaining the kingdom of England after King Edward's death, to marry my daughter Adele, and to send me your sister, that I may give her in marriage to one of mine." Harold, who, it is said,



HAROLD SWEARING ON THE RELICS.¹—From the Bayeux Tapestry.

was thus publicly taken by surprise, durst not retract; he stepped forward with a troubled and confused air, laid his hand upon the book, and swore. As soon as the oath was taken, at a signal from the duke the missal was removed, the cloth of gold was taken off, and the large tub was

discovered, filled to the very brim with dead men's bones and dried-up bodies of saints, over which the son of Godwin had sworn without knowing it. According to the Norman chroniclers, Harold shuddered at the sight.²

Having, in his apprehension, thus made surety

¹ The Bayeux Tapestry is a long piece of embroidery, worked with coloured worsted thread, on a tissue of linen, about 233 ft. (71 metres) long, and 20 in. (52 centimetres) broad. It was discovered in the townhall of Bayeux, in Normandy, whence its name. Tradition assigns the work to Matilda, queen of William the Conqueror, and her maids of honour. It is certainly a product of the eleventh century, though still in the freshest condition, and was probably sewed by some high-born *châtelaine* of the time, and her ladies. It is a pictorial representation of the conquest of England by the Normans, in seventy-two distinct compartments, every leading incident immediately preceding, during, and following which, is depicted in the most expressive manner, accompanied by all the accessories of architecture, fixed and floating, costume, armour, &c. Every compartment has a superscription in Latin, indicating its subject. The *pantomime*

of the actors in the successive scenes is singularly eloquent; and the apparent movement of the figures—allowance made for the imperfect art of the time—is really spirited. This fine relic of the olden time—really an historical document of the utmost value—has had several locations, but is at present reposed in the *hôtel-de-ville* of Bayeux, where it is kept coiled round a roller, from which it is unwound for inspection.

² *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions; Roman du Rouer; Endmer; Gulicmus Pictariensis*, or William of Poitou. William of Poitou received the particulars from persons who were present at this extraordinary scene.

Among the chief objects of attraction to the Anglo-Saxons, both at home and in their pilgrimages, were relics. In finding this superstition so extremely prevalent among them, we are almost led to the supposition that it did not originate in the

doubly sure, William loaded Harold with presents, and permitted him to depart. Liberty was restored to young Haco, who returned to England with his uncle, but the politic duke retained the other hostage, Wulnot, as a further security for the faith of his brother the earl.

Harold had scarcely set foot in England when he was called to the field by circumstances which, for the present, gave him an opportunity of showing his justice and impartiality, or his wise policy, but which soon afterwards tended to complicate the difficulties of his situation. His brother Tostig, who had been intrusted with the government of Northumbria on good Siward's death, behaved with so much rapacity, tyranny, and cruelty, as to provoke a general rising against his authority and person. The insurgents—the hardiest and most warlike men of the land—marched upon York, where their obnoxious governor resided. Tostig fled; his treasury and armoury were pillaged, and 200 of his body-guard were massacred on the banks of the Ouse. The Northumbrians then, despising the weak authority of the king, determined to choose an earl for themselves; and their choice fell on Morcar, one of the sons of Earl Algar, the old enemy of Harold and his family. Morcar, whose power and influence were extensive in Lincoln, Nottingham, and Derbyshire, readily accepted the authority offered him, and gathering together an armed host, and securing the services of a body of Welsh auxiliaries, he not only took possession of the great northern earldom, but advanced to Northampton, with an evident intention of extending his power towards the south of England; but here he was met by the active and intrepid Harold, who had never yet returned vanquished from a field of battle. Before drawing the sword against his own countrymen, the son of Godwin proposed a conference. This was accepted by the Northumbrians, who, at the meeting, exposed the wrongs they had suffered from Tostig, and the motives of their insurrection. Harold endeavoured to palliate the faults of his brother, and promised, in his name, better conduct for the future, if they would receive him back as their earl lawfully appointed by the king. But the Northumbrians unanimously protested against any reconciliation with the chief who had tyrannized over them. "We were born free-

men," said they, "and were brought up in freedom; a proud chief is to us unbearable—for we have learned from our ancestors to live free, or die."

The crimes of Tostig were proved, and Harold, giving up his brother's cause as lost, agreed to the demands of the Northumbrians, that the appointment of Morcar as earl should be confirmed. A truce being concluded, he hastened to obtain the consent of the king, which was little more than a matter of form, and granted immediately. The Northumbrians then withdrew with their new earl, Morcar, from Northampton; but during Harold's short absence at court, to complete the treaty of pacification, and at their departure, they plundered and burned the neighbouring towns and villages, and carried off some hundreds of the inhabitants, whom they kept for the sake of ransom. As for the expelled Tostig, he fled to Bruges, the court of Baldwin, Earl of Flanders, whose daughter he had married, and, burning with rage and revenge, and considering himself betrayed or unjustly abandoned by his brother Harold, he opened a correspondence, and sought friendship and support, with William of Normandy.

The childless and now childish Edward was dying. Harold arrived in London on the last day of November; the king grew worse and worse; and in the first days of January it was evident that the hand of death was upon him. The veil of mystery and doubt again thickens round the royal deathbed. The writers who go upon the authority of those who were in the interest of the Norman, positively affirm that Edward repeated the clauses of his will, and named William his successor; and that when Harold and his kinsmen forced their way into his chamber to obtain a different decision, he said to them with his dying voice, "Ye know right well, my lords, that I have bequeathed my kingdom to the Duke of Normandy; and are there not those *here* who have plighted oaths to secure William's succession?" On the other side it is maintained, with equal confidence, that he named Harold his successor, and told the chiefs and churchmen that no one was so worthy of the crown as the great son of Godwin.

The Norman duke, whose *best* right (if *good* or *right* can be in it) was the sword of conquest, always insisted on the intentions and last will of Edward. But although the will of a popular king was occasionally allowed much weight in the decision, it was not imperative or binding to the Saxon people without the consent and concurrence of the *witenagemot*—the parliament or great council of the nation—to which source of right the Norman, very naturally, never thought of applying. The English crown was in great

(R.) Catholic faith, but was rather, if not entirely produced, at least greatly promoted by the belief of the Germanic nations, who solemnly buried the bones of the dead in barrows, threw up vast mounds over them, raised monuments of rude workmanship, and thought to conquer in battle with the aid of the corpses of their dead chieftains. The judicial superstition, brought to Britain by the Saxons, that the lifeless body of a murdered person would begin to bleed on the approach of the murderer, also supposes the presence of supernatural powers in the corpse.—*Lappenberg*.

measure an elective crown. This fact is sufficiently proved by the irregularity in the succession, which is not reconcilable with any laws of heirship and primogeniture, for we frequently see the brother of a deceased king preferred to all the sons of that king, or a younger son put over the head of the eldest. As the royal race ended in Edward, or only survived in an imbecile boy, it became imperative to look elsewhere for a successor, and upon whom could the eyes of the nation so naturally fall as upon the experienced, skilful, and brave Harold, the defender of the Saxon cause, and the near relation by marriage of their last king? Harold, therefore, derived his authority from what ought always to be considered its most legitimate source, and which was actually acknowledged to be so in the age and country in which he lived. William, a foreigner of an obnoxious race, rested his claim on Edward's dying declaration, and on a will that the king had no faculty to make or enforce without the consent and ratification of the states of the kingdom; and, strange to say, this will, which was held by some to give a plausible, or even a just title (which it did not), *was never produced*, whence people concluded it had never existed. The chroniclers agree in stating that Edward was visited by frightful visions—that he repeated the most menacing passages of the Bible, which came to his memory involuntarily, and in a confused manner—and that the day before his death he pronounced a fearful prophecy of woe and judgment to the Saxon people. At these words there was "dole and sorrow enough;" but Stigand, the Archbishop of Canterbury, could not refrain from laughing at the general alarm, and said the old man was only dreaming and raving, as sick old men are wont to do.

During these his last days, however, the anxious mind of the king was in good part absorbed by the care for his own sepulture, and his earnest wish that Westminster Abbey, which he had rebuilt from the foundation, should be completed and consecrated before he departed this life. The works, to which he had devoted a tenth part of his revenue, were pressed—they were finished; but on the festival of the Innocents, the day fixed for the consecration, he could not leave his chamber; and the grand ceremony was performed in presence of Queen Editha, who represented her dying husband, and of a great concourse of nobles and priests, who had been bidden in unusual numbers to the Christmas festival, that they might partake in this solemn celebration. He expired on the 5th of January, 1066; and, on

the very next day, the festival of the Epiphany, all that remained of the last Saxon king of the



CHAPEL AND SHRINE OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.¹

race of Cerdic and Alfred was interred, with great pomp and solemnity, within the walls of the sacred edifice he had just lived time enough to complete. He was in his sixty-fifth or sixty-sixth year, and had reigned over England nearly twenty-four years.

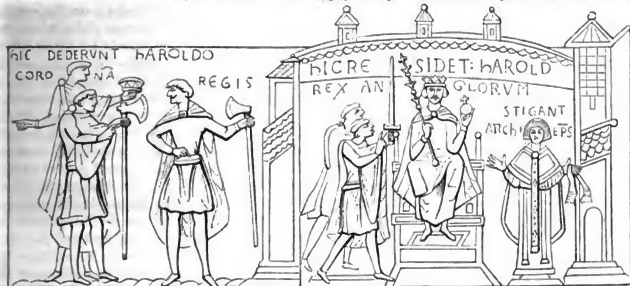
The body of laws he compiled, and which were so fondly remembered in after times, when the Saxons were ground to the dust by Norman tyranny, were selected from the codes or collections of his predecessors, Ethelbert, Ina, and Alfred, few or none of them originating in himself, although the gratitude of the nation long continued to attribute them all to him. In his personal character pious, humane, and temperate, but infirm and easily persuaded, his whole life showed that he was better fitted to be a monk than a king.

HAROLD was proclaimed king in a vast assembly of the chiefs and nobles, and of the citizens of London, almost as soon as the body of Edward was deposited in the tomb, and the same evening witnessed his solemn coronation, only a few hours intervening between the two ceremonies. The common account is that Stigand, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who, in right of his office, should have crowned the king, having quarrelled with

¹ The chapel in Westminster Abbey, and the shrine which contains the ashes of the Confessor, were erected by direction of Henry III., the latter being the work of the Italian artist Cavallini. The coffin containing the king's remains is suspended by iron rods firmly inserted in the stone-work, at about half the depth of the shrine.

the court of Rome, and then lying under a sentence of suspension, the ecclesiastic next in dignity, Aldred, Archbishop of York, officiated in his stead; other authorities affirm that Harold put the crown on his head with his own hands; but both William of Poitiers, a contemporary writer, and Ordericus Vitalis, who lived in the next century, assert that the act was performed by Stigand. This account seems to be confirmed by the representation of the ceremony on the Bayeux Tapestry, where Harold appears seated on the throne, with Stigand standing on his left. In this

moment of excitement the strong mind of the Saxon, though not destitute of superstition, may have risen superior to the terrors of the dead men's bones, and the oaths that had been extorted from him most foully and by force in Normandy; but the circumstances, no doubt, made an unfavourable impression on the minds of most of such of his countrymen as were acquainted with them. Still all the southern counties of England hailed his accession with joy; nor was he wanting to himself in exertions to increase his well-established popularity. "He studied by all means which way



THE CROWN OFFERED TO HAROLD, AND THE CORONATION OF HAROLD.—From the Bayeux Tapestry.

to win the people's favour, and omitted no occasion whereby he might show any token of bounteous liberality, gentleness, and courteous behaviour towards them. The grievous customs, also, and taxes which his predecessors had raised, he either abolished or diminished; the ordinary wages of his servants and men-of-war he increased, and further showed himself very well bent to all virtue and goodness.¹ A writer who lived near the time adds that, from the moment of his accession, he showed himself pious, humble, and affable, and that he spared himself no fatigue, either by land or by sea, for the defence of his country.²

The court was effectually cleared of the unpopular foreign favourites, but their property was respected; they were left in the enjoyment of their civil rights, and not a few retained their employments. Some of these Normans were the first to announce the death of Edward and the coronation of Harold to Duke William. At the moment when he received this great news he was in his hunting-grounds near Rouen, holding a bow in his hand, with some new arrows that he was trying. On a sudden he was observed to be very pensive; and giving his bow to one of his people, he threw himself into a skiff, crossed the river Seine, and then hurried

on to his palace of Rouen, without saying a word to any one. He stopped in the great hall, and strode up and down that apartment, now sitting down, now rising, changing his seat and his posture, as if unable to find rest in any. None of his attendants durst approach, he looked so fierce and agitated.⁴ Recovering from his reverie, William agreed that ambassadors should be immediately sent to England. When these envoys appeared before Harold, they said, "William, Duke of the Normans, reminds thee of the oath thou hast sworn him with thy mouth, and with thy hand on good and holy relics." "It is true," replied the Saxon king, "that I made an oath to William, but I made it under the influence of force; I promised what did not belong to me, and engaged to do what I never could do; for my royalty does not belong to me, nor can I dispose of it without the consent of my country. In the like manner I cannot, without the consent of my country, espouse a foreign wife. As for my sister, whom the duke claims, in order that he may marry her to one of his chiefs, she has been dead some time—will he that I send him her corpse?" A second embassy terminated in mutual reproaches; and then William, swearing that, in the course of the year, he would come to

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Roger of Hoveden.*

³ *Thierry, Hist. de la Conquête de l'Angleterre: Chron. de Norm.*

exact all that was due to him, and pursue the perjured Harold even unto the places where he believed his footing the most sure and firm, pressed those preparations for war which he had begun almost as soon as he learned the course events had taken in England.

On the Continent the opinion of most men was in favour of William, and Harold was regarded in the light of a sacrilegious oath-breaker, with whom no terms were to be kept. The habitual love of war, and the hopes of obtaining copious plunder and rich settlements in England, were not without their effect. In the cabinet council which the duke assembled, there was not one dissentient voice; all the great Norman lords were of opinion that the island ought to be invaded; and knowing the magnitude of the enterprise, they engaged to serve him with their body and goods, even to the selling or mortgaging their inheritance. Some subscribed for ships, others to furnish men-at-arms, others engaged to march in person; the priests gave their gold and silver, the merchants their stuffs, and the farmers their corn and provender. A clerk stood near the duke, with a large book open before him; and as the vassals made their promises, he wrote them all down in his register. The ambitious William looked far beyond the confines of Normandy for soldiers of fortune to assist him in his enterprise. He had his ban of war published in all the neighbouring countries; he offered good pay to every tall, robust man who would serve him with the lance, the sword, or the cross-bow. A multitude flocked to him from all parts—from far and near—from the north and the south. They came from Maine and Anjou; from Poitou and Bretagne; from the country of the French king and from Flanders; from Aquitaine and from Burgundy; from Piedmont beyond the Alps and from the banks of the Rhine. Adventurers by profession, the idle, the dissipated, the profligate, the *enfants perdus* of Europe hurried at the summons.¹ Of these some were knights and chiefs in war, others simple foot-soldiers; some demanded regular pay in money, others merely their passage across the Channel, and all the booty they might make. Some demanded territory in England—a domain, a castle, a town; while others, again, simply wished to secure some rich Saxon lady in marriage. All the wild wishes, all the pretensions of human avarice were awakened into activity. "William," says the *Norman Chronicle*, "repulsed no one; but promised and pleased all as much as he could." He even sold, beforehand, a bishopric in England to a certain Remi of Fescamp (afterwards canonized as St. Remigius), for a ship and twenty men-at-arms.

When the pope's bull arrived, justifying the expedition, and with it the consecrated banner that was to float over it, the matrons of Normandy sent their sons to enrol themselves for the health of their souls; and the national eagerness for war was increased twofold. Three churchmen—the celebrated Lanfranc, Robert of Jumièges (Archbishop of Canterbury, who had been expelled by Earl Godwin and his sons), and a deacon of Lisieux—had been sent on an embassy to Rome, where they urged the cause of William with entire success, and obtained from Alexander III. a holy license to invade England, on the condition, however, that the Norman duke, when he had conquered our island, should hold it as a fief of the church. This measure was not carried through the consistory without opposition. The man who combated most warmly in its favour was the fiery Hildebrand, then archdeacon of the Church of Rome, and afterwards the celebrated Pope Gregory VII. The most valid reasons William or his ambassadors could present to the pope were—the will of King Edward the Confessor (which was never produced), the perjury and sacrilege of Harold, the forcible expulsion from England of the Norman prelates, and the old massacre of the Danes on St. Brice's Day by King Ethelred. But if there was any want of plausibility in the argumentative statement of his case, William, as already intimated, was most liberal and convincing in his promises to the pope.

A pontifical diploma, signed with the cross, and sealed, according to the Roman usage, with a seal in lead, of a round form,² was sent to the Norman duke; and, in order to give him still more confidence and security in his invasion, a consecrated banner, and a ring of great price, containing one of the hairs of St. Peter, were added to the bull. William repaired in person to St. Germain, in order to solicit the aid of Philip I., King of the French. This sovereign, though tempted by flattering promises, thought fit to refuse any direct assistance; but he permitted (what he probably could not prevent) that many hundreds of his subjects should join the expedition. William's father-in-law, Baldwin of Flanders, gave some assistance in men, ships, and stores; and the other continental princes pretty generally encouraged William, in the politic hope that a formidable neighbour might be kept at a distance for the rest of his life if the expedition succeeded, or so weakened as to be no longer formidable if it failed. But there was one state, whose history in old times had been singularly mixed and interwoven with that of Britain, which might have proved an impediment. Armorica,

¹ Thierry, *Œuvres de Normandie*.

² Called in Latin *bulle*; hence the common name, "bull," for the pope's letters, &c.

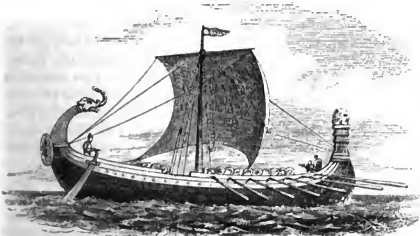
now called Bretagne or Brittany, had become a sort of fief to Normandy; but Conan, the reigning chief or Duke of the Bretons, sent a message to William, requiring that, since he was going to be King of England, he should deliver up his Norman duchy to the legitimate descendants of Rollo the Ganger,¹ from whom the Breton said he issued by the female line. Conan did not long survive this indiscreet demand; and his sudden death, by poison, was generally, and above all in Brittany, imputed to William the Bastard. Eudes or Eudo, the successor of Conan, raised no pretensions; but voluntarily yielding to the influence of William, sent him two of his sons (which he was not bound to do) to serve him in his wars against the English. These two young Bretons, named Brian and Allan,² came to the rendezvous, accompanied by a troop of men of their own country, who gave them the title of Mac Tierns (the sons of the chief), while the Normans styled them Counts. Other rich Bretons—as Robert de Vitry, Bertrand de Dinan, and Raoul de Gael—flocked to William's standard, to offer their services as volunteers or as soldiers of fortune.

From early spring all through the summer months the most active preparations had been carried on in all the seaports of Normandy. Workmen of all classes were employed in building and equipping ships; smiths and armourers

expelled from Northumbria, fled with treacherous intentions to the court of the Earl of Flanders, and opened communications with the Duke of Normandy. Soon after Harold's coronation Tostig repaired in person to Rouen, where he boasted to William that he had more credit and real power in England than his brother, and promised him the sure possession of that country if he would only unite with him for its conquest. William was no doubt too well informed to credit this assertion; but he saw the advantage which might be derived from this fraternal hate; and gave Tostig a few ships, with which that miscreant ravaged the Isle of Wight and the country about Sandwich. Retreating before the naval force of his brother, Tostig then went to the coast of Lincolnshire, where he did great harm. He next sailed up the Humber, but was presently driven thence by the advance of Morcar, Earl of Northumbria, and his brother Edwin, which two powerful chiefs were now living in friendship with Harold, who had espoused their sister, Algytha, and made her Queen of England. From the Humber, Tostig fled with only twelve small vessels to the north of Scotland, whence, forgetful of his alliance with the Norman duke, he sailed to the Baltic, to invite Sweyn, the King of Denmark, to the conquest of our island. Sweyn wisely declined the dangerous invitation; and then, caring little what rival he raised to his

brother, he went to Norway, and pressed Harold Hardrada, the king of that country, to invade England. Hardrada could not resist the temptation; and, early in autumn, he set sail with a formidable fleet, consisting of 200 war-ships, and 300 store-ships and vessels of smaller size. Having touched at the Orkneys, where he left his queen, and procured a large reinforcement of pirates and adventurers, Hardrada made for England, and sailed up the Tyne, taking and plundering several towns. He then continued his course south-

wards, and, being joined by Tostig, sailed up the Humber and the Ouse. The Norwegian king and the Saxon traitor landed their united forces at Riccall or Richale, not far from the city of York. Notwithstanding his former infamous conduct, Tostig had still some friends and retainers in that country; these now rallied round his standard, and many others were won over or reduced to an unpatriotic neutrality by the imposing display of force on the part of the invaders. The Earls Morcar and Edwin, true to Harold and their trust, marched boldly out



NORMAN SHIP.—Restored from the Bayeux Tapestry, by C. Jal, *Archæologie Navale*.

forged lances, and made coats of mail; and porters passed incessantly to and fro, carrying the arms from the workshops to the ships. These notes of preparation soon sounded across the Channel, and gave warning of the coming invasion. The first storm of war that burst upon England did not, however, proceed from Normandy, but from Harold's own unnatural brother. It will be remembered how this brother, Tostig,

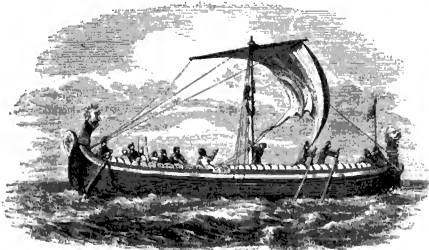
¹ The founder of the duchy of Normandy.

² This Allan is supposed by some to have been the original stock of the royal house of Stuart.

from York; but they were defeated, after a desperate conflict, and compelled to flee. The citizens of York then opened their gates to the Norwegian conqueror, who made himself the

The horsemen replied, "Seven feet of English ground for a grave; or a little more, seeing that Hardrada is taller than most men." "Ride back, ride back," cried Tostig, "and bid King Harold make ready for the fight.

When the Northmen tell the story of this day, they shall never say that Earl Tostig forsook King Hardrada, the son of Sigurd. He and I have one mind and one resolve, and that is, either to die in battle or to possess all England." Soon after, the action commenced; it was long, fierce, and bloody, but the victory was decisive, and in favour of Harold. Hardrada fell, with nearly every one of his chiefs, and the greater part of the Norwegians perished. Tostig, the cause of the war, was slain soon after Hardrada.



SAXON SHIP.—HAROLD'S SHIP.—Restored from the Bayeux Tapestry, by H. G. Hine.

more formidable to Harold by the wisdom and moderation of his conduct.

Through all the summer months the last of the Saxon monarchs had been busily engaged watching the southern coast, where he expected William to land; but now, giving up for the moment every thought of the Normans, he united nearly all his forces, and marched most rapidly to the north, to face his brother and the King of Norway. This march was so skilfully managed, that the invaders had no notion of the advance; and they were taken by surprise, when Harold burst upon them like a thunderbolt, in the neighbourhood of York, a very few days after their landing. Hardrada drew up his forces as best he could, at Stamford Bridge; as he rode round them his horse stumbled, and he fell to the ground; but he presently sprang up unhurt, and, in order to stop a contrary argury, exclaimed that this was a good omen. Harold saw what had happened, and inquired who that Norwegian chief was in the sky-blue mantle and with the splendid helmet. He was told that it was the King of Norway; upon which he added, "He is a large and strong person, but I augur that fortune has forsaken him." Before joining battle, Harold detached twenty mail-clad horsemen to parley with that wing of the enemy where the standard of Tostig was seen; and one of these warriors asked if Earl Tostig was there. Tostig answered for himself, and said, "You know he is here." The horsemen then, in the name of his brother, King Harold, offered him peace and the whole of Northumbria, or, if that were too little, the third part of the realm of England. "And what territory would Harold give in compensation to my ally Hardrada, King of Norway?"

Even the Norwegian fleet fell into the hands of the conqueror, who had the generosity to permit Olave, the son of Hardrada, to depart, with all the survivors, in twenty-four ships, after that prince had sworn that he would for ever maintain faith and friendship to England.

Only three days after this signal victory, the Normans landed in the south. Harold received this news as he was sitting joyfully at table in the good city of York; but, taking his measures with his usual rapidity, he instantly began his march towards London. Upon his way, his forces, which had suffered tremendously in the battle against the Norwegians, were weakened by discontents and desertion; and not a few men were left behind by the speed of his march, from the effects of their wounds and from sheer fatigue. In number, spirit, discipline, appointment, and in all other essentials, the enemies he had now to encounter were most formidable. They have well been called "the most remarkable and formidable armament which the Western nations had seen, since some degree of regularity and order had been introduced into their civil and military arrangements."¹

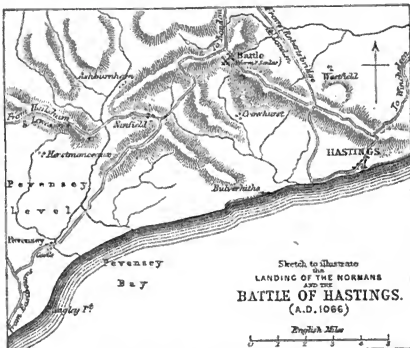
By the middle of August, the whole of William's fleet, with the land-troops on board, had assembled at the mouth of the Dive, a small river, which falls into the sea between the Seine and the Orne. The total number of vessels amounted to about 3000, of which 600 or 700 were of a superior order. During a whole month the winds were contrary, and kept the Norman fleet in that port. Then a breeze sprang up from the south, and carried the ships

¹ Sir J. Mackintosh, *Hist. Eng.*

as far as St. Valery, near Dieppe; but there the weather changed; a storm set in, and they were obliged to cast anchor, and wait for several days. During this delay some of the ships were wrecked, and their crews drowned on the coast. In consequence of all this, not a few of the discouraged adventurers broke their engagements, and withdrew from the army; and the rest were inclined to believe that Providence had declared against the war. To check these feelings, which might have proved fatal to his projects, William caused the bodies of the shipwrecked to be privately buried as soon as they were found, and increased the rations both of food and strong drink. But this inactivity still brought back the same sad and discouraging ideas. "He is mad!" murmured the soldiers, "that man is very mad who seeks to take possession of another's country! God is offended at such designs, and this he shows now by refusing us a fair wind."

The duke then had recourse to something more potent than bread and wine. He caused the body of St. Valery, the patron of that place, where a town had grown up around his cell, to be taken from his shrine, and carried in procession through the camp, the knights, soldiers, camp-followers, and sailors, all devoutly kneeling as it passed, and praying for the saint's intercession. In the course of the ensuing night the weather changed, and the wind blew fair from the Norman to the English coast. The troops repaired to their several ships, and at an early hour the next morning the whole fleet set sail. William led the van, in a vessel which had been presented to him for the occasion by his wife Matilda, and which was distinguished by its splendid decorations in the day, and in the darkness of night by a brilliant light at its mast-head. The vanes of the ship were gilded; its sails were of different bright colours; the three lions, the arms of Normandy, were painted in several places; and its sculptured figure-head was a child with a drawn bow, the arrow ready to fly against the hostile land. The consecrated banner, sent from Rome by the pope, floated at the main-top mast, and the invader had put a cross upon his flag, in testimony of the holiness of his undertaking. This ship sailed faster than all the rest, and, in his impatience, William neglected to order the taking in of sail to lessen its speed. In the course of the night he left the whole fleet far astern. Early in the morning he ordered a sailor to the mast-head, to see if the

other ships were coming up. "I can see nothing but the sea and sky," said the mariner; and then they lay-to. To keep the crew in good heart, William ordered them a sumptuous breakfast, with wines strongly spiced. The sailor was again sent aloft, and this time he said he could make out four vessels in the distance; but mounting a third time shortly after, he shouted, "Now I see a forest of masts and sails!" A few hours after this the united Norman fleet came to anchor on the Sussex coast, without meeting with any resistance; for Harold's ships, which so long had cruised on that coast, had been called elsewhere, or had returned into port through want of pay and provisions.¹ It was on the 28th of September, 1066, that the Normans landed unopposed at a place called Bulerhith, between Pevensey and Hastings. The archers landed first; they wore short dresses, and their hair was shaved off; then the horsemen landed, wearing



iron casques and tunics and *chausses* (or defences for the thighs) of mail, being armed with long and strong lances, and straight, double-edged swords. After them descended the workmen of the army, pioneers, carpenters, and smiths, who carried on shore, piece by piece, three wooden castles, which had been cut and prepared beforehand in Normandy. The duke was the last man to land; and as his foot touched the sand, he made a false step, and fell upon his face. A murmur instantly succeeded this trifling mishap, and the soldiery cried out, "God keep us! but here is a bad sign!" In those days the Conqueror's presence of mind never forsook him, and, leaping gayly to his feet, and showing them his hand full of English earth or sand, he ex-

¹ Thierry, *Hist. de la Conquête*; Southey's *Naval Hist. of Eng.*; *Chron. de Normand.*; *Gul. Pictor.*

claimed, "What now? What astonishes you? I have taken seisin of this land with my hands, and, by the splendour of God! as far as it extends it is mine—it is yours!"

but sixteen days elapsed between their arrival and the battle, and in all that time William made no advance into the country, but lingered within a few miles of the coast where he had landed.



PEVENSEY BAY.—From a drawing on the spot, by H. G. Hine.

From the landing-place the army marched to Hastings, near to which town he traced a fortified camp, and set up two of the wooden castles or towers that he had brought with him from Normandy, and there placed his provisions. Detached corps of Normans then overran all the neighbouring country, pillaging and burning the houses. The English fled from their abodes, concealed their goods and their cattle, and repaired in crowds to the sacred protection of their inland churches. William personally surveyed all the neighbouring country, and occupied the old Roman castle of Pevensey with a strong detachment. It should appear that he was presently welcomed into England by several foreigners, the remnant of the old Norman court party which had been so predominant in the days of the late king. One Robert, a Norman thane, who was settled in the neighbourhood of Hastings, is particularly mentioned as giving him advice immediately after his landing. It is probable that the disembarking the army, horse and foot, and the landing of the provisions and military stores, would occupy two or three days;

hoping to profit a second time by a sudden and unexpected attack, he marched off for the



PEVENSEY CASTLE.—H. G. Hine, from his drawing on the spot.

Sussex coast by night, only six days after his

¹ The remains of Roman masonry visible in Pevensey Castle indicate an origin prior to the times both of Saxons and Normans. The outer walls, the most ancient part of the building, inclose an area of 7 ac., and stand from 20 ft. to 25 ft. high. The moat on the south is wide and deep. Works of more modern character stand within the walls, consisting of a fortification of pentagonal form, with five circular towers. It is entered from the outer court by a drawbridge on the west side, between two towers. The principal barbican or watch-tower is towards the north-east corner. The walls are 9 ft. thick; the towers are two and three stories high.

arrival in London, and with forces inferior in numbers to those of William. The camp of William was well guarded, and, to prevent all surprise, he had thrown out advanced posts to a considerable distance. These posts, composed of good cavalry, fell back as the Saxons approached, and told William that Harold was rushing on with the speed and fury of a madman. On his side Harold despatched some spies, who spoke the French language, to ascertain the position and state of preparation of the Normans. Both these the returning spies reported to be formidable, and they added, with astonishment, that there were more priests in William's camp than there were soldiers in the English army. These men had mistaken for priests all the Norman soldiers that had short hair and shaven upper lips; for it was then the fashion of the English to let both their hair and their moustaches grow long. Harold smiled at their mistake, and said, "Those whom you have found in such great numbers are not priests, but brave men of war, who will soon show us what they are worth." He then halted his army at *Senlac*, since called *Battle*, and changing his plan, surrounded his camp with ditches and palisades, and waited the attack of his rival in that well-chosen position. One whole day was passed in fruitless negotiations, the nature of which is differently reported by the old chroniclers. According to William of Poitiers, who was chaplain to the Conqueror, and had the best means of information, and the writer or writers of the *Chronicle of Normandy*, a monk named Hugh Maigrot was despatched to demand from Harold, in the name of William, that he would do one of three things—resign his crown in favour of the Norman; submit to the arbitration of the pope; or decide the quarrel by single combat. Harold sent a refusal to each of these proposals, upon which William charged the monk with this last message:—"Go, and tell Harold, that if he will keep his old bargain with me, I will leave him all the country beyond the river Humber, and will give his brother Gurth all the lands of his father, Earl Godwin; but if he obstinately refuse what I offer him, thou wilt tell him, before all his people, that he is perjured, and a liar; that he and all those who shall support him are excommunicated by the pope, and that I carry a bull to that effect." The *Norman Chronicle* says that the monk Hugh pronounced this message in a solemn tone, and at the word "excommunication," the English chiefs gazed upon one another in great dismay; but that, nevertheless, they all resolved to fight to the last, well knowing that the Norman had promised their lands to his nobles, his captains, and his knights, who had already done homage for them.

The Normans quitted Hastings, and occupied an eminence opposite to the English, plainly showing that they intended to give battle on the morrow. Several reasons had been pressed upon Harold by his followers, and were now repeated, why he should decline the combat, or absent himself from its perilous chances. It was urged that the desperate situation of the Duke of Normandy forced him to bring matters to a speedy decision, and put his whole fortune on the issue of a battle, for his provisions were already exhausted, and his supplies from beyond sea would be rendered precarious both by the storms of the coming winter, and the operations of the English fleet, which had already blockaded all the ships William kept with him in the ports of Pevensey and Hastings; but that he, the King of England, in his own country, and well provided with provisions, might bide his own time, and harass with skirmishes a decreasing enemy, who would be exposed to all the discomforts of an inclement season and deep miry roads; that if a general action were now avoided, the whole mass of the English people, made sensible of the danger that threatened their property, their honour, and their liberties, would reinforce his army from all quarters, and by degrees render it invincible. As he turned a deaf ear to all these arguments, his brother Gurth, who was greatly attached to him, and a man of bravery and good counsel, endeavoured to persuade him not to be present at the action, but to set out for London, and bring up the levies, while his best friends should sustain the attack of the Normans. "O! Harold," said the young man, "thou canst not deny that, either by force or free-will, thou hast made Duke William an oath upon the body of saints; why, then, adventure thyself in the dangers of the combat with a perjury against thee? To us, who have sworn nothing, this war is proper and just, for we defend our country. Leave us, then, alone to fight this battle—thou wilt succour us if we are forced to retreat, and if we die thou wilt avenge us." To this touching appeal Harold answered, that his duty forbade him to keep at a distance whilst others risked their lives; and, determined to fight, and full of confidence in the justice of his cause, he waited the morrow with his usual courage. The night was cold and clear; it was spent very differently by the hostile armies; the English feasted and rejoiced, singing, with a great noise, their old national songs, and emptying their horn-cups, which were well filled with beer and wine: the Normans having looked to their arms and to their horses, listened to their priests and monks, who prayed and sang litanies; and that over, the soldiers confessed themselves, and took the sacrament by thousands at a time.

The day of trial—Saturday, the 14th of Octo-

ber—was come. As day dawned, Odo, the Bishop of Bayeux, a half-brother of Duke William, celebrated mass, and gave his benediction to the troops, being armed the while in a coat of mail, which he wore under his episcopal rochet; and when the mass and the blessing were over, he mounted a war-horse, which the old chroniclers, with their interesting minuteness of detail, tell us was large and white, took a lance in his hand, and marshalled his brigade of cavalry. The whole army was divided into three columns of attack; the third column, composed of native Normans, and including many great lords and the choicest of the knights, being headed by the duke in person. William rode a fine Spanish horse, which a rich Norman had brought him on his return from a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Iago of Galicia: he wore suspended round his neck some of those revered relics upon which Harold had sworn, and the standard blessed by the pope was carried at his side, by one Tonstain, surnamed "the White," or "the Fair,"¹ who accepted the honourable but dangerous office, after two Norman barons had declined it. Just before giving the word to advance, he briefly addressed his collected host—"Make up your minds to fight valiantly, and slay your enemies. A great booty is before us; for if we conquer we shall all be rich; what I gain you will gain; if I take this land, you will have it in lots among you. Know ye, however, that I am not come hither solely to take what is my due, but also to avenge our whole nation, for the felonies, perjuries, and treachery of these English. They massacred our kinsmen the Danes—men, women, and children—on the night of St. Brice; they murdered the knights and good men who accompanied Prince Alfred from Normandy, and made my cousin Alfred expire in torture. Before you is the son of that Earl Godwin who was charged with these murders. Let us forward, and punish him, with God to our aid!"

A gigantic Norman, called Taillefer, who united the different qualities of champion, minstrel, and juggler, spurred his horse to the front of the van, and sung, with a loud voice, the popular ballads which immortalized the valour of Charlemagne, and Roland, and all that flower of chivalry that fought in the great fight of Roncevalles. As he sang he performed feats with his sword, throwing it into the air with great force with one hand, and catching it again with the other. The Normans repeated the burden of his song, or cried *Dieu aide! Dieu aide!* This accomplished bravo craved permission to strike the first blow: he ran one Englishman through

the body, and felled a second to the ground; but in attacking a third cavalier he was himself mortally wounded. The English, who, in reply to the *Dieu aide!* or "God is our help!" of the Normans, shouted "Christ's rood!—the holy rood!" remained in their position on the ridge of a hill fortified by trenches and palisades; and within these defences they were marshalled after the fashion of the Danes, shield against shield, presenting an impenetrable front to the enemy. According to old privilege, the men of Kent were in the first line, and the burgesses of London had the honour of being the body-guard, and were drawn up close round the royal standard. At the foot of this banner stood Harold, with his two brothers, Gurth and Leofwin, and a body of the bravest thanes of England. The Normans attacked along the line with their bowmen and cross-bowmen, who produced no impression; and when their cavalry charged, the English, in a compact body, received the assailants with battle-axes, with which they broke the lances and cut the coats of mail on which the Normans relied. The Normans, despairing of forcing the English palisades and ranks, retired in some disorder to the division where William commanded in person. The duke then threw forward all his archers, and supported them by a charge of cavalry, who shouted, as they couched their lances, "*Notre Dame! Notre Dame! Dieu aide! Dieu aide!*" Some of this cavalry broke through the English line, but presently they were all driven back to a deep trench, artfully covered over with brushes and grass, where horses and riders fell in *pêle-mêle*, and perished in great numbers. According to some accounts, more Normans fell here than in any other part of the field. For a moment there was a general panic; a cry spread that the duke was killed, and at this report a flight commenced. William threw himself before the fugitives, and stopped their passage, threatening them, and striking them with his lance; then, uncovering his face and head, he cried, "Here I am! look at me! I am still alive, and I will conquer by God's help." In another part of the field the rout was stopped by the fierce Bishop of Bayeux, and the attacks on the English line were renewed and multiplied. From nine in the morning till three in the afternoon the successes were nearly balanced, or, if anything, seemed rather to preponderate on the English side. William had expected the greatest advantage from the charges of his numerous and brilliant cavalry; but the English foot stood firm (a thing which infantry seldom did in those days under such circumstances), and they were so well defended by their closed shields, that the arrows of the Normans had little effect upon them. The duke then ordered his bowmen to alter the direc-

¹ The readers of *Marmion* will remember the brave bearing of "stainless Tunstall's banner white," long after in the flight of Flodden.

tion of their shafts, and, instead of shooting point-blank, to direct their arrows upward, so that the points should come down like hail from above upon the heads of the enemy. The manœuvre took effect, and many of the English were wounded, most of them in the face; but still they stood firm, and the Normans, almost disheartened, had recourse to a stratagem. William ordered 1000 horse to advance, and then turn and flee; at the view of this pretended rout the English lost their coolness, and leaving their positions, a part of the line gave pursuit, with their battle-axes slung round their necks. At a certain distance a fresh corps of Normans joined the 1000 horse, who drew rein and faced about; and then the English, surprised in their disorder, were assailed on every side by lances and swords. Here many hundreds of the English fell; for, encompassed by horse and foot, they could not retreat, and they would not surrender. The latter word, indeed, is never once used in any of the old accounts of the battle of Hastings. The Norman writers speak with admiration of the valour of several of Harold's thanes, who fought single-handed against a host of foes, as though each of them thought to save his country by his individual exertions. They have not preserved his name, but they make particular mention of one English thane, armed with a battle-axe, who spread dismay among the invaders. The battle-axe appears to have been the arm chiefly used by the English. This ponderous weapon had its advantages and its disadvantages; wielded by nervous men, it broke in pieces the coats of mail, and cleft the steel casques of the Normans, as no swords could have done; but from its weight and size it required both hands to wield it, and was awkward and difficult to manage in close combat.

The feint flight, which had succeeded so well, was repeated by the Normans in another part of the field, and, owing to the impetuosity of the English, with equal success. But still the main body maintained its position behind its stakes and palisades on the ridge of the hill; and such was their unshaken courage, that the Normans were obliged to try the same stratagem a third time—and a third time the brave but imprudent victims fell into the snare. Then the Norman horse and foot burst into the long-defended inclosure, and broke the English line in several points. But even now the English closed again round Harold, who, throughout the day, had shown the greatest activity and bravery. At this juncture he was struck by an arrow, shot at random, which entered his left eye, and penetrated into his brain. The English then gave way, but they retreated no further than their standard, which they still sought to defend. The Normans lemmed them in, making the most desperate

efforts to seize the banner. Robert Fitz-Ernest had almost grasped it, when a battle-axe laid him low for ever. Twenty Norman knights then undertook the task, and this attempt succeeded, after ten of their number had perished. The standard of England was then lowered, and the consecrated banner, sent from Rome, raised in its stead, in sign of victory. Gurth and Leofwin, the brave brothers of Harold, died at that last rallying point. The combat had lasted nine hours, for it was now six o'clock in the evening, and the sun was setting. After a desperate attempt at rallying made by the men of Kent and the East Angles, which cost the lives of many of the victors, the English troops, broken and dispirited by the loss of their leader, dispersed through the woods which lay in the rear of their position; the enemy followed them by the light of the moon; but, as they were ignorant of the country, which was in some places intersected by ditches, and as the English turned and made a stand wherever they could, they suffered severely in this pursuit, and soon gave it up. In every clause of their narrative the Norman writers express their admiration of the valour of the foe; and most of them confess that the great superiority of his forces alone enabled William to obtain the victory. During the sanguinary conflict the fortunate duke had three horses killed under him, and at one moment he was nearly laid prostrate by a blow struck upon his helmet by an English cavalier. The proud band of lords and knights that followed him from the Continent was fearfully thinned, as was well proved on the morrow, when the muster-roll he had prepared before leaving the port of St. Valery was called over. He lost one-fourth of his army, and he did not gain by the battle of Hastings a fourth part of the kingdom of England; for many an after-field was fought, and his wars for the conquest of the west, the north, and the east, were protracted for seven long years. The conquest effected by the Normans was a slow, and not a sudden one.¹ "Thus," to use the energetic language of an old writer,² "was tried, by the great assize of God's judgment in battle, the right of power between the English and Norman nations; a battle the most memorable of all others; and howsoever miserably lost, yet most nobly fought on the part of England."³

¹ Sir J. Mackintosh, *Hist.*

² Daniel.

³ It has not been sufficiently noticed by historians, that the same mistaken views of Christian perfection which, by withdrawing the most moral part of the population into convents and solitudes, weakened the social system of the Roman empire in the fourth and fifth centuries, and thus insured its overthrow by the barbarians of the North, weakened Anglo-Saxon society in the eleventh century, and thus insured the triumph of the Normans. Dissipation in one part of the people, and asceticism in another, tended to the same result. Christianity became either quite unknown, or did not bear on the ordinary relations of civil and domestic life. Retreating from the world it should

CHAPTER V.—SCOTTISH AND IRISH ANNALS.

A.D. 300—1066.

Different occupants of Britain—The Picts—The Scots—They are united into one nation—History of the Scottish kings to Malcolm III.—Annals of Ireland—Its early populations—Conversion of the Irish to Christianity by St. Patrick—Their contests with the Danes—State of Ireland at the period of the Norman Conquest of England.



URING the course of the preceding narrative, we have seen the Saxons frequently engaged in wars, and occasionally also connected by alliances, with various other nations dwelling around them in the same island. The largest as well as the fairest portion of Britain was conquered and occupied, during the period we have been reviewing, by these Germanic invaders; but much of it still remained in the possession of the races of other lineage, by whom it had been earlier colonized, or was seized upon by invaders like themselves, but from a different quarter. All the east and south, from the Channel to the Tweed, was Saxon; in the west, along the whole extent of the Saxon dominion, were the alien and generally hostile tribes of Cornwall and Wales; on the north-west were the independent sovereignties of Cumbria and Strathclyde (if these were really two distinct kingdoms); and to the east and north of these

was the powerful and extensive kingdom of the Picts, originally, it should seem, embracing the whole of the rest of modern Scotland. Behind the Picts, however, in the north-west, a colony of Scots from Ireland, not long after the arrival of the Saxons in the south, founded another new power of foreign origin, destined in like manner, in course of time, to bear down before it the elder thrones of its own part of the island.

The doubtful and confused annals of the several Cornish and Welsh principalities of those times offer nothing to detain the historian. Cornwall appears to have usually formed one kingdom, South Wales another, and North Wales a third. But the subjects of these several states, and also those of Cumbria and Strathclyde, farther to the north, may be regarded as having been, in the main, one people. It seems not improbable that they may have been a mixture of the old Celtic Britons who fled before the Saxons, or were the original inhabitants of this strip of

have purified, it left it to perish from its own corruptions. William of Malmesbury gives a graphic picture of both excesses. The whole passage is instructive:—"This was a fatal day to England—a melancholy havoc of our dear country, through its change of masters. For it had long since adopted the manners of the Angles, which had been very various according to the times; for in the first years of their arrival they were barbarians in their look and manners, warlike in their usages, heathen in their rites; but after embracing the faith of Christ, by degrees and in process of time, from the peace they enjoyed, regarding arms only in a secondary light, they gave their whole attention to religion. I say nothing of the poor, the meanness of whose fortune often restrains them from overstepping the bounds of justice. I omit men of ecclesiastical rank, whom sometimes respect to their profession, and sometimes the fear of shame, suffer not to stray from the truth. I speak of princes, who, from the greatness of their power, might have full liberty to indulge in pleasure; some of whom in their own country, and others at Rome, changing their habit [that is, becoming monks], obtained a heavenly kingdom and a saintly intercourse. Many during their whole lives in outward appearance only embraced the present world, in order that they might exhaust their treasures on the poor, or divide them among monasteries. What shall I say of the multitudes of bishops, hermits, and abbots? Does not the whole island blaze with such numerous relics of its natives, that you can scarcely pass a village of any consequence but you hear the name of some new saint, besides the numbers of whom all notices have perished, from the want of records?"

Anglo-Saxon England had evidently become much like the Roman provinces in the days of Sulpicius Severus. Social, domestic, and military life had not received those purifying

and invigorating Christian influences that make a people disposed to peace, yet irresistible against foreign attack. On the contrary, monkish superstition and asceticism, by leading the conscientious and pious away from the world they should have purified and preserved, left vice and ignorance, prodigality and moral cowardice, to usurp their place. We need not wonder, therefore, at what follows, from the same author:—

"Nevertheless, in process of time, the desire after literature and religion had decayed, for several years before the arrival of the Normans. The clergy, contented with a very slight degree of learning, could scarcely stammer out the words of the sacraments; and a person who understood grammar was an object of wonder and astonishment. The monks mocked the rule of their order by fine vestments and the use of every kind of food. The nobility, given up to luxury and wantonness, went not to church in the morning, after the manner of Christians, but merely, in a careless manner, heard matins and masses from a hurrying priest in their chambers, amid the blandishments of their wives. The commonalty, left unprotected, became a prey to the most powerful, who amassed fortunes by either seizing on their property, or by selling their persons into foreign countries; although it be an innate quality of this people to be more inclined to revelling than to the accumulation of wealth. There was one custom repugnant to human nature which they adopted, namely, to sell their female servants, when pregnant by them, and after they had satisfied their lust, either to public prostitution, or to foreign slavery. Drinking in parties was an universal practice, in which occupation they passed entire nights as well as days. They consumed their whole substance in mean and despicable houses, unlike the Normans and French, who, in noble and splendid houses, lived with frugality."—*William of Malmesbury*, book iii.

country, and of Cimbrians, originally from the north of Germany and Denmark, the proper progenitors of the present Welsh. At what date these Cimbrians first found their way from the east coast of Scotland, where they seem to have earliest settled, to the west coast of England, and there mixed with and established a dominion over the native British occupants, no chronicles have told us. But some ancient relation between the Welsh and the Picts seems to be indicated by the strong evidence of language; and the close connection that subsisted between Wales and the Scottish kingdom of Strathclyde, down to the extinction of the latter, is established by abundance of historic testimony. If, in the mixture of the two races, the ascendancy remained with the Celtic Britons anywhere, it was most probably in Cornwall. Everywhere else both the government and the language appear to have become chiefly Cimbrian, the national denomination of the Welsh in their vernacular tongue to this day. One of the northern Welsh kingdoms was actually called the kingdom of Cumbria, whence our modern county of Cumberland; and if the kingdom of Strathclyde was a different state from this (which is doubtful), we know at least that in that district of Scotland also, the native land and residence of Merlin and Aneurin, and many other personages famous in Cumbrian song and story, the language, and government, and all things else were Welsh.¹

At what time the various tribes of the north,

¹ This is not the place to discuss the genealogy of the Picts; but if we adopt the theory of their Germanic origin, the enigma (of the passing away of the Romano-British population), if not made quite plain, will appear less difficult than before.

"The supposition is not destitute of support. The migratory tendencies of the Gothic tribes have always been conspicuous. From the earliest periods of our history, the inhabitants of Jutland and its neighbouring provinces were in the habit of making descents on the coasts of Britain. After the departure of the Romans, their attempts were probably more bold and frequent; but they did not then for the first time commence. The Norfolk and Suffolk coast was, from its position, peculiarly exposed to these incursions; and as early as the close of the third century, was placed under the command of a military comit, called *Comes litoris Saxonici*. This district was called the Saxon shore, as Sir Francis Palgrave observes, not merely because it was open to the incursion of the Saxons, but, most probably, because they had succeeded in fixing themselves in some portions of it. The weak hold which the Romans, at all times, had of Scotland, would render it an easy prey than England to the Franks and Saxons. Tacitus informs us that the ruddy hair and lusty limbs of the Caledonians indicate a Germanic extraction. Richard of Cirencester tells us, that a little before the coming of Severus, the Picts landed in Scotland; from which we are entitled to infer, that the Picts were not the original inhabitants of North Britain; and probably the statement is substantially correct, inasmuch as large reinforcements landed in Scotland at this period, as previously observed. The Scots—the other branch of the people classed under the general term Caledonians—are confessedly of Irish origin. When St. Columba, whose mother-tongue was the Irish Gaelic, preached to the Picts, he used an interpreter. Fordun, the father of Scottish history, tells us: 'The manners of the Scots are various as to their languages; for they use two tongues—the Scottish and the Teutonic. The last is spoken by those on the sea-coasts and in the

often spoken of under the general appellation of the Caledonians, although that name was properly applicable only to the occupants of the woody and mountainous regions of the west and north-west, came to be united in the single monarchy of the Picts, it is impossible to ascertain. The Picts are first mentioned about the beginning of the fourth century, at which time the name appears to have been understood to comprehend all the northern tribes. Antiquaries are generally agreed that a kingdom, under the name of the kingdom of the Picts—which, in pretension at least, extended over the whole of what is now called Scotland, with the exception of the district of Strathclyde in the south-west—had been established some considerable time before the evacuation of South Britain by the Romans in the middle of the fifth century. Records, the authenticity of which does not admit of any reasonable doubt, make the Pictish sovereign, when this event took place, to have been Durst, the son of Erp, for whom his warlike achievements against the provincialized Britons of the south, and the length of his reign, have obtained from the Irish annalists the poetic title of King of a Hundred Years and a Hundred Battles. The Picts came into collision with the Saxons of Northumberland not long after the establishment of the two kingdoms of Deira and Bernicia, the princes of the latter of which appear to have claimed, as within their boundaries, the whole of the territory along the east coast, as far as to the Frith of Forth. For

low countries, while the Scottish is the speech of the mountaineers and the remote islanders.' The proper Scots Camden describes as those commonly called Highlanders; 'for the rest,' he adds, 'more civilized, and inhabiting the eastern part, though comprehended under the name of Scots, are the farthest in the world from being Scots, but are of the same German origin with us English.' Dr. Jamieson, whose researches in philology are well known, is decidedly of opinion that the Picts and Saxons had a common origin. Upon what other theory, he argues, can the prevalence of the Saxon tongue in the Lowlands of Scotland be accounted for? William the Conqueror could not change the language of South Britain. Was it likely that a few Saxon fugitives at the Scottish court could supplant that of their benefactor?

"The theory of the Germanic origin of the Picts removes another difficulty. How is the disappearance of the Celtic tongue from England to be accounted for? The Saxons, on seizing the soil, would not exterminate the inhabitants, but retain them as bondsmen. Had the majority of the original occupants of England been the original Britons or Romanized Celts, we should have found in our daily speech, and in the names of our towns and villages, a large intermixture of Gaelic and Latin; but such is not the case. Grant that the Picts were a branch of the great Gothic family, and that successive waves of them had, long before the time of Cerdic, poured from the Lowlands of Scotland over the plains of England, and the almost entire extermination of the ancient Britons is easily accounted for.

"If the theory here advocated cannot be sustained, it must at least be allowed that the population of North Britain was largely leavened with individuals of the Saxon race. Those strangers would, doubtless, obtain that supremacy over the natives which the Franks did in Gaul; so that, even upon this limited view of the question, the influence of the Germanic race in fixing the destinies of Britain at this critical period, is apparent.—*The Roman Wall*, by the Rev. John C. Bruce, M.A.

some time, accordingly, all this district formed a sort of debateable land, alternately subject to the Northumbrian Saxons and to the Picts. The Saxons are believed to have begun to settle in the territory as early as the middle of the fifth century, and probably from this date the population continued to be mainly Saxon; but after the great battle of Dunnechtan (supposed to be Dunnichen in Angus), fought in 685 between the Pictish king Bridei, the son of Beli, and the Northumbrian Egfrid, it became permanently a part of the Pictish dominions. This is the tract of country which, in a later age, came to be called by the name of Lodonia or Laodonia, still surviving in the Lothians, the modern designation of the greater part of it.

In the earliest times of the Pictish monarchy, its capital appears to have stood near the present town of Inverness. It was here that King Bridei or Brude, son of Merlothon, was visited, soon after the middle of the sixth century, by St. Columba. Afterwards, on the extension of their power towards the south, the Kings of the Picts transferred their residence to Forteviot in Perthshire, and here they seem to have fixed themselves so long as the monarchy subsisted. The history of the state, so far as it has been preserved, is made up of little else than a long succession of hostilities, sometimes with the Saxons, sometimes with the neighbouring kingdom of Strathclyde, sometimes with the Scots from Ireland, who from the commencement of the sixth century continued to encroach upon the territories of the Picts, and the pressure from whom perhaps had some share in inducing the latter eventually to remove the chief seat of their sovereignty from its ancient position in the heart of the true Caledonia. The meagre narrative is also varied by some domestic wars, principally arising out of the competition of various claimants for the crown, to which there seems to have been no definitely settled rule of succession. In the end of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century, the Picts found a new enemy in the northern pirates or sea-kings, the same marauders who in the same age ravaged the neighbouring coasts of England and France, and indeed it may be said generally of all the north-west of Europe. The dissolution of the ancient Pictish royalty, however, and the extinction of the name of the Picts as that of an independent people, were now at hand.

The earliest colony of Irish, or Scots, as they were called, is said to have settled on the west coast of North Britain about the middle of the third century. They were led by Carbri Riada, prince or sub-regulus of a district called Dalriada in Ulster; and they were long known by the name of the Dalriadians, from this their native

seat. The Dalriadians, however, do not appear to have set up any pretences to an independent sovereignty in the country of their adoption until after the beginning of the sixth century, when their numbers were greatly augmented by an immigration of their Irish kindred, under the conduct of Lorn, Fergus, and Angus, the three sons of Erck, the then prince of Dalriada. This new colonization seems to have amounted to an actual invasion of North Britain, and the design of its leaders probably was from the first to wrest the country or a part of it from its actual possessors. Very soon after this we find the Picts and Scots meeting each other in arms. A still more decided proof of the growing strength of the latter nation is, in course of time, afforded by a matrimonial alliance between the King of the Dalriadians and the Pictish royal house. This connection took place in the reign of Achaius, who is reckoned the twenty-seventh of the Scottish kings from Fergus, in whose line and in that of the descendants of his elder brother, Lorn, the sovereign power had been all along preserved. Achaius married Urgusia, the sister of the Pictish kings Constantine and Ungus, who reigned in succession from A.D. 791 to 830. The issue of this marriage, and the successor of Achaius, was Alpin, and his son and successor was Kenneth II., who mounted the throne of his ancestors in the year 836. Three years after, the Pictish king Uuen, the son and successor of Ungus, fell in battle with the Danes. Kenneth, as the near relation of its deceased occupier, immediately claimed the vacant throne: a contest of arms between the two nations appears to have ensued; but at last, in A.D. 843, Kenneth, having subdued all opposition, was acknowledged king, both of the Scots and the Picts. There is no reason to suppose, as is asserted by some of the Scottish chroniclers who wrote in a comparatively recent age, that the Pictish people were upon this event either destroyed or driven from their country; it is probable enough that the chiefs of the faction that had resisted the claim of Kenneth, and also perhaps many of their followers, may have fled from the vengeance of the conqueror, and taken refuge in the Orkney Islands and elsewhere; but the great body of the inhabitants, no doubt, remained the subjects of the new king. It appears that Kenneth and his immediate successors styled themselves, not Kings of Scotland and of Pictavia or Pictland, but Kings of the Scots and the Picts; and the Picts are spoken of as a distinct people for a century after they thus ceased to form an independent state.¹

¹ The account here given is that which is now generally received; but it is proper to notice that the whole story of the conquest of the Picts by Kenneth, and also Kenneth's extraction from the old royal line of the Irish Scots, have been called in

Meanwhile the kingdom of Strathclyde, the capital of which was Alclud, the modern Dumbarton, still subsisted, and withheld a large portion of the present Scotland from the sway of the Dalriadan prince. There is some appearance of Kenneth Mac Alpin having attempted to possess himself of that additional throne by the same combination of policy and force by which he had acquired the dominion of the Picts. After long fighting, he concluded a peace with Cu or Caw, the King of Strathclyde, and gave him his daughter in marriage. No opportunity, however, was found of turning this arrangement to account in the manner which its projector probably contemplated; and the kingdom of Strathclyde, though distressed and weakened, both by the pressure of its powerful neighbour, and the frequent predatory and devastating attacks of the Danes from beyond seas, continued to maintain a nominal independence till the native government was finally subverted, and the country incorporated with the rest of the Scottish dominions, by the defeat of its last king, Dunwallon, by Kenneth III., the King of the Scots (the great-great-grandson of Kenneth Mac Alpin), at the battle of Vacornar, in A.D. 973. Even before this event, however, North Britain had begun to be known, after its Irish conquerors, by the name of Scotland. It is so called for the first time in the *Saxon Chronicle* under the year 934.

Meanwhile, the united Scottish kingdom, founded by Kenneth Mac Alpin, continued to consolidate and strengthen itself under the sway of his descendants. Kenneth himself, in the remaining part of his reign, had to make good his position by his sword, sometimes in defensive, sometimes in aggressive contests, both with the Danes, the Saxons, and his neighbours of Strathclyde; but he died at last in bed, at his capital of Forteviot, A.D. 859. He was succeeded by his brother, Donald III., who reigned till A.D. 863. Constantine II., the son of Kenneth, followed, and, during a reign of eighteen years, was engaged in almost uninterrupted warfare with the Danes, who harassed him both from Ireland and from the Continent, and penetrated into the heart of the kingdom by all its maritime inlets. It is asserted by the old historians, that these invaders were first called in by the fugitive or subjugated Picts, a fact which may be taken as some confirmation of the common Northern origin of both.

The enemy, therefore, with whom Constantine had to contend, had friends and supporters in the heart of his dominions; and while he endeavoured to repel the foreigners with one hand, he must have had to keep down his own subjects with the other. Nor were the Picts altogether defrauded of their revenge on the son of their conqueror. They and their allies the Danes appear to have wrested from the Scottish king not only the Orkney and Western Islands, but also the extensive districts of Caithness, Sutherland, and part of Ross-shire, on the continent of Scotland; and these acquisitions continued to be governed for many ages by Norwegian princes entirely independent of the Scottish crown. The traditionary account, repeated by the later historians, of the termination of Constantine's disastrous reign is, that he was killed in a battle with the Danes, or put to death by them immediately after the battle, near Crail, in Fife. A cave in which he was massacred is still shown, and called the Devil's Cave. The older writers, however, place his death in A.D. 882, a year after the great battle in Fife.

Constantine's immediate successor was his brother Hugh; but he was dethroned the same year by Grig, the chieftain of the district now forming the shires of Aberdeen and Banff, who, associating with himself on the throne Eocha or Eth, son of the King of Strathclyde, by a daughter of Kenneth Mac Alpin, is said to have reigned for about twelve years, with a more extensive authority than had been enjoyed by any of his predecessors. The monkish chroniclers, indeed, who designate him by the pompous title of Gregory the Great, absurdly make him not only to have held his own with a strong hand, but to have actually reduced to subjection all the neighbouring states, including both the English and the Irish. He appears to have been a favourite of the church, upon which he probably leaned for support in the deficiency of his hereditary title. However, he and his partner in the sovereignty were at length dethroned by a popular insurrection, A.D. 893; on which their place was supplied by Donald IV., the son of Constantine II. A succession of combats with the Danes, again—one of the most memorable of which was fought at Collin, near Scone, for the possession of the famous Stone of Destiny, which Kenneth Mac Alpin had transferred thither from the original British nestling-place of his antique race in Argyleshire—form almost the only recorded events of his reign. The Northern invaders were beaten at Collin; but a few years after, in 904, Donald fell in fight near Forteviot, against another band of them from Ireland. He was succeeded by Constantine III., the son of his uncle Hugh. This was the Scottish king who, as related in a pre-

question and denied by Pinkerton, in his *Inquiry into the History of Scotland preceding the Reign of Malcolm III.*, a work of much learning and acuteness, and also of great value for the quantity of materials collected in it from previously unexplored sources, but disfigured by many precipitate assertions, and a pervading spirit of prejudice and paradox. In our abstract we have principally adhered to the dates and order of events as settled by the latest investigator of this part of our national history, Chalmers, in his *Caledonia*, vol. i. pp. 374-423.

ceding page, made an inroad, in 937, into the dominions of the Saxon Athelstane, in conjunction with Olave or Anlaf, the Danish chief of Northumberland, when their united forces were routed in the bloody day of Brunanburgh, and Constantine with difficulty escaped from the slaughter, in which his eldest son fell. A few years after this humiliating defeat, in A.D. 944, he exchanged his crown for a cowl, and he passed the last eight or nine years of his life as abbot of the Culdees of St. Andrews. Meanwhile the throne was ascended by Malcolm I., son of Donald IV. The most important event of this reign was the cession, by the Saxon king, Edmund, of the district of Cumbria, which he had recently conquered from its last king, Dunmail, to Malcolm, to be held by him on condition of his arming when called upon, in the defence either of that or of any other part of the English territory. Cumberland remained an appanage of the Scottish crown from this time till 1072, when it was recovered by William the Conqueror.

Malcolm I. came to a violent death at the hands of some of his own subjects in 953, and left his sceptre to Indulf, the son of his predecessor, Constantine III. The reign of Indulf was grievously troubled by repeated attacks of the Northmen; and he at last lost his life in what the old writers call the battle of the Bauds, fought in 961, near the Bay of Cullen, in Banffshire, where several barrows on a moor still preserve the memory of the defeat of the foreigners. Duff, the son of Malcolm I., now became king, according to what appears to have been the legal order of succession at this time, when each king for many generations was almost uniformly succeeded, not by his own son, but by the son of his predecessor. But the effects of the natural disposition of the sovereign in possession to retain the succession exclusively in his own line, now began to show themselves; and the right of Duff was disputed from the first by Indulf's son, Culen, whose partizans, although defeated in the fair fight of Duncrub, in Perthshire, are asserted to have afterwards opened the way to the throne for their leader by the assassination of his rival. This event took place at Forres, in 965. But Culen did not long retain his guiltily acquired power. Disregarding all the duties of his place, he abandoned himself to riot and licentiousness, and soon followed up the murder of Duff by an act of atrocious violence, committed on another near relation, the daughter of the King of Strathclyde. The nation of the injured lady took arms against her violator; and Culen fell in a battle fought with them at a place situated to the south of the Forth, in A.D. 970.

The crown now fell to Kenneth III., another son of Malcolm I., and the brother of Duff.

The reign of Kenneth III. is one of the most important in the early history of Scotland. He was a prince of remarkable ability, and of a daring and unscrupulous character; he occupied the throne for a sufficient length of time to enable him to lay a deep foundation for his schemes of policy, if not to carry them into complete effect; and he came at a crisis when the old order of things was naturally breaking up, and the most favourable opportunity was offered to a bold and enterprising genius like his of establishing, or at least originating a new system. It was one of those conjunctions of circumstances, and of an individual mind fitted to take advantage of them, by which most of the great movements in national affairs have been produced. His first effort was to follow out the war with the declining state of Strathclyde, until he wound it up, as has been intimated above, with the complete subjugation of that rival kingdom, and its incorporation with his hereditary dominions. With the exception, therefore, of the nominal independence, but real vassalage in everything except in name, of the Welsh, the whole of Britain was now divided into the two sovereignties of England and Scotland. The Saxon power of Wessex had swallowed up and absorbed everything else in the south, and in the north every other royalty had in like manner fallen before that of the Celtic princes of Dalriada. Peace and intimate alliance, also, had now taken place of the old enmity between the two monarchies; and an opening must have been made for the passage to Scotland of some rays from the superior civilization of her neighbour, which would naturally be favourable to imitation in the arrangements of the government, as well as in other matters. It was in this position of affairs that Kenneth proceeded to take measures for getting rid of what we have seen was the most remarkable peculiarity of the Scottish regal constitution, the participation of two distinct lines in the right of succession to the throne, a rule or custom to which, notwithstanding some advantages, there would seem to exist an all-sufficient objection in its very tendency to excite to such attempts as that which Kenneth now made. Kenneth's mode of proceeding was characteristically energetic and direct. To put an end, in the most effectual manner, to the pretensions of Malcolm, the son of his brother Duff, he had that prince put to death, although he had been already recognized as Tanist, or next heir to the throne, and had as such been invested, according to custom, with the lordship of Cumberland. We shall see, however, that this deed of blood was, after all, perpetrated to no purpose. Another of Kenneth's acts of severity, and perhaps also of cruelty and vengeance, recoiled upon him to his own destruction. After the suppression

of a commotion in the Mearns, he had thought it necessary to signalize the triumph of the royal authority by taking the life of the only son of the chief of the district, either because the young man had been one of the leaders of the vanquished faction, or perhaps because his father had not shown sufficient energy in meeting and putting down their designs. By some means or other, however, Kenneth was some time after induced to trust himself in the hands of Fenella, the mother of his victim, by visiting her in her castle, near Fettercairn. Here he was murdered, either by her orders, or not improbably by her own hands, for it is related that she fled the instant the deed was done, although she was soon taken, and suffered the same bloody death she had avenged and inflicted. The reign of Kenneth was thus terminated, A.D. 944.

The throne left vacant by the death of Kenneth appears to have been contested from the first by three competitors. Of these a son of Culen, under the name of Constantine IV., is regarded as having been first crowned; but, within a year, he fell fighting against one of his rivals, a son of King Duff, and younger brother of the murdered Prince Malcolm, who immediately assumed the sovereignty, as Kenneth IV. The Scottish chroniclers call him Kenneth the Grim. There was still, however, another claimant to the succession of Kenneth III.; this was Malcolm, the son of that king, whom his father had designed to be his heir, and invested as such with the principality of Cumberland, after the violent removal of his cousin, the other Malcolm. The two competitors met at last, in A.D. 1003, at Monivaird, when a battle took place, in which Kenneth the Grim lost both the day and his life.

The vigorous line of Kenneth III. was now again seated on the throne, in the person of Malcolm II. The earlier part of Malcolm's reign appears to have been consumed in a long succession of fierce contests with the Danes, in the course of which these persevering invaders are said to have been defeated in the several battles of Mortlach in Moray, in the parish church of which place the skulls of the slaughtered foreigners were, not many years ago, to be seen built into the wall; of Aberlemno, where barrows and sculptured stones are held still to preserve the memory and to point out the scene of the conflict; of Panbride, where the Danish commander, Camus, was slain; and of Cruden, near Forres, where a remarkable obelisk, covered with engraved figures, is supposed, but probably erroneously, to have been erected in commemoration of the Scottish victory. It was in 1020 also, in the reign of this king, that a formal cession was obtained from Eadulf, the Danish Earl of North-

umberland, of the portion of modern Scotland south of the Forth, then called Lodonia, the possession of which had for a long period been disputed between the Scots and the Saxons, although in the meantime such numbers of the latter had settled in it, that its population appears already to have become in the greater part Saxon, and the country itself was often called Saxonia or Saxony. Malcolm II., the ability of whose administration was long held in respectful remembrance, died in 1033.

This king, unfortunately for the peaceful success of his father's scheme of changing the old rule of succession, left no son; but, imitating his father's remorseless policy, he had done his utmost to make a similarity even in that respect between himself and the rival branch of the royal stock, by having, a short time before his decease, had the only existing male descendant of Kenneth the Grim, a son of his son Boidhe, put in the most effectual manner out of the way. In these circumstances no opposition appears to have been made in the first instance to the accession of Duncan, the grandson of Malcolm II., by his daughter Bethoc or Beatrice, who was married to Crinan, abbot of Dunkeld, in those days a personage of great eminence in the state. Boidhe, however, besides the son who was murdered, had left a daughter, Gruoch; and this lady had other wrongs to avenge besides those of the line from which she was sprung. Her first husband, Gilcomcain, marmor or chief of Moray, having been defeated in an attempt to support the cause of his wife's family by arms against King Malcolm, had been burned in his castle, along with fifty of his friends, when she herself had to flee for her life, with her infant son Lulach. She sought shelter in the remoter district of Ross, of which the famous Macbeth appears to have then been the hereditary lord, maintaining probably within his bounds an all but nominal independence of the royal authority. This part of Scotland, it may be remembered, had been torn, scarcely a century before, from Constantine II. by the Danes, and Macbeth himself may possibly have been of Danish lineage. Be this as it may, to him the Lady Gruoch now gave her hand. She is the Lady Macbeth made familiar to us all by the wonderful drama of Shakspeare. It would appear that, for some time after the accession of Duncan, Macbeth and his wife had feigned an acquiescence in his title, and had probably even won the confidence of the good and unsuspecting king (the pure-breathed Duncan, as he is designated in Celtic song) by their services or professions. The end of their plot, however, was, that Duncan was barbarously assassinated in 1039, not, as Shakspeare has it, in Macbeth's castle at Inverness, but at a place called

Bothgouanan, near Elgin.¹ Macbeth immediately mounted the throne, and the accounts of the oldest chroniclers give reason to believe that he filled it both ably and to the general satisfaction of the people. The partizans of the race of Kenneth III., however, resisted the new king from the first; for Duncan had left two sons, the elder of whom, Malcolm, fled on his father's assassination to Cumberland, and the younger, Donald, to the Western Isles. One revolt in favour of Malcolm's restoration was headed by his grandfather, the abbot of Dunkeld; but this and several other similar attempts failed. At length, in 1034, Macduff, marmor or chief (improperly called by later writers thane) of Fife, his patriotism inflamed, it is said, by some personal injuries, called to arms his numerous retainers; and Siward, the Danish Earl of Northumberland, whose sister Duncan had married, having joined him at the head of a formidable force, the two advanced together upon Macbeth. Their first encounter appears to have taken place, as tradition and Shakspeare agree in representing, in the neighbourhood of Dunsinane Hill, in Angus, on the summit of which Macbeth probably had a stronghold.² Defeated here, the usurper retreated to the fastnesses of the north, where he appears to have protracted the war for about two years longer. His last place of refuge is supposed to have been a fortress in a solitary valley in the parish of Lunfanan, in Aberdeenshire. In this neighbourhood he was attacked by the forces under the command of Macduff and Malcolm, on the 5th of December, 1056, and fell in the fight, struck down, it is said, by the hand of Macduff. His followers, however, did not even yet everywhere throw down their arms. They immediately set up as king, Lulach, the son of Lady Macbeth, who indeed, as descended from Duff, the elder son of Malcolm I., in the same degree in which his rival was descended from Malcolm's younger son, Kenneth III., might be affirmed to have had the better right to the throne of the two. Lulach, however, a fugitive all the while that he was a king, did not long bear the empty title that thus mocked his fortunes. His forces and those of Malcolm met on the 3d of April, 1057, at Eassie, in Angus; and that day ended his life, and also broke for ever the power of his faction. In a few days after this (on the 25th of April, the festival of St. Mark) Malcolm III. was crowned

at Scone. But the history of his reign belongs to the next period.

It will be convenient, also, before we close the present chapter, to turn for a few moments to the course of events in Ireland, which, although not politically connected with England in the period under review, had already acquired a remarkable celebrity, and begun to maintain a considerable intercourse both with Britain and with continental Europe. We find the country at the commencement of our era subjected to the rule of the Scots, a foreign people, who had wrested the supreme dominion of it from the Tuath de Danans, in the same manner as the latter had displaced their predecessors the Firbolgs. The fables of the bards make mention of three still earlier races by whom the island was successively colonized. But all that can be gathered from the chaos of wild inventions which forms this first part of the Irish story is, that probably before the arrival of the Firbolgs the country had been peopled by that Celtic race to which the great body of its population still continues to belong. These primitive Celtic colonists, whose blood, whose speech, whose manners and customs remain—in spite of all subsequent foreign infusions—dominant throughout the island to this day, would seem to be the Partholans of the legendary account. The Fomorians, again, who came from Africa, were perhaps the Phenicians or Carthaginians. The Nemedians, the Tuath de Danans, the Firbolgs, and the Scots or Milesians, are affirmed to have all been of the same race, which was different from that of the Partholans; a statement which is most easily explained by supposing that all these subsequent bodies of colonists or invaders were of the Gothic or Teutonic stock, and came, as indeed the bardic narrative makes them to have done, from the north of continental Europe. It seems, at all events, to be most probable that the Scots were a Gothic people; Scythæ, Scoti, Gothi, Getæ, indeed, appear to be only different forms of the same word.³ The Scots are supposed, by the ablest inquirers, not to have made their appearance in Ireland very long before the commencement of our era, if their colonization be not, indeed, a still more recent event; for we believe no trace of their occupation is to be discovered before the second or third century. From the fourth century down to the eleventh, that is, during the whole of the period with which we are at present engaged, Ireland was known by the name of Scotia or Scotland, and the Irish generally by that of the Scoti or Scots; nor till the close of the tenth century were these names ever

¹ "The word Bothgouanan means in Gaelic, the Smith's Dwelling. It is probable that the assassins lay in ambush, and murdered him at a smith's house in the neighbourhood of Elgin."—*Hall's Annals*, l. 1 (edit. of 1819).

² The foundations of an ancient stone building are still to be found buried in the soil on the top of the hill. Dunsinane is about eight miles north-east from Perth; the hill is of very regular shape, and although more than 1000 ft. above the level of the sea, it has been supposed to be in great part artificial.—See *Chalmers's Caledonia*, vol. 1.

³ See this matter very ably treated in Pinkerton's *Dissertation on the Origin and Progress of the Scythians or Goths*, part I. chap. 1.

otherwise applied.¹ If the Scots of North Britain were spoken of, they were so designated as being considered to be a colony of Irish.

The bardic account, however, carries back the arrival of the Scotie colony, under the conduct of Heber and Heremon, the sons of Milesius, to a much more ancient date; and the modern inquirers who have endeavoured to settle the chronology of that version of the story, have assigned the event, in the most moderate of their calculations, to the fifth or sixth century before the birth of Christ. Others place it nearly 1000 years earlier. It is related that the two brothers at first divided the island between them, Heber, the elder, taking to himself Leinster and Munster, and Heremon getting Ulster and Connaught; but, in imitation of Romulus and Remus (if we ought not rather to suppose the Irish to have been the prototype of the classic incident), they afterwards quarrelled, and, Heber having been slain, Heremon became sole sovereign. From him is deduced a regular succession of monarchs of all Ireland down to Kimbaoth, who is reckoned the fifty-seventh in the list, and is said to have reigned about 200 years before our era. Besides the supreme monarch, it is admitted that there were always four subordinate kings, reigning each over his province; and the history is made up in great part of the wars of these reguli, not only with one another, but frequently also with their common sovereign lord. Tacitus relates that one of the reguli of Ireland, who had been driven from his country by some domestic revolution, came over to Britain, to Agricola, who kept him with him under the semblance of friendship, in the hope of some time or other having an opportunity of making use of him. It was the opinion of Agricola that Ireland might have been conquered and kept in subjection by a single legion and a few auxiliaries. Tacitus observes, however, that its ports and harbours were better known than those of Britain, through the merchants that resorted to them, and the extent of their foreign commerce.²

We need not further pursue the obscure, and in great part fabulous annals of the country before the introduction of Christianity. It is probable that some knowledge of the Christian religion had penetrated to Ireland before the mission of St. Patrick; but it was by the labours of that celebrated personage that the general conversion of the people was effected, in the early part of the fifth century. The first Christian King of Ireland was Leogaire or Laogaire Mac Neil, whose reign is stated to have extended from A.D. 428 to A.D. 463. The twenty-ninth king, count-

ing from him, was Donald III., who reigned from A.D. 743 to A.D. 763. It was in his time (A.D. 748) that the Danes or Northmen made their first descent upon Ireland. In 815, in the reign of Aodhus V., these invaders obtained a fixed settlement in Armagh; and thirty years afterwards, their leader, Turgesius or Turges, a Norwegian, was proclaimed King of all Ireland. At length, a general massacre of the foreigners led to the restoration of the line of the native princes. But new bands speedily arrived from the north, to avenge their countrymen; and in a few years all the chief ports and towns throughout the south and along the east coast were again in their hands. The struggle between the two races for the dominion of the country continued, with little intermission and with various fortune, for more than a century and a half, although the Danes, too, had embraced Christianity about the year 948. The closing period of the long contest is illustrated by the heroic deeds of the renowned Brien Boroilme or Boru, the "Brien the Brave" of song, who was first King of Munster, and afterwards King of all Ireland. He occupied the national throne from 1003 to 1014, in which latter year he fell, sword in hand, at the age of eighty-eight, in the great battle of Clontarf, in which, however, the Danish power received a discomfiture from which it never recovered. Brien, however, though his merits and talents had raised him to the supreme power, not being of the ancient royal house, is looked upon as little better than an usurper by the Irish historians; and the true king of this date is reckoned to have been Maelsechlan Mac Domhnaill, more manageably written Melachlan or Malachi, whom Brien deposed. Malachi, too, was a great warrior; the same patriotic poet who, in our own day and in our Saxon tongue, has celebrated "the glories of Brien the Brave," has also sung—

"Let Erin remember the days of old,
Ere her faithless sons betrayed her;
When Malachi wore the collar of gold
Which he won from her proud invader;"

and on the death of Brien, Malachi was restored to the throne, which he occupied till 1022. He is reckoned the forty-second Christian King of Ireland.³ The interruption of the regular succession, however, by the elevation of Brien, now brought upon the country the new calamity of a contest among several competitors for the throne; and the death of Malachi was followed by a season of great confusion and national misery. The game was eventually reduced to a trial of strength between Donchad, the son of Brien, and Donchad's nephew, Turlogh; and in 1064 Turlogh

¹ See this completely established, and all the authorities collected, in Pinkerton's *Inquiry*, part v. ch. iv.

² Tacit. *Vit. Agric.* xxi.

³ In these dates we have followed the authority of the *Catalogus Chronologicus Regum Christianorum Hibernie*, in O'Connor's *Iterum Hibernicarum Scriptores Veteres*, vol. i. pp. lxxv. &c.

succeeded in overpowering his uncle, who, bidding farewell to arms and to ambition, retired across the sea, and ended his days as a monk at Rome. Turlogh, reckoned an usurper by the na-

tive annalists, but acknowledged to have ruled the country ably and well, occupied the Irish throne at the epoch of the Norman conquest of England.

CHAPTER VI.—HISTORY OF RELIGION.

A.D. 449—1066.

Religion of the Saxon invaders of England—Its deities—Its doctrines of a future state—Its sanguinary rites—State of Christianity in North and South Britain at the Saxon invasion—Missionaries sent to England by Gregory the Great—Progress of the missionaries among the kingdoms of the Heptarchy—Conversion of Northumbria—Controversies about the form of the tonsure and period for the celebration of Easter—Corruptions among the clergy through wealthy donations—Multiplication of monasteries and nunneries—Havoc wrought among them by the Danish invaders—Life of St. Dunstan—His miracles and adventures—He becomes Primate of England—His strange expedients to reform the church—Its condition after his death till the Norman conquest.



HEN Hengist and Horsa, and their followers arrived in Britain, they certainly found Christianity professed by a large part of the island; but the religion of the South Britons had

become mixed with many corruptions of doctrine. The Saxons, one and all, were pagans, but of a paganism which differed essentially from the old Druidism. Woden or Odin was the head of their mythology. The source from whence their religion issued, the period of its first promulgation, and the agents by whom it was planted in the several countries where it flourished, are historical difficulties, which yet remain to be settled. Long before the fourth century of the Christian era, it prevailed throughout Scandinavia, and in other countries besides those which we now call Sweden, Norway, and Denmark.¹ It was a grim and terrible theology. Woden or Odin was "the terrible and severe god; the father of slaughter; the god that carries desolation and fire; the active and roaring deity; he who gives victory, and who names those that are to be slain." The worship of such a divinity kept up the ferocity and warlike habits of these iron men of the North. Under him figured Frea, his wife, as the goddess of love, pleasure, and sensuality; the god Thor, who controlled the tempests; Balder, who was the god of light; Kiord, the god of the waters; Tyr, the god of champions; Brage, the god of orators and poets; and Heimdal, the janitor of heaven, and the guardian of the rainbow. Eleven gods, and as many goddesses, all the chil-

dren of Odin and Frea, assisted their parents, and were objects of worship. But in addition to all these there were very many inferior divinities. There were three Fates, by whom the career of men was predestined; and every individual was supposed, besides, to have a Fate attending him, by whom his life was controlled and his death determined. There were also the Valeries, a species of inferior goddesses, who acted as celestial attendants, and who were also employed by Odin to determine victory, and select the warriors that were to perish in battle. There were genii and spirits, who mingled in every mortal event. Infernal agents there were in abundance; and Lok, the personification of the evil principle, was the head of them all. Lok is described as beautiful in form, but depraved in mind; the calumniator of the gods, the grand contriver of deceit and fraud, the reproach of gods and men, whom the deities, in consequence of his malignity, had been constrained to shut up in a cavern. The goddess Hela, the wolf Fenris, the great dragon, and giants of measureless size and strength, completed the dark array.

On the subject of a future state, this religion of the North was particularly explicit; and a heaven was formed, congenial to a people whose chief employment and greatest pleasure was war. Those who had led a life of heroism, or perished bravely in battle, ascended to Valhalla. In that blessed region the day was spent in war and furious conflict; but at evening-tide the battle ceased, all wounds were suddenly healed, and the contending warriors sat down to the banquet, and feasted on the exhaustless flesh of the boar Serimner, and drank huge draughts of mead from the skulls of their enemies. Such was the para-

¹ Mallet, *Northern Antiquities*.

dise, the hope of which wakened to rapture the imagination of the Saxon and the Dane. There was a hell for the wicked; but by the word wicked was merely understood the cowardly and the slothful. This hell was called Nifheim. Here Hela dwelt, and exercised her terrible supremacy. Her palace was Anguish, her table Famine, her waiters were Expectation and Delay, the threshold of her door was Precipice, her bed was Leanness, and her looks struck terror into every beholder.

But nothing of all this was to be strictly eternal. After the revolution of countless ages, the malignant powers, so long restrained, are to burst forth again; the gods are to perish, and even Odin himself expire; while a conflagration bursts forth, in which Valhalla, their heaven, and the world, and Nifheim or hell, with all their divine and human inhabitants, are consumed, and pass away. But from this second chaos a new world is to emerge, fresh and full of beauty and grandeur, with a heaven more glorious than Valhalla, and a hell more fearful than Nifheim; while over all a God appears pre-eminent and alone, possessed of incomparably greater might and nobler attributes than Odin. Then, too, the human race are finally to be tried, and higher virtues than bravery, and heavier guilt than cowardice and sloth, are to form the standard of good and evil. The righteous shall then be received into Gimle, and the wicked shall be sent to the unutterable punishments of Nastrande; and this heaven and this hell shall continue through all eternity under the reign of Him who is eternal.

But among the fierce worshippers of Odin we can discover no practical results of this better faith that lay immediately beneath the surface of their own system. They thought more of the temporal, but immediate, than of the eternal—more of Valhalla than of Gimle. Their tempest-breathing god, and his paradise of battles, and drinking and feasting, though these were finally to be consumed and to pass away, were more attractive than the excellences of a more spiritual Deity, and the eternity of a purer heaven.

The Scandinavian temples, in which Odin was represented by a gigantic image, armed and crowned, and brandishing a naked sword, were rude and colossal; and rugged were the rites performed therein. Animals were offered up as sacrifices, and their blood was sprinkled upon the worshippers. The rough altar was frequently drenched with the blood of human victims. Crowds of captives and slaves were immolated for the welfare of the people at large; and princes often sacrificed their own children, to avert a mortal sickness or to secure an important vic-

tory.¹ Believing that the exclusion from Valhalla, which a natural death entailed, could be avoided by the sacrifice of a substitute, every warrior who could procure a captive to put to death with this object had a motive peculiarly powerful for so horrid a practice.

Mixed with all this ferocity, the Scandinavian tribes had a more delicate and romantic feeling about women than any other ancient people. As females among them were regarded with a veneration elsewhere unknown, and were supposed to be chosen receptacles of Divine inspiration, they were therefore considered as being well fitted to preside over the worship of the gods. The daughters of Scandinavian princes officiated as priestesses of the national faith, were consulted as the oracles of heaven, and were frequently dreaded as the ministers of its vengeance; while other women who cultivated the favour of the malignant divinities were held to be witches. Of the authority of the priests little is known. Among the Saxons, they were not permitted to mount a horse or handle a warlike weapon.² Tacitus represents them in Germany as being invested with magisterial authority. He says that they settled controversies, attended the armies in their expeditions, and not only awarded punishments, but inflicted them with their own hands, the fierce warriors submitting to their stripes as to inflictions from the hand of Heaven.

The grim Scandinavian faith was, however, subject to great modifications, according to the situation and circumstances of the several tribes who professed it. It was of a more sanguinary complexion among the reckless followers of the sea-kings than among those who dwelt on shore. Perhaps the Saxon invaders of Britain might be classed with those among whom the religion assumed its least revolting shape; while the Danes, who afterwards followed in their track, exhibited the worship of Odin in its fiercest and most pernicious aspect. With the latter the primitive superstition was amplified by the principles and tales of the Scalds, who clothed it in their songs with horrors, of which its first founders had probably no conception. Although both Saxons and Danes worshipped the same gods, and believed alike in Valhalla, yet the Saxons, even while they continued heathens, became peaceful cultivators of the soil which their swords had won; while the Danes did not subside into the same social condition until they had abandoned their original creed and embraced Christianity.

On the first coming of the Saxons into Britain there was visible, not only in Wales, but in other parts of the island, a strange intermixture of

¹ Mallet, *Northern Antiquities*; Dithmar, *Chronicles of Merovingians*; Wormius in *Monument. Dan. Saxo Grammatic.*

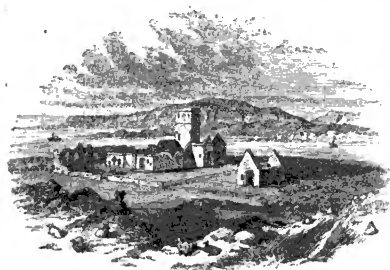
² Bede.

Christianity and Druidism; and it is thought that throughout the protracted struggle which ensued for the dominion of the country, it was in the spirit and in the ritual of this Neo-Druidism, and not of Christianity, that the national feeling was chiefly appealed to, and the resistance to the invaders sustained and directed.

About a quarter of a century before the Saxons began their conquest, Ninian is said to have converted the Picts that lived southward of the Grampian Hills. Nearly at the same time that illustrious missionary, St. Patrick, had appeared in Ireland, and, after sweeping away much of the old heathenism, had established Christianity as the national religion. About the year 550, Kentigern, or St. Mungo, is supposed to have founded the see of Glasgow. But the most distinguished of the missionaries to Caledonia was St. Columba, venerated as the patron saint of Scotland until that honour was conferred upon St. Andrew. Columba was born at Garten, a village now included in the county of Donegal, in Ireland. He was illustrious by his birth, being connected with the royal families of the Irish and of the Scots. He landed in Scotland with twelve companions, in the year 563, and undertook the task of converting the heathen Picts that occupied the country north of the Grampians. He soon converted and baptized the Pictish king, whose subjects immediately followed the royal example. Columba then settled in Iona, where he

stitutions. The small and barren Island of Iona soon became illustrious in the labours and triumphs of the Christian church; and the Culdees, or priests, animated with the zeal of their founder, not only devoted their efforts to enlighten their own country, but became adventurous missionaries to remote and dangerous fields. Of the care with which they were trained to be the guardians of learning and instructors of the people, some idea may be formed from the fact, that eighteen years of study were frequently required of them before they were ordained.²

In the south of Britain, in the first fury of the Saxon invasion, if Christianity was not completely overthrown, the Christian church and every trace of it were destroyed. Without a clergy, or any apparatus for the administration of the ordinances of religion, it is not easy to conceive that such of the native Britons as were Christians would very long retain their knowledge and profession of the truth. But meanwhile the Saxon conquerors themselves, becoming settled and peaceful, gradually acquired habits and a disposition favourable for their conversion to a religion of love and peace. When things were in this state, a simple incident led to great results. Gregory, afterwards pope, and surnamed the Great, passing one day through the streets of Rome, was arrested at the market-place by the sight of young slaves from Britain, who were publicly exposed for sale. Struck with the brightness of their complexions, their fair long hair, and the remarkable beauty of their forms, he eagerly inquired to what country they belonged; and being told that they were Angles, he said, "They would not be Angles, but angels, if they were but Christians." Gregory resolved, at every hazard, to carry the gospel to their shores, and he actually set off upon the dangerous pilgrimage; but the pope was prevailed upon to command his return. When, some years after, Gregory succeeded to the papedom, he appointed Augustine, prior of the convent of St. Andrew's at Rome, with forty monks, to proceed on a mission to



THE CATHEDRAL AND ST. ORAN'S CHAPEL, IONA.¹ Mull in the distance.

founded his celebrated monastery, and established a system of religious discipline, which became the model of many other monastic in-

¹ The remains of religious establishments on this little island of the Hebrides, though popularly attributed to Columba, are of a much more recent date than the time of that venerated saint, whose structures were of very slight materials. The principal ruins are those of the cathedral church of St. Mary, of a nursery, five chapels, and a building called the Bishop's House. Numerous Kings of Scotland, Ireland, and Norway were buried in the island.

England. There were many delays and misgivings upon the road, Augustine and his companions being alarmed by the reports they heard of the Anglo-Saxon ferocity; but Pope Gregory passionately urged them on, and procured them all the assistance he could in France; and in the year 597 they landed in the Isle of Thanet, and forthwith announced the object of their coming to Ethel-

² Adomnani, *Vit. St. Columba*.

bert, the King of Kent, who also held the rank of Bretwalda, while his authority extended to the right bank of the Humber.¹ His queen, Bertha, was a Christian princess,² and having stipulated at her marriage for the liberty of professing her own religion, she had some French priests in her household, and a bishop named Liudhard, by whom the rites of the Christian faith were performed in a little church outside the walls of Canterbury.³ The conversion of the king was easily brought about, and the opposition of the pagan priesthood was but feeble and momentary. When Ethelbert had been baptized, 10,000 of his people soon followed his example. The joy of Pope Gregory was so great that he conferred the primacy of the whole island upon Canterbury, the capital of Kent, and sent the pall to Augustine, who had already been consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury by the prelate of Arles.

From the facility with which he had established his faith in Kent, Augustine hoped for a similar

conversion in the whole island; but, although Pope Gregory sent him additional aid, the work proved long and difficult, and was not completed until many years after Augustine had been laid in his grave, in the church-yard of the monastery in Canterbury which goes by his name. Among the mountains of Wales, where the Saxon conquerors could not penetrate, there existed many Christians, and a regular clergy; but when Augustine applied for the assistance of the Welsh ecclesiastics, and demanded their submission to the universal supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, he found that the Welsh clergy would not co-operate with him. They disagreed on very many points, and notably as to the proper period for the celebration of Easter, a question which divided many churches, and which was once disputed with a most fierce and uncompromising spirit. Yet, without the aid of the Welsh ecclesiastics, the progress of the Christian faith was rapid. In the year 604 Sebert, King of Essex,



NORTH WALLS OF RICHBOROUGH CASTLE, AND FOUNDATIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE'S CHURCH.⁴—From a drawing on the spot, by J. W. Archer.

and nephew to Ethelbert, the converted King of Kent, and Bretwalda, received the rite of baptism. As usual, great numbers of the people forthwith followed the example of their king; and a Christian church was erected in London, Sebert's capital, upon the rising ground which had formerly been the site of the Roman temple of Diana. This London church was dedicated to St. Paul,

and each successive building upon the same site has retained the name. Nearly at the same time, Redwald, the King of East Anglia, was converted.⁵ In this same year (604) Augustine died, after having seen the gospel firmly established in Kent and Essex. He had consecrated Justus Bishop of Rochester, and Miletus Bishop of the East Saxons, and appointed his faithful follower Lau-

¹ Bede.

² See vol. i. p. 73.

³ Bede.

⁴ Richborough Castle, near Sandwich, is the *Ritupis* or *Ad Portum Ritupis* of the Romans. It exhibits one of the most noble vestiges of the Romans in Britain. The walls have formed a parallelogram, but the east wall has disappeared. It stands upon a slight eminence, at the base of which flows the Stour. The walls are constructed in blocks of chalk and stone, and faced with square blocks of grit stone. The northern wall, which is perfect, measures 560 ft. in length; it contains seven courses, each course 4 ft. thick, banded at intervals with layers of large tiles. Rising 6 ft., the thickness of the walls is 11 ft.

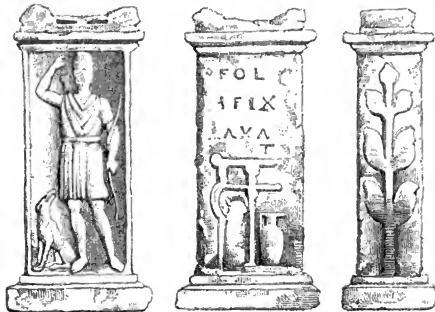
3 in., above which they measure 10 ft. 8 in. The greatest existing altitude of the walls is 23 ft., but the summit is everywhere broken. Leland, in his *Itinerary*, says: "Within the castle is a little parish church of St. Augustine, and an hermitage. I had antiquities of the hermit, the which is an industrious man." In the centre of the area of the walls there is a platform in the shape of a cross, corresponding with the *macellum* of Roman fortifications, where the Roman standards and eagles were deposited, but which appears in this instance to have been adopted for the site of a church—that mentioned by Leland.

⁵ See vol. i. p. 74.

rentius to be his successor in the see of Canterbury.

The faith so lately planted among the Anglo-

a wiser and purer spirit. Comparing the present life of man, whose beginning and end is in darkness, to a swallow entering a banquet-hall to



ALTAR OF DIANA.¹—Drawn from the original, by J. W. Archer.

Saxons soon sustained a violent shock. Sebert, the King of Essex, died; and his three sons endeavoured to re-establish the ancient idolatry. Melitus was banished, and compelled to flee from London to Rochester, to seek for shelter with his friend Justus. But even in Kent the faith was shaken, chiefly through the passion of Eadbald, the son and successor of Ethelbert, for his father's youthful widow.² Melitus and Justus fled to France, and the primate Laurentius was preparing to follow them, in the conviction that the cause of Christianity was for the present lost in England; but Eadbald relented, and became converted anew.

After many sufferings and most perilous adventures, Edwin became King of Northumbria, and introduced Christianity into that very powerful and warlike kingdom. Before he was actually baptized, Edwin called an assembly of his nobles, that they might discuss the claims of the new faith and the old. Coifi, the pagan high-priest, declared that the gods whom they had hitherto worshipped were utterly useless. No man, he said, had served them with greater zeal than himself, and yet many men had prospered in the world far more than he had done; therefore was he quite ready to give at least a trial to the new religion. One of the nobles followed in

find refuge from the storm without, flitting for a moment through the warm and cheerful apartment, and then passing out again into the gloom, he proposed that if Christianity should be found to lighten this obscurity, and explain whence we came and whither we departed, it should immediately be adopted. Upon this Coifi, the pagan high-priest, moved that Paulinus the missionary should be called in to explain the Christian doctrine. Paulinus came in immediately, and made use of such cogent arguments, that the impatient Coifi declared there was no longer room for hesitation; proposed

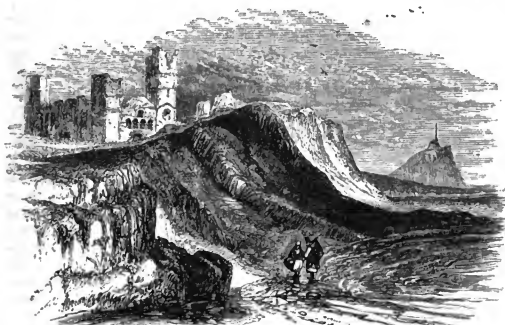
that the old Saxon idols should be immediately overturned; and, as he had been the chief of their worshippers, he now offered to be the first to desecrate them. He threw aside his priestly garments; called for arms, which the Saxon priests were forbidden to wield, and for a horse, which they were not permitted to mount, and thus accoutred, he galloped forth before the amazed multitude. Advancing to a temple in the neighbourhood, where the chief idol stood, he hurled his lance within the sacred inclosure, and by that act the temple was profaned. No lightning descended, no earthquake shook the ground; and the multitude, encouraged by the impunity of the daring apostate, proceeded to second his efforts. Forthwith the temple and its inclosures were levelled with the ground. This event happened at a village still called Godmundham, which means the home or hamlet of the inclosure of the god. The conversion of the king was instantly followed by that of his subjects, and Paulinus, who was afterwards consecrated Archbishop of York, is said to have baptized 12,000 converts in one day in the river Swale. This Christian king, Edwin, attained to the dignity of Bretwalda, and maintained the faith which he had adopted; but in the year 634, while in the vigour of his days, he was slain in battle against the terrible pagan king, Penda. Upon this sad event there followed such a general apostasy of the people in Northumbria, that Bishop Paulinus was obliged to abandon his see, and retire into Kent. The triumph of the heathen was, however, checked in the north by the accession of King Oswald, who had spent his youth in Iona, to which northern sanctuary he had repaired for

¹ The altar is 21 in. high, 11 in. broad at the base, and 7½ in. thick. It was found May 5, 1851, at a depth of 15 ft., in a stratum of clay, when excavating the foundation for the Goldsmiths' Hall, in which it is now deposited. Under the site of Goldsmiths' Hall, and under that of the General Post-office adjoining, were found vaults and foundations, evidently of Roman masonry. It is probable these were vestiges of the temple of Diana, which were sought for in vain on the site of St. Paul's Cathedral, at the distance of little more than a stone's throw.

² See vol. i. p. 74.

shelter; and having been taught Christianity among that primitive community, he naturally sent thither for spiritual instructors to his people, as soon as he was established upon the throne. Cormán, the first monk that was sent from Iona, quickly returned, disheartened by the difficulties

of his office, and by the barbarous disposition and gross intellect of the Northumbrians; but Aidan, another monk of the order, volunteered to supply Cormán's place. In the year 635 Aidan founded a monastery upon the bleak Island of Lindisfarne; and there his religious community flourished for



HOLY ISLAND, coast of Northumberland, and REMAINS OF THE CHURCH OF LINDISFARNE.¹—From Turner's *England and Wales*.

more than two centuries, until it fell beneath the fury of the Danes. Aided by King Oswald, Aidan was very successful in reclaiming the apostate Northumbrians, and in converting other Saxon states. Having prevailed upon the King of Wessex and his daughter to be baptized, a Christian church was established in that portion of the Heptarchy, according to the primitive and simple form of that of Iona.

The introduction of the gospel into the powerful kingdom of Mercia was the next great event. Penda, the son of the terrible Penda, in whom the Christianity of England had found its deadliest enemy, solicited the hand of the fair daughter of the converted King of Northumbria. The princess refused to marry an unbelieving husband, and the prince in consequence abjured his idols, and was baptized; and on his return to Mercia he took with him four good missionaries, who were very successful in converting the people. Towards the close of this century the kingdom of Sussex was converted; and thus, in less than ninety years from the first arrival of Augustine, Christianity was established over the whole of England.

When Christianity thus became the religion of Saxon Britain, its rude inhabitants were prepared for the further blessings of learning and civilization, and these were now introduced in the train of Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, who was consecrated to the primacy by Pope Vitalian, in 668. Like St. Paul, he was a native of Tarsus

in Cilicia, and eminent for his extensive learning. Though already sixty-six years old, yet such was the energy of his character, that a life of usefulness was still expected from him; and these hopes were not disappointed, for he governed the English Church for twenty-two years. He brought with him a valuable library of Latin and Greek authors, among which were the works of Homer, and established schools of learning, to which the clergy and laity repaired. The consequence was, according to Bede, that soon after this many English priests were as conversant with the Latin and Greek languages as with their native tongue.²

Scarcely, however, was the national faith thus settled, when controversies arose in the bosom of the infant church on certain points of ceremonial practice, the triviality of which, of course, did not prevent them from being agitated with as much heat and obstinacy as if they had involved the most essential principles of morality or religion.

¹ In Holy Island was first established the nucleus of the opulent see of Durham, by Aidan, a monk of the monastery of Iona. The church was at first built of split oak, and covered with reeds. It was rebuilt by Eadbert, successor to St. Cuthbert, who caused the body of Cuthbert to be removed and placed in a magnificent tomb near the high altar. Here the venerated remains rested till about the middle of the ninth century, when the coast was overrun by the barbarous Danes, and the affrighted monks of Lindisfarne escaped with the remains of their beloved apostle, and commenced the series of peregrinations which ended in their establishment at Dunholm (Durham). Few traces of the monastic buildings exist, except those of the church, which is of Anglo-Norman architecture.

² Bede, iv. 2.

One of the subjects of dispute was the same difference as to the mode of computing Easter that had already prevented the union of the English and Welsh Churches; it now, in like manner, threatened to divide the two kingdoms of Mercia and Northumberland, which, as already related, had been converted by Scottish missionaries, from the other states of the Heptarchy, that had received their instructors from Rome and France. To this was added the difference between the Romish and Scottish Churches, upon the form of the ecclesiastical tonsure. While the priests of the former wore the hair round the temples, in imitation of a crown of thorns, they were horror-struck at the latter, who, according to the custom of the Eastern Church, shaved it from their foreheads into the form of a crescent, for which they were reproached with bearing the emblem of Simon Magus.¹ A council had been summoned with the view of accommodating these dissensions, by Oswy, King of Northumberland, in the year 664; but the only result of this attempt was to increase the animosity of the two factions, the clergy of the Scottish persuasion, in fact, retiring from the assembly in disgust.² Their departure was occasioned by the intemperate zeal and arrogance of Wilfrith, afterwards Archbishop of York, whose great aim was to reduce the English Church to a state of uniformity, by the suppression of the Culdees.³ At a council called at Hertford, in the year 673, the bishops generally consented to the canons which Theodore had brought with him from Rome, by which a complete agreement in faith and worship was established.⁴

In the meantime, Theodore was enabled to proceed with his division of the larger dioceses. That of Mercia, in particular, which had till now embraced the whole of the state so called, was

divided by King Ethelred, at his instigation, into the four dioceses of Lichfield, Worcester, Hereford, and Chester. Many other reforms were also prosecuted by the energetic primate. He encouraged the wealthy to build parish churches, by conferring upon them and their heirs the right of patronage. The sacred edifices, till now for the most part of timber, began to give place to larger and more durable structures of stone; the beautiful chanting, hitherto confined to the cathedrals, was introduced into the churches generally; and the priests, who had been accustomed, in the discharge of their office, to wander from place to place, had fixed stations assigned to them. They and the churches had as yet been maintained solely by the voluntary contributions of the people; but, because this was a precarious resource when the excitement of novelty had ceased, Theodore provided for the regular support of religion, by prevailing upon the kings of the different states to impose a special tax upon their subjects for that purpose, under the name of kirk-scot.⁵ By these and similar measures, all England, long before the several kingdoms were united under one sovereign, was reduced to a state of religious uniformity, and composed a single spiritual empire. After living to witness many of the benefits of his important labours, this illustrious primate died in 690, after a well-spent and active life of nearly ninety years.

The age of the Christian church in England that immediately succeeded its establishment, was distinguished by the decline of true religion, and the rapid increase both of worldly-mindedness among the clergy, and of fanaticism and superstition among the people. From the humble condition of a dependence upon the alms of the faithful, the church now found itself in the possession of revenues which enabled its bishops to vie in

¹ Theodore, who, when he was called to the primacy, wore the Eastern tonsure, was obliged to wait four months, that his hair might grow so as to be shaven according to the orthodox fashion. — *Bede*, iv. 1.

² For the lengthened discussion at this council, see *Bede*, iii. 25.

³ Wilfrith, by his own power, accomplished what Augustine, animated by the spirit of Gregory the Great, had begun. The Anglo-Saxon states were converted not only to Christianity, but to Catholicism. For secular learning they were chiefly indebted to the Scots and Britons—for their accession to the European system of faith, to these two men; for, however successful Augustine may appear in his first spiritual acquisitions for the Church of Rome, the course of Anglo-Saxon history, nevertheless, shows that, although the Roman ecclesiastical system was acknowledged, the influence of Rome was exceedingly weak, and that the Anglo-Saxons, even after they were no longer anti-Catholic, continued always anti-Papistical. As Wilfrith's history itself proves indeed how little even this zealous partizan of the popes could effect, it is the more desirable to take a view of the internal relations of religion in England.

⁴ We notice, in the first place, in every kingdom a bishop, who, travelling about with his coadjutors, propagated both doctrine and discipline. This kind of church regimen was well calculated to succeed that of the pagan priesthood. The bishops, when chosen by the clergy, always required the confirmation of

the prince; but, in most instances, they were nominated by him. In later times, it is observable that the royal chaplains always obtained the episcopal dignities. Over these bishops, he who resided at Canterbury, the capital of the Bretwalda Ethelbert, was set as archbishop, in like manner as the Bishop of Rome had originally assumed the supremacy over the Roman provinces. The archbishopric of York, established by Gregory the Great, which might act as a check to a primacy of the Kentish archbishop, dangerous to the Papal authority, ceased to exist after the flight of Paulinus, and was not re-established till a century afterwards, when Egbert, the brother of King Eadbert, after many representations to the Papal chair, received the pall. A third archiepiscopal see was established for the country between the Thames and the Humber, by the powerful Offa of Mercia, who held the dignity necessary for the honour of his kingdom, with the consent of Pope Hadrian, to whom this augmentation of his slight influence over the Anglo-Saxon clergy might have been welcome. The old state of things was, however, shortly after restored.—Almost contemporaneously with the bishoprics, some monasteries were founded by the bounty of the kings and their relatives, which served as residences to numerous monks. Many of these cloisters in the north of England were destroyed by the Danes, the very sites of which are not known with certainty.—*Leppenberg*, vol. i. p. 189.

⁵ *Bede*, iv. 5.

⁶ *Bede*, *Epistol. ad Egbert*.

pomp and luxury with the chief nobility, and even conferred no small consideration upon many of its inferior ministers. It is generally held that tithes were first imposed upon the Mercians in the latter part of the eighth century, by their king, Offa, and that the tax was extended over all England by King Ethelwulf, in 855. But the subject of this assumed donation of Ethelwulf to the church is involved in great obscurity.¹ All that is certain is, that in after ages the clergy were uniformly wont to refer to his charter as the foundation of their claim. The tithes of all England, however, at this early period, if such a general tax then existed, would not have been sufficient of themselves to weigh down the church by too great a burden of wealth. A great portion of the soil was still composed of waste or forest land; and the tithes appear to have been charged with the repair of churches, the expenses of worship, and the relief of the poor, as well as with the maintenance of the clergy. It was from the lavish benevolence of individuals that the church principally derived its large revenues. Kings, under the influence of piety or remorse, were eager to pour their wealth into the ecclesiastical treasury, to bribe the favour of Heaven, or avert its indignation; and wealthy thanes were in like manner wont to expiate their sins, as they were taught they might do, by founding a church or endowing a monastery. Among other consequences of these more ample resources, we find that the walls of the churches became covered with foreign paintings and tapestry; that the altars and sacred vessels were formed of the precious metals, and sparkled with gems; while the vestments of the priests were of the most splendid description. Other much more lamentable effects followed. Indolence and sensuality took the place of religion and learning among all orders of the clergy. The monasteries in particular, founded at first as abodes of piety and letters, and refuges for the desolate and the penitent, soon became the haunts of idleness and superstition. Many of the nunneries were mere receptacles of profligacy, in which the roving debauchee was sure of a welcome.² In the year 747 the Council of Cloveshoe found it necessary to order that the monasteries should not be turned into places of amusement for harpers and buffoons; and that laymen should not be admitted within their walls too freely, lest they might be scandalized at the offences they should discover there.³ Most of the monasteries in England, too, were double houses,⁴ in which resided communities of men and women; and the natural consequences often followed this perilous

juxtaposition of the sexes, living in the midst of plenty and idleness. These establishments also continued to multiply with a rapidity that was portentous, not only from the tendency of the idle and depraved to embrace such a life of indulgence, but from the doctrine current at the end of the seventh century, that the assumption of the monastic habit absolved from all previous sin. Bede, who saw and lamented this growing evil, raised a warning voice, but in vain, against it; and expressed his fears that, from the increase of the monks, soldiers would at last be wanting to repel the invasion of an enemy.⁵ Many nobles, desirous of an uninterrupted life of sensuality, pretended to devote their wealth to the service of Heaven, and obtained the royal sanction for founding a religious house; but in their new character of abbots, they gathered round them a brotherhood of dissolute monks, with whom they lived in the commission of every vice; while their wives, following the example, established nunneries upon a similar principle, and filled them with the most depraved of their sex.⁶ To these evils was added the bitterness of religious contention. Men thus pampered could scarcely be expected to live in a state of mutual harmony; and fierce dissensions were constantly raging between the monks, or regulars, as they called themselves, and the seculars or unmonastic clergy, about their respective duties, privileges, and honours.

It was natural enough that the grossest superstition should accompany and intermingle with all this profligacy. So many Saxon kings accordingly abandoned their crowns, and retired into monasteries, that the practice became a proverbial distinction of their race;⁷ while other persons of rank, nauseated with indulgence, or horror-struck with religious dread, often also forsook the world, of which they were weary, and took refuge in cells or hermitages. The penances by which they endeavoured either to expiate their crimes or attain to the honours of saintship, emblazoned though they are in chronicles, and canonized in calendars, can only excite contempt or disgust, whether they ascend to the extravagance of St. Guthlake, who endeavoured to fast forty days, after the fashion of Elias,⁸ or sink to the low standard of those noble ladies who thought that heaven was to be won by the spiritual purity of unwashed linen. In addition to the feeling of remorse by which such expiations were inspired, a profligate state of society will multiply religious observances, as a cheap substitute for the practice of holiness and virtue; and men will readily fast, and make journeys, and give alms, in preference

¹ See Turner's *Anglo-Saxons*, l. 470-481.

² Bede: *De Remedio Peccatorum*; Wilkins' *Concilia*, l. 88, 99.

³ Wilkins' *Concilia*, l. 97.

⁴ Lingard's *Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, p. 120.

⁵ Bede, *Epist. ad Egbert*.

⁶ Aleuin, *Epistole*: Lingard's *Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, p. 133.

⁷ Hunting. p. 337.

⁸ *Flores Sanctorum*, in *Vit. Guthr.* p. 84.

to the greater sacrifice of amendment of life. We need not, therefore, wonder to find Saxon pilgrims thronging to the Continent and to Rome,



ROCK HERMITAGE, AT GUY'S CLIFF,¹ WARWICKSHIRE.—FROM A sketch on the spot, by J. W. Archer.

who do not seem to have considered a little contraband traffic, when opportunity offered, as detracting from the merits of their religious tour; while ladies of rank, who undertook the same

journey, frequently parted with whatever virtue they possessed by the way.²

While such was the state of the English Church, the invasions of the Danes commenced at the end of the eighth century, and were continued in a succession of inundations, each more terrible than the preceding. These spoilers of the North, devoted to their ancient idolatry, naturally abhorred the Christianity of the Saxons, corrupted though it was, as a religion of humanity and order; and as the treasures of the land, at the first alarm, were deposited in the sacred edifices, which were fondly believed to be safe from the intrusion even of the most daring, the tempest of the Danish warfare was chiefly directed against the churches and monasteries. Those miracles lately so plentiful, and so powerful to deceive, were impotent now to break or turn back the sword of the invader. The priest was massacred at the altar; the monk perished in his cell; the nuns were violated; and the course of the Northmen might be traced by the ashes of sacred edifices that had been pillaged and consumed. The effects of these devastations upon both religion and learning may be read in the mournful complaint of Alfred. At his accession, he tells us, in the interesting preface to his translation of Pope Gregory's tract on the *Duties of Pastors*, that he could find very few priests north of the Humber who were able to translate the Latin service into the vulgar tongue; and south of the Thames, not one.³

After the land had begun to recover from the immediate effects of this visitation, and the church had resumed its wonted position, the celebrated

¹ Dugdale, describing Guy's Cliff, says: "This being a great cliff on the western bank of the Avon, was made choice of by that pious man *St. Dubritius* (who in the Britons' time had his episcopal seat at Warwick) for a place of devotion, where he built an oratory, dedicated to *St. Mary Magdalen* (Camden says *St. Margaret*), into which, long after, in the Saxon days, did a devout hermit repair, who, finding the natural rock so proper for his cell, and the pleasant grove wherewith it is backed yielding entertainment fit for solitude, seated himself here. Which advantages invited also the famous Guy (sometime Earl of Warwick), after his notable achievements, having weaned himself from the deceitful pleasures of this world, to retire hither, where, receiving ghostly comfort from that hermit, he abode till his death." There are several cells in the cliff. That shown in the cut is at the base of the rock, and is popularly distinguished as Guy's Cell. However doubtful that personage and his localities may be, the cell itself bears a token of early occupation, in an inscription cut in the wall in Saxon characters, but not legible.

² Spelman's *Concilia*, l. p. 237.

³ "To the distance from Rome, and their slender dependence on the Papal chair, the people of England are apparently indebted for the advantage of having retained their mother tongue as the language of the church, which was never entirely banished by the priests from their most sacred services. Their careless, sensual course of life, and perhaps the prejudice which prevented them from learning even so much Latin as was requisite to enable them to repeat the Paternoster and Creed in that language, have proved more conducive to the highest interests of the country than the dark subtilty of the learned Romanized monk, pondering over authorities. Even the mass itself was not read entirely in the Latin tongue. The wedding form was,

no doubt, in Anglo-Saxon; and its hearty, sound, and simple sterling substance, are preserved in the English ritual to the present day. The numerous versions and paraphrases of the Old and New Testaments made those books known to the laity, and more familiar to the clergy. That these were in general circulation in Bede's time, may perhaps be inferred from his omission of all mention of them, though the learned and celebrated Anglo-Saxon poet, Aldhelm, had already translated the Psalms; and Egbert, Bishop of Lindisfarne, the four gospels. Bede is also said to have translated both the Old and the New Testament into his mother tongue, an assertion which, like a similar one regarding King Alfred, must be limited to the Gospel of St. John, and, in the case of Alfred, to some fragments of the Psalms. An abridged version of the Pentateuch, and of some other books of the Old Testament, by Elfric, in the end of the tenth century, is still extant. The vast collection of Anglo-Saxon homilies, still preserved in manuscript, at once enlarged and ennobled the language and the feelings of Christianity; and the ear, which continued deaf to the mother tongue, was, in the Anglo-Saxon Church, yet more sensibly addressed, and in a way to agitate or gently move the heart. Large organs are described and spoken of as donations to the church in the beginning of the eighth century. The mention of this instrument at Malmesbury, affords ground for the conjecture that it might have been introduced by the musical Welsh. Church music was first brought into Kent by the Roman clergy, and from thence into the northern parts, where it underwent improvement. This was an object of such interest, that the arrival of a Roman singing-master is mentioned by contemporary authors as a matter of almost equal importance with a new victory gained by the Catholic faith over the Pagans or Scots."—*Lappenberg*, vol. i. p. 202.

Dunstan appeared. He was born in Wessex, about the year 925. Although he was of noble birth, and remotely related to the royal family, as well as connected with the church through two uncles, one of whom was primate, and the other Bishop of Winchester, these signal advantages were not deemed enough for the future aspirant to clerical supremacy, without the corroboration of a miracle. His career was, therefore, indicated by a miracle in a church, even before he was born. His youth also was a series of miracles. His early studies having been pursued with an intensity that exhausted his feeble constitution, a fever ensued; but an angel visited his couch by night, and suddenly restored him to health. By another miracle he was taught how he must enlarge the church in Glastonbury, &c. Dunstan, however, accomplished himself in all the learning and in most of the arts that might give him an influence in society. He was an excellent composer in music; he played skilfully upon various instruments; was a painter, a worker in design, and a calligrapher; a jeweller, and a blacksmith. After he had taken the clerical habit, he was introduced by his uncle, Aldhelm the primate, to King Athelstane, who seems to have been delighted with his music. At this time of his life he was accustomed to sing and play some of the heathen songs of the ancient Saxons, and for this he was accused by his enemies as a profane person. Incurring the envy of Athelstane's courtiers, and losing the favour of the king, who was made to suspect him of sorcery, Dunstan was driven from the court, was kicked, and cudgelled, and thrown into a bog, and there left to perish. He escaped, however, from this peril, and sought refuge with his uncle, the Bishop of Winchester. His whole life was now altered. Contiguous to the church of Glastonbury he erected a very small cell, more like a sepulchre than a human habitation; and this was at once his bed-chamber, his oratory, and his workshop; and it was here that he had that most celebrated combat with the devil which all have heard of. His character for sanctity now began to wax illustrious. A noble dame, who had renounced the world, and who occupied a cell near his own, died in the odour of sanctity, and left him all her property. He distributed the personal property among the poor, and bestowed the lands upon the church at Glastonbury, endowing that establishment at the same time with the whole of his own patrimony, which had lately fallen to him. His ambition, though inordinate, was of too lofty a character to stoop to lucrative considerations. Edmund having now succeeded to the throne, Dunstan was recalled to court; but his ambition and the dread of his talents again united the courtiers against him, and he was once more dismissed through their intrigues. An opportune

miracle, however, induced the king to make him abbot of Glastonbury, and to increase greatly the privileges of that famous monastery. Edred, the successor of Edmund, showed him equal favour, and would have made him Bishop of Crediton; but Dunstan, who seems to have contemplated a much higher preferment, declined the offer. The very next day (having always miracles at his hand) he declared that St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Andrew had visited him in the night, and that the last, having severely chastised him with a rod for rejecting their apostolic society, commanded him never to refuse such an offer again, *or even the primacy*, should it be offered him; assuring him withal that he should one day travel to Rome.

It is probable that Dunstan's ultimate aim was to effect what he deemed a reformation of the church, and that, according to the morality of the times, he justified to himself the means to which he resorted by the importance of the object he had in view. A fierce champion for the fancied holiness of celibacy, he determined to reduce the clergy under the monastic yoke, and to carry out the celibate rule of Pope Gregory II.; and as during the late troubles many both of the secular and the regular priests had married, he insisted that those who had so acted should put away both their wives and families. Those clergymen also who dwelt with their respective bishops were required to become the inmates of a monastery. In these views Dunstan was happy in having for his coadjutor Archbishop Odo. This personage, born of Danish parents, and distinguished in the early part of his life as a warrior, retained ever after the firmness and ferocity of his first calling. We have already related the part he acted along with Dunstan in the tragedy of the unhappy Elgiva.¹ When Dunstan, shortly after this, was obliged to flee from England, on being accused of embezzlement in the administration of the royal revenues, it is related that while the king's officers were employed at the abbey of Glastonbury in taking an inventory of his effects, his old adversary, the devil, made the sacred building resound with obstreperous rejoicings. But it is added that Dunstan checked the devil's triumph by the prophetic intimation of a speedy return.² In effect the death of Edwy immediately brought about the recal of Dunstan, and the restoration of his influence; and he was appointed Bishop of Worcester by King Edgar in 957. Three years after he obtained the primacy, being promoted to the archbishopric of Canterbury upon the death of his friend Odo. According to custom, he repaired to Rome to receive the pall at the hands of the pope, thus fulfilling the predictions of his vision.

¹ See vol. i. p. 101.² *Anglia Sacra*.

Dunstan was now possessed of unlimited ecclesiastical authority; and he was seconded by the zealous efforts of Oswald and Ethelwald, the former of whom he promoted to the see of Worcester, and the latter to the see of Winchester, and both of whom were afterwards canonized as well as himself. The superstitious King Edgar, and afterwards the youthful King Edward, were completely under his control. With none to check him, he proceeded with merciless zeal in his projects of reformation, and alternately adopted force and stratagem. The clergy were imperiously required to dismiss their wives and children, and conform to the law of celibacy or resign their charges; and when they embraced the latter alternative they were represented as monsters of wickedness. The secular canons were driven out of the cathedrals and monasteries, and their places were filled with monks. Miracles were not spared for converting the obstinate recusants, and, besides the wonderful legends that were propagated in praise of St. Benedict and his severe institution, Archbishop Dunstan vouchsafed to them a sign for their conviction. A synod being held at Winchester in the year 977, at which the canons hoped that the sentence against them would be reversed, all at once a voice issued from a crucifix in the wall, exclaiming, "Do it not! do it not! You have judged well, and you would do ill to change it." This miracle or ventriloquism, however, so far from convincing the canons, only produced confusion, and broke up the meeting. A second meeting was held, with no better success. A third was appointed at Calne, and there a prodigy was to be exhibited of a more tremendous and decisive character. The opponents of Dunstan had chosen for their advocate Beornelm, a Scottish bishop, who is described as a person of subtle understanding and infinite loquacity. Dunstan, perplexed by the arguments of the logical and loquacious Scot, proceeded to his final demonstration. "I am now growing old," he exclaimed, "and you endeavour to overcome me. I am more disposed to silence than to contention. Yet I confess I am unwilling that you should vanquish me; and to Christ himself, as judge, I commit the cause of his church!" Scarcely had he said the words, when part of the scaffolding

and flooring suddenly gave way, and fell with a mighty crash, with his adversaries, of whom some were crushed to death, and many grievously injured; while the part of the edifice which Dunstan and his adherents occupied remained safe and unmoved—sound as a rock. It is no violation of charity to suspect from this incident that the archbishop was skilled in the profession of the carpenter and builder as well as in that of the blacksmith.

Dunstan lived for ten years after this sanguinary trick, and spent them in prosecuting his favourite schemes of ecclesiastical reform. His last moments are irradiated in the legend of his life by a whole galaxy of miracles. He died in the reign of Ethelred, A.D. 988.

The history of the Anglo-Saxon Church, from the death of Dunstan to the Norman conquest, presents little to interest the general reader. The cause for which Dunstan and his coadjutors had laboured, with the celibacy of the clergy, remained completely in the ascendant. Monasteries continued to be founded or endowed in every part of the kingdom; and such were the multitudes who devoted themselves to the cloister, that the foreboding of the venerable Bede was at length accomplished—the monks were so numerous that there were not left soldiers enough to defend the country, and above a third of the property of the land was in possession of the church, and exempted from taxes and military service.

With the remnant of the superstitions of the ancient Britons were blended many of the superstitions and customs which the Saxons and Danes brought with them from Northern Germany and Scandinavia, and of which traces are still to be found in sundry usages and in many parts of England and Scotland. An increase of superstition of a certain kind was one of the consequences of the invasion of the Danes. In a canon of the reign of King Edgar the clergy are enjoined to be diligent in withdrawing the people from the worship of trees, stones, and fountains, and from other evil practices; and the laws of King Canute prohibit the worship of heathen gods, of the sun, moon, fire, rivers, fountains, rocks, or trees, the practice of witchcraft, or the commission of murder by magic, or other infernal devices.²

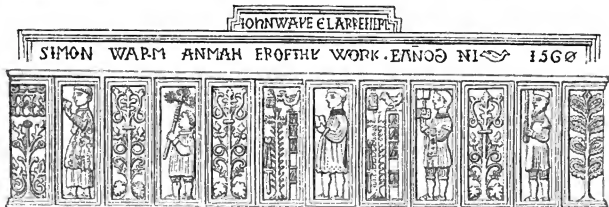
¹ "The Christian clergy occupied an influential station among the Anglo-Saxons, which, considering the numerous calamities that had befallen them, as well as their disputes with the Scots, is the more remarkable. In explanation of this striking phenomenon among barbaric hordes, may be adduced the account given by Tacitus of the vast influence in secular affairs possessed by the pagan German priesthood, in whom exclusively resided the power of life and death. Such a primitive influence tended, no doubt, greatly to facilitate the domination of the Roman Papal Church, and a part of their jurisdiction—the oracles or so-called judgments of God—may have had their origin in the legal usages of the heathen priests. Religion became a national concern, and priests enacted a principal part in the Anglo-Saxon *wicdægumot*. The rank of an archbishop was equal to that of

an aetheling, of a bishop to that of an ealdorman. The bishop presided with the ealdorman in the county court (*scir-gemet*), the jurisdiction of which was frequently coextensive with the diocese."—*Lappenberg*, vol. ii. p. 322.

² "No Germanic people preserved so many memorials of paganism as the Anglo-Saxons. Their days of the week have to the present time retained their heathen names; even that of Woden (Wednesday) is still unconsciously so called in both worlds, and by more tongues than when he was the chief object of religious veneration. In the north of England and the Germanic parts of Scotland, the Yule feast (*Yule*, *Yule*, *Yule*) has never been supplanted by the name of Christmas. That these denominations throughout ages were not a senseless echo of superannuated customs, is evident from the Anglo-Saxon laws of later

In the canons of Elfric, who was Archbishop of Canterbury from 995 to 1005, we learn that there were seven orders of clergy in the church, whose names and offices were the following:—1st, the

ostiary, who took charge of the church doors, and rang the bell; 2d, the lector or reader of Scripture to the congregation; 3d, the exorcist, who drove out devils by sacred adjurations or invo-



ORDERS OF THE CLERGY,¹ from carved panels in the church at Trull, Somersetshire.—J. W. Archer, from his drawing on the spot.

cations; 4th, the acolyte, who held the tapers at the reading of the gospels and the celebration of mass; 5th, the sub-deacon, who produced the holy vessels, and attended the deacon at the altar; 6th, the deacon, who ministered to the mass-priest, laid the oblation on the altar,

read the gospel, baptized children, and gave the eucharist to the people; 7th, the mass-priest or presbyter, who preached, baptized, and consecrated the eucharist. Of the same order with the last of these, but higher in honour, was the bishop.²

times, which strictly forbid the worship of heathen gods, of the sun, the moon, fire, rivers, water-wells, stones, or forest-trees. It is, however, probable, that some of this heathenism may have been awakened by contact with the pagan Northmen. A part of the old theology lost its pernicious power; when reduced to history it became subservient to the purposes of epic poetry, as instances of which may be cited the genealogies of the Anglo-Saxon kings and the poem of Beowulf. Of many superstitions, which long retained their ground, relative to the power of magic, to amulets, magical medicaments, as well as to the innocent belief—so intimately connected with poetry—in elves and warms of benevolent, or at least harmless unearthly, though subinary spirits, it is often difficult to point out the historic elements from which they have sprung; as precisely in the northern parts of England, where they were longest preserved, the intermixture of the Britons with the Germans was the most intimate.”—*Lappenberg*.

¹ In this curious carving, we have, commencing on the right, the ostiary ringing the church bell; next, it may be conceived, the sub-deacon, bearing a coffer containing the holy vessels. The next figure may represent the exorcist, then followed by a cross-bearer, the mass-priest, in his embroidered cape. The intervening panels are ornamented with—1st, an oak; 2d, a vine; 3d, the instruments of the passion, viz., the cross, the hammer, the pincers, and the ladder, between the rungs of which is the flagellum or scourge; on the ladder is the cock which admonished St. Peter by its crowing, and opposite, the lantern of

Julias; 4th and 5th, a repetition of the oak and vine; and 6th, a vine surmounted by the sacred monogram. Over an adjoining series of scroll panels are the names of the ecclesiastic under whose auspices the work was performed, “John Waye clarkc heere;” and of the carver himself, “Simon Warman maker of thys worke. Ano. Dni. 1560.”

² “A preceding bishop, probably his immediate predecessor, Elfric, in the year 1006, had directed, in one of the canons published at a council in which he presided, that every parish priest should be obliged, on Sundays and on other holidays, to explain the Lord’s Prayer or the Creed, and the gospel for the day, before the people, in the English tongue. While historians enlarge on the quarrels between the Papacy and the civil power, and decant, with tedious prolixity, on the superstitions which were in vogue during the dark ages, they are too apt to pass over in a cursory manner such facts as this. Let the reader reflect on the preciousness of the doctrines which the Lord’s Prayer, the Creed, and some of the plainest and most practical passages of the New Testament either exhibit or imply, and he will be convinced that, if the canon of Elfric had been obeyed with any tolerable degree of spirit and exactness in a number of parishes in England, the ignorance and darkness could not have been so complete or so universal as we are generally taught to believe. . . . That elementary knowledge which is the object of the canon is ever more salutary in its influence than the most ingenious subtleties of literary refinement in religion.”—*Milner, Hist. of the Church of Christ*, cent. 11, ch. 1v.

CHAPTER VII.—HISTORY OF SOCIETY.

FROM THE ARRIVAL OF THE SAXONS TO THE ARRIVAL OF THE NORMANS.—A.D. 449—1066.

Union of the Saxon tribes in England into one people—Classes into which they were divided—Condition of the coorls and serfs—Different kinds of servitude—Ecclesiastical architecture—Houses—Furniture—Food—Cookery—Anglo-Saxon banquets—Drinking practices—Dress of the Anglo-Saxons—Ornaments—Female costume and ornaments—Social and domestic life of the Anglo-Saxons—Female occupations—Superstitions of the people—Their course of life from the beginning to the close—Amusements of the Anglo-Saxons—State of education—Learned Englishmen.



WHEN the Saxons, Jutes, and Angles had obtained possession of England, and when the Hephtharchy had been resolved into a monarchy, it was in the ordinary course of things that these distinctions of races should cease, and the whole become one people. This was the more natural, as they were previously assimilated in character, language, customs, and institutions, as well as by the fact of a common origin. Accordingly they soon came to be spoken of, first under the name of Angles, and afterwards under the compound term of Anglo-Saxons. An equally natural, but still more important change, was

that which converted them from restless pirates into peaceful industrious agriculturists. In obtaining not the mere plunder of the English coast, but the permanent possession of England itself, they had got all and more than they had hoped for; and, therefore, nothing further remained for them but to sheathe their swords, and sit down to the full enjoyment of their conquest.

In this way the three Germanic tribes became a single nation; and from these causes, also, they acquired that distinctive nationality which was best suited to their common character. The country was divided into shires and hundreds, and into cities, burghs, and townships; while the people, in like manner, were parted into their

¹ The police of the Anglo-Saxons was established and secured by the principle of mutual guarantee. This system began with the *maþurburh*, or family-bond, including whole communities, related by blood and occupying the same localities. These seem to have given their names to their respective possessions in the lands they had conquered. Mr. Kemble gives two lists of patronymical names, which he believes to be those of ancient marks—the first derived from the *Codex Diplomaticus* and other authorities; the second inferred from actual local names in England. The total number of the latter is 627; but as several are found repeated in various counties, the grand total is 1329. Thus, the Ebingas are supposed to have given their name to Abinger, Abinghall, and Abington; the Aldingas, to Aldingthorpe, Aldingham, and Aldington; the Busingas, to Busingthorpe; the Fealdingas, to Faldingworth; the Ferdingas, to Firdingbridge; the Gildingas, to Gildingwells; the Hemingas, to Hemingbrough and Hemingby, &c.; while many of these names stand alone, without any addition of *ton*, *ham*, *thorpe*, *worth*, &c. Mr. Kemble supposes that, as of 190 of these last, 140 occur in counties on the eastern and southern coasts, and twenty-two more in counties easily accessible through great navigable streams, they were possibly the original seats of the marks bearing those names; and that the settlements distinguished by the addition of *ham*, *vic*, &c., to these original names, were filial settlements, or, as it were, colonies from them.

"In looking over a good county map," says Mr. K., "we are surprised to see the systematic succession of places ending in *den*, *holt*, *wood*, *hurst*, *feld*, and other words, which invariably denote forests and out-lying pastures in the woods. These are all in the mark; and within them we may trace, with equal certainty, the *hams*, *tuns*, *worths*, and *stedes*, which imply settled habitations."

Thus, while the British and Celtic races seem to have named places almost invariably from some natural peculiarity of the ground, the Anglo-Saxons, it appears, named them from the families or relationships that settled on them. And each of these small communities had its police maintained originally by the *maþurburh*, or family-bond, according to which all were held respon-

sible for the offence committed by one; and an offence done to one, it became the right and duty of all to avenge.

But this, though a natural, could not be a lasting system. A time inevitably comes when the members of a *sideburg*, or cognation, gradually disperse, and neighbours cease to be kinsmen. This naturally led to a new system of guarantee, founded simply on number and neighbourhood. The free inhabitants of the mark came thus to be classed in tens and hundreds—technically, tithings and hundreds—each forming a corporation, probably comprising a corresponding number of members respectively, together with a tithing-man for each tithing, and a hundred-man for each hundred; thus making 111 men in each territorial hundred.

It must not be supposed that these 111 heads of houses were, with their children and domestic servants, the sole inhabitants of the hundred; a large allowance must be made for slaves. Neither did the territorial hundred contain always neither more nor fewer heads of houses than those with which it commenced. A distinction seems, indeed, to have been for some time observed between the numerical and the territorial division—the numerical being called the *hynden*, which consisted of ten tithings, and the territorial being called the *hundred*, although originally they were identical. The tendency of land divisions being to remain stationary for ages, while their population varies incessantly, two very distinct things seem to have grown up together in England—a constantly increasing number of the *gilds*, or corporations, yet a nearly or entirely stationary tale of territorial tithings and hundreds. There seems to have been elbow-room within the marks, to admit a considerable elasticity of the population, without disturbing their ancient boundaries, but merely by extending and improving cultivation within those boundaries. Assuming that our present hundreds nearly represent the original in number and extent, we might conclude that, if in the year 400 Kent was first divided, Thanes then contained only 100 heads of houses, or hydes, upon 3000 acres of cultivated land; while, in the time of Bede, three centuries later, it comprised 600 families, upon 18,000 cultivated acres.

respective classes, whether of rich or poor, whether of bond or free.¹ But it is to these divisions of the people that we confine our attention at present, and to the development and progress of their character in intellectual, social, and domestic life.

The Anglo-Saxon society, after it had assumed a settled and regularly organized form, may be divided into six classes. These were—1, the king and his family; 2, the ethelborn, or nobly-born, who were men of the highest birth; 3, men high in office or possessed of large property; 4, a free-man; 5, a freed man; 6, a serf.² In simplifying these nice distinctions, however, the people, properly so called, were divided into two great classes—the *eorls* and the *ceorls*. The former comprised the ethelborn, eoldermen, or men of princely descent; the *twelfhaendmen*, or men of twelve hands, and the *sixhaendmen*, or men of six hands; that is, the nobility of inferior rank. As for the *ceorls* (or churls), who were also called villains (or inhabitants of a villa), they were the free-born and the liberated, who dwelt in the township, village, or farm, under the rule of their feudal superior, and were the agriculturists and handicraftsmen of the country, and traders and small landholders of every description under the rank of priest and noble. These constituted the middle classes, out of which the commons of England were ultimately formed. An idea of the inferior place which the *ceorls* occupied, although they constituted the bulk of the community, may be obtained from the following scale, established in the courts of law. The word of a king or bishop was of itself conclusive, and required no additional corroboration. The compurgatory oath of a priest was equivalent to that of 120 *ceorls*, and the oath of a deacon to that of sixty. But when we descend from these sacred privileges of the church in the matter of legal testimony and oath-taking, to the lay nobles, it is gratifying to find that the *eorl* was equivalent to not more than six *ceorls*. This was a liberal allowance, according to the standard of the age;

but still it was hard enough that five good men and true might be outfaced in a court by the testimony of only one six-handed man. The *ceorls*, also, although they were not the absolute property of a master, were yet so strictly bound to the soil that they could not remove from the estate on which they were born; and when this was sold, they were transferred with it to the new purchaser, like the cattle that grazed, or even the trees that grew upon it.³ This was nothing more or less than the condition in which these *ceorls*, villani, or bondmen had been placed in the forests of Germany, which Tacitus thus describes: "The rest of their slaves have not, like ours, particular employments in the family allotted them. Each is the master of a habitation and household of his own. The lord requires from him a certain quantity of grain, cattle, or cloth, as from a tenant; and so far only the subjection of the slave extends." Mild though this form of servitude might be in a rude state of society, the Roman historian characterizes it under the name of slavery; and there are few of the present day who will not agree with him. To be mere part and parcel of the soil, though it were that of Eden itself, and to be bound to it beyond the power or liberty of removal, is bondage indeed. It is evident that a long period



SEAF OR THROW.—Cotton MS.
Cleopatra C. 8.

had to intervene, and many a step of transition to be effected, before these land-enthralled churls could become the happy, bold-hearted, and free-born, free-moving commons of merry England.

A worse condition still than this was that of the serfs or slaves, in the proper acceptance of the term. These men, who constituted a large portion of the Anglo-Saxon population, were not only bondmen of the

¹ "The population of the country consisted of two elements—the chiefs and their followers, who had obtained possession and lordship of the lands; and the agriculturists and labourers, who were in the position of serfs and bondmen, and comprised chiefly the old Romano-British population, which, under the Anglo-Saxons, was probably quite as well off as under the Romans. The Saxons thus held the country, while the Roman cities continued to hold the towns as tributaries of the Saxon kings, within whose bounds they stood. The country thus exhibited Teutonic rudeness, while the towns were the representatives of Roman civilization; and though the intercourse between the two, and the gradual infusion of Saxon blood into the towns, laid the foundation of modern society, there was a feeling of hostility and rivalry between town and country which has hardly yet disappeared. Between the aristocratic feeling of the Saxon landholders, and the republican principles that existed in the towns, arose, under the balancing influence of the crown, the modern political constitution."—See *The City, the*

Roman, and the Saxon, p. 435. In illustrating the only effects by which his view was demonstrated, the same author adds, at p. 440:—"It may be cited as a proof of the correctness of this view of the mode in which the Roman corporations outlived the shock of invasion, and thus became a chief instrument in the civilization of subsequent ages, that even the Danes, in their predatory excursions, often entered into similar compositions with the Saxon towns, as with Canterbury, in 1000. It may be added, that there is no greater evidence of the independence and strength of the towns under the Saxons than the circumstance, that while the king and his earls, with the force of the counties, were not able to make a successful stand against the Danish invaders, it frequently happened that a town singly drove a powerful army from its gates, and the townsmen sometimes issued forth, and defeated the enemy in a pitched battle."

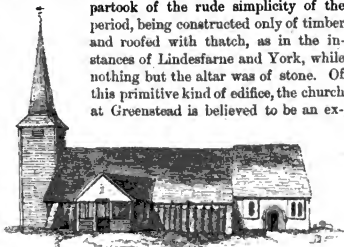
² Sharon Turner's *History of the Anglo-Saxons*.

³ *Ibid.*; Palgrave's *English Commonwealth*.

soil, but of the proprietor also, and, as such, were bound to serve him at home or a-field without wages, except the clothing and sustenance which he was pleased to give them. It was not merely that they were bought and sold with the land, like cattle or other property—for this was also the destiny of the churls, who considered themselves as freemen notwithstanding—but they were bequeathed by will on the death of their masters, and not only they, but their posterity to the remotest generations, in the fashion of a modern entail. While the *eorls* also was protected by the laws in such liberty as he possessed, the slave might be confined, whipped, or branded without appeal, and was frequently yoked to the car or plough; and in this way, we read of "teams of men" in the inventories of the day, to distinguish them from horses and oxen.¹ Such was the condition of the slaves, or *theocs*, as they were denominated among the Anglo-Saxons. But in this, also, there were several ameliorating circumstances. Thus the practice of manumission, which was recommended as a Christian duty, was frequent, especially at the hour of death, and by the will of testators. A serf might also buy out his freedom by a little extra industry, for which he had many opportunities. But the greatest blow at slavery was struck by the institutions of Alfred, which decreed that when a Christian man was purchased as a slave, he should only serve for six years, but on the seventh be set at liberty. In this way it was decided that, in the ordinary course of nature, and without any other interference, slavery should gradually die out in England. As to the kinds of people upon whom this unfortunate lot of slavery had fallen, it is perhaps not very difficult to ascertain them. As the Saxons had been accustomed to the institution in their own country, they would scarcely scruple to continue it in their new home, and retain in serfage the classes whom they had been wont to hold in thralldom in Germany. But besides their own hereditary bondmen, who were of the same race with themselves, there were the vanquished Britons, over whom they probably exercised that right of the stronger which every country has used in turn, and whom they converted not only into *eorls*, but in many cases into *theows*. Finally, there were but too many Saxons who either had forfeited their liberty by their crimes, or been fain to sell it in consequence of their poverty, out of whom the ranks of servitude were constantly supplied. A slave-market, indeed, was not unknown in England; and in the frequent famines that occurred, chiefly from the Danish in-

vasions, parents sold their own children, to save them from a death of hunger. In this way each noble household was abundantly supplied with such kind of service, as is evident from the single example of Alcuin, the Saxon abbot, who had 10,000 slaves to his own share.² But besides these numerous serfs, the princes and *eorls* had retainers, composed of men of a higher grade. These were *huscarles* (house *eorls*), who waited upon their master's person at home, or upon a journey; and *cnihts*, or knights. As this last word bulked so largely during the Norman ascendancy, it is necessary to mention, that among the Anglo-Saxons it only signified a boy, afterwards a servant who was not a slave, and finally, a military attendant. In this last capacity the *cnihts* were distinguished for their fidelity and devotedness, as was manifested by an instance that occurred during the period of the Heptarchy. When Cynewulf, King of Mercia, was about to be assassinated, his military attendants were offered immunity if they ceased to resist; but they scorned the bribe, and died to a man in the hopeless defence of their master. When Cynewulf, his murderer, a few hours after, was attacked by a greatly superior force, who sought to revenge their sovereign's death, his *cnihts*, who might have escaped, rallied in his defence, and fell one by one before he could be reached.

Before turning our attention to the social and domestic life of the Anglo-Saxons, and the homes they inhabited, it is necessary to advert to the condition of their ecclesiastical and public architecture. When Christianity was established in the seventh century in England, the first churches partook of the rude simplicity of the period, being constructed only of timber and roofed with thatch, as in the instances of Lindesfarne and York, while nothing but the altar was of stone. Of this primitive kind of edifice, the church at Greenstead is believed to be an ex-



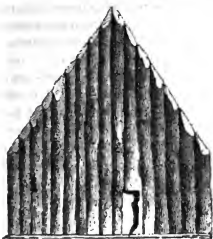
SOUTH VIEW OF GREENSTEAD CHURCH, ESSEX.—DRAWN 1748.

isting specimen. According to ancient legends, this simple structure was erected to serve as a

² Strutt.—It is to the various works of this indefatigable antiquarian that we are mainly indebted for our knowledge of the condition, costume, and manners of the Anglo-Saxons. This intimation will make it the less necessary to refer to his name as our authority in the following pages.

¹ Sharon Turner's *History of the Anglo-Saxons*.

shrine for the body of St. Edmund, A.D. 1010. The nave is entirely composed of the trunks of



WEST END OF GREENSTEAD CHURCH, ESSEX.

large oaks, split and roughly hewed on both sides; they are set upright, and close to each other, being let into a sill at the bottom, and a plate at the top, where they are fastened with wooden pins. This was the whole of the original fabric, which still remains entire, although much decayed by time. It is twenty-nine feet nine inches long, fourteen feet wide, and five feet six inches high on the side which supported the primitive roof. The addition at the east end is of Anglo-Norman architecture, and forms a further evidence of the antiquity of this timber edifice.

In the seventh century, churches in England began to be built of stone; and of this early ecclesiastical masonry specimens are still to be found in the remains of the monasteries erected by Benedict Biscop, at Wearmouth, A.D. 674, and at Jarrow, A.D. 684. Those in the former place consist of a banded cylindrical column that has be-



COLUMN IN MONKWEAR-
MOUTH CHURCH.



CARVED FRAGMENT, Monkwearmouth Church.

longed to a small window, and of very rude design, but which corresponds precisely with some columns delineated in Anglo-Saxon illumina-

tions; and another fragment, supposed to have belonged to the same edifice, being part of a string course, on which are rude carvings of animals, &c. The architectural zeal of Biscop was manifested not only by the sacred edifices he erected, but his diligence in bringing foreign artisans into England; but amidst the growing improvement, it is evident that the architectural styles both of the Saxons and the Normans were only imitations of the Romanesque style of Italy, and that the chief difference lay in the degree of ability in imitating a debased original.

The towers of Earls-Barton Church in Northamptonshire, and of Sompoting Church in Sussex

—as structures admitted to belong to the Anglo-Saxon period—present a remarkable feature in the peculiar mode of their construction, being built rather in the manner of timbered edifices than of those raised in masonry. "Beyond the face of the walls long thin stones project, placed vertically at nearly equal distances, which continue from one horizontal course or story to another, and in the spaces between are semicircular and diagonal pieces, which give



TOWER OF SOMPTING CHURCH,
SUSSEX.

it a great similarity to wood quartering. The quoins are of the description of masonry which is always identified with the Anglo-Saxon style, and called long and short work, from their being arranged with stones of

equal size, placed alternately in a vertical and horizontal position upon each other, thus bearing resemblance to debased rustic work. The walls of the tower of St. Peter's Church, Barton-upon-Humber, are built in a similar manner to those just described, of rubble stone and grout, interspersed with a sort of framework of projecting freestone in compartments, and incasing the doors and windows; the openings of the windows in the upper story are covered by two stones, inclining together,



WINDOW, Barnack Church,
Northamptonshire.

without any curvature."¹ This peculiarity in the Anglo-Saxon bell towers is not recognized in the Norman architecture, nor in any other, except in some of the numerous tombs of Asia Minor; and it may be presumed to have originated in the transition from the practice of executing edifices composed of timber, to that of working in stone. The heads of windows and doors in Anglo-Saxon architecture are triangular or semicircular; the former shape seems to have been copied from the



DOORWAY OF THE TOWER OF EARLS-BARTON CHURCH.

debased Roman form which is to be seen on sarcophagi in the catacombs of Rome. "The extreme of the triangle rests upon a plain abacus, the impost in some cases projecting from the wall."² The semicircular arch is the most frequent, the earliest of which were constructed of large tiles, probably borrowed from the debris of Roman edifices. These tiles were placed on end, and the spaces between, which are nearly equal in width, filled in with rubble-work; the jambs or imposts of the arches were generally of stone, as well as the walls, in which were sometimes laid courses of tile, either in horizontal layers, or in the diagonal manner called herring-



BALUSTER WINDOW, Monkwearmouth Church, Durham.

bone, being evidently an imitation of the Romano-British structures. A massive but rude imitation of the Roman models before them seems to have characterized the works of the Saxon architects. Their mouldings were few and simple, consisting of a square-faced projection, with a chamfer or splay on the upper or lower edge. Another feature in the Anglo-Saxon bell towers is to be remarked in the rude columns which divide the openings

of the windows, and form a kind of balustrade, frequently represented in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. These appear in the tower of Earls-Barton, Jarrow, Monkwearmouth, and other churches. Of the genius of Anglo-Saxon sculpture we have a few examples, chiefly consisting of crosses and fonts, in which the human figure and animals are sometimes rudely carved, but the adornments of interlaced knot-work and foliage display some ingenuity of design and execution, as in the font of Bridekirk, Cumberland, on which is a Saxon inscription, evidently part of the original design.



FONT IN BRIDEKIRK CHURCH, Cumberland.

Of the domestic architecture of the Anglo-Saxons, all we can learn is only to be gathered from a few scattered hints, which show that the houses of our Saxon ancestors were piles constructed without art, or mere imitations of the Roman edifices which existed among them. Such is the testimony of William of Malmesbury,³ who contrasts the low and mean dwellings of the people with those stately edifices which the Normans afterwards introduced. That such was the condition even of the palaces of kings at the introduction of Christianity, is apparent from the speech of the venerable thegn to Edwin, King of Northumbria, when the question of adopting the new faith was discussed. He compared the state of man to the entrance and departure of a swallow; and from the whole picture, we see nothing better than the king and his nobles seated round a fire in the midst of the apartment, from which the smoke was allowed to escape as it best might, while the whole building was so open, that, even in the winter storm, a bird could enter and depart at pleasure. When Alfred had settled the Danelagh, and commenced a life of study in earnest, we also find that he was obliged to invent a lantern, to guard his candles from being blown out by the winds that swept through his apartment. As often happens, however, all this squalor and discomfort was contrasted with the occasional richness of the furniture; and

¹ Talbot Bury, *Rudimentary Architecture*.

² *Ibid.*

³ This historian, who wrote after the Norman conquest, abounds with incidental notices of the manners and customs of the Anglo-Saxons prior to that event.

the walls within, notwithstanding their apertures, and the dust with which they were begrimed, were hung with rich tapestry. These hangings are frequently mentioned in the inventories of the day; and in the houses of the wealthy and noble they were generally of silk, sometimes adorned with rich needle-work of gold, representing birds and other animals. One of these, mentioned by Ingulphus,¹ which was made in the ninth century, represented the destruction of Troy; and another, wrought by Edelfleda, for the church of Ely, was embroidered with the actions of her husband Brithnod, Duke of Northumberland, in needle-work of gold. The chairs, benches, and stools, were sometimes covered with the same kind of tapestry, and the wood-work ornamented with carved likenesses of the heads and legs of animals. The tables also were rich, being sometimes described as made of silver, and even of gold,² while the same costly materials were abundantly used in the manufacture of drinking-cups, and the furniture of a banquet. In these consisted the chief wealth of their owners, and they were at any time convertible into money. Besides the above articles, a silver mirror is mentioned in Dugdale's *Monasticon* as an accompaniment of the toilet, and silver candelabra and cressets occur in the notices of the period. To these may be added the indispensable convenience of a hand-bell, with which the lord or lady

erected a monastery at Wearmouth, A.D. 674, introduced workers in glass into England, who not only glazed the windows of his edifices, but also



GLASS VESSELS, found in Saxon graves.—1 and 4, found at Culdisou, Oxon; 2 and 3, from a cemetery in East Kent.—Akerman's *Pagani Saxondom*.



SAXON HAND-BELLS.—1, found at Little Wilbraham. Novillo's. Saxon Obsequial.—2, from Strutt.

summoned the attendants. As for cups and vessels of glass, these were rarely used in England before the period of the Norman conquest; and Bede mentions that the people were "ignorant and helpless in the art of glass-making." The same authority informs us that Benedict Biscop, who

made glass for lamps and other uses, and gave instruction in those manufactures to the English.⁴ When the hour of rest arrived, the tables of the hall were removed, and beds laid in their places, where those who had feasted during the day betook themselves to repose, each man with his weapons above his head. This, however, was during the earlier stage of the Saxon occupation of England; for afterwards, as appears by an illuminated MS., bedsteads, with a roof shaped like that of a house, and hung with curtains, were introduced; and in the Anglo-Saxon poem of *Sudith*, we read also of one being surrounded with the luxury of a "golden fly-net." As for the beds themselves, they were sacks stuffed with soft materials, furnished with pillows of straw, and the usual complement of blankets and sheets. These accounts, as will at once be seen, only apply to the houses of the noble and wealthy; what kind of habitations were used by the lower classes, and how they were furnished, the chroniclers of the period have not informed us.

¹ Secretary of William the Conqueror. This writer is also a valuable authority upon the condition of the Anglo-Saxons.

² Probably they were only overlaid or ornamented with these precious metals. In the same manner, Turgot informs us that Malcolm Canmore, King of Scotland, was served at table in vessels of gold and silver, and then adds, that at least they were over-gilt.

³ These vessels are of a fine material. No. 2 is of extremely delicate fabric, and of a rich brown tint. It is so exceedingly light, as scarcely to be felt in the hand. No. 3 is of very transparent light green glass; it holds exactly a pint. Drinking-glasses

distinguished by the same peculiarities have been found in the Frank cemeteries of France and Germany. The form of these glasses, not being adapted to set down until emptied, is conjectured to have originated the name of tumbler, given to modern drinking glasses.

⁴ Local tradition accounts for several outlandish names, such as Tyzack, Hensell, &c., still flourishing among the Tyne glass-works, by stating that Biscop's artificers planted themselves on the Tyne, and established the first English glass-works in that quarter, which continued to be carried on by their descendants for several centuries afterwards.

This mention of the Anglo-Saxon houses suggests the subject of in-door and domestic life; and here the department of cookery claims our first attention. But on this we must confess that our knowledge is extremely limited. The people,

colewort appears to have held the chief place. Bread was not so plentiful among the Saxons as animal food, and was therefore more sparingly used, and wheaten bread was a luxury confined to the tables of the rich.



SAXON BED.—Cotton MS. Claud. B. IV.

it is well known, were vigorous feeders; but before the arrival of the more refined Normans, it is probable that quantity rather than quality was the chief mark of their solicitude. The principal animal food used among them was pork; and the landholders kept such large herds of swine, that the swineherd was an important functionary among the rural offices of a farm establishment. This was the more natural, as swine could be easily maintained in the woods, which were of common access before the Norman game-laws were introduced; and fattened upon the fruit of the beech and oak, that required no cultivation. Mutton was not so abundantly used, as the Saxons appear to have valued the sheep more for its wool than its flesh; but beef, venison, and fowls were common articles of sustenance. In striking contrast to the Britons, however, the Anglo-Saxons were partial to a fish diet, and next to pork, eels appear to have been their principal articles of food. These were carefully fattened in eel-ponds and inclosures, and were so abundant, that they were sometimes paid by the thousand as rent. Besides eating every kind of fish used in the present day, we learn that the Saxons also ate the porpoise. The processes of cooking food among them were broiling, baking, and roasting, but chiefly boiling; and a drawing in one of the Saxon MSS. represents a caldron resting on a trivet, with the fire beneath, while the cook stands beside it with an iron flesh-fork, for the purpose of removing the meat when it is ready. In boiling meat they also seasoned it with various herbs, among which

From various pictures in the MSS. of this period, a pretty distinct idea can be formed of an Anglo-Saxon banquet. The table was commonly covered with a table-cloth, and abundantly provided with knives and spoons, but no forks; dishes of various shapes and sizes; loaves of bread, and services of soup and fish; and cups or drinking-horns, which were still more numerous than the dishes. Sometimes the table-cloth was so large as to cover the knees of the guests, and serve the purposes of a napkin. The roast meats were generally presented by servants on the spits to the company, and each man cut from the offered joint, with his

knife, the portion he required. One picture in the Cotton MS. represents the servants kneeling in the performance of this duty. It is pleasing to remark, also, that at these tables the women were seated on equal terms with the men, instead of being kept apart, or obliged to wait upon the other sex, as was generally the case in a rude state of society. In pledging each other with the cup at table, a



SAXON BANQUET.—Cotton MS. Tib. C. 7.

curious practice prevailed—by no means unnecessary in the revels of such a pugnacious people—which was also common at a comparatively late period in the Highlands of Scotland. This was, for the person pledged to hold up his knife or sword, in token that he would protect the drinker from assault or assassination while he was thus off his guard. This custom, we are informed by William of Malmesbury, originated in the treacherous murder of Edward the Martyr, who was stabbed in the back while drinking a cup of wine which his step-mother Elfrida had

offered him. When the meats were removed, and the guests were warmed with wassail, it was the custom, as we are informed by Bede, to bring in a harp, which was sent round the company, and each man was expected to play and sing in turn for the amusement of the rest. Thus it was even in Athens in the days of Themistocles and Pericles. But in spite of the charms of music and poetry, these Saxon feasting were so gross, and the drinking was so excessive, as frequently to be followed with fatal consequences: in this way Hardicanute, after a life of gluttony, died of an over-abundant dinner; and Edmund I. was assassinated at table, because his nobles and attendants were too drunk to defend him. This style of living, especially among the great, was at last so exaggerated, that at court four abundant meals were served up daily—a profusion which an historian of the twelfth century regretfully contrasts with the single daily dinner introduced by the Normans, as if the spirit of hospitality and social intercourse had been banished by the change.

As the Anglo-Saxons were still more notorious for their drinking than eating propensities, an account of their principal beverages demands full notice. And first in the list must be mentioned ale, which had been their favourite liquor before they left the shores of Germany. This we are informed by Tacitus, who describes the chief drink of the German tribes as a distillation from barley "corrupted into a likeness of wine." Besides ale, they used mead, which probably they had learned to make from the Britons, as this constituted for centuries afterwards the national beverage of the Welsh. The Saxons also knew the art of making cider, which they may have acquired after their settlement in England. Pigment and morat were in use among them, but probably more sparingly than the other liquors, on account of their superior richness and costliness, the former being a composition of wine, honey, and various spices, and the latter of honey diluted with the juice of mulberries. As wine was not a native produce, and imported at great expense, its use in England before the Conquest was limited to the higher classes. Of the immense spilt of these liquors at the great festivals, or even common revelries of the Anglo-Saxons, and the vociferous mirth and desperate excesses which they occasioned, the continued history of the people makes frequent mention; and the following extract, from a translation of the Saxon poem of *Judith*, was no doubt a faithful picture of the noble and even royal banquets of the author's own day:—

He laughed and shouted,
He roared and dined,
That the children of men might hear afar,
How the sturdy one
Stormed and clamoured,
Animated and elated with wine;
He admonished amply
Those sitting on the bench
That they should bear it well.
So was the wicked one all day,
The lord and his men,
Drunk with wine;
The stern dispenser of wealth;
Till that they swimming lay
Over drunk,
All his nobility
As they were death slain,
Their property poured about.
So commanded the lord of men
To fill to those sitting at the feast,
Till the dark night
Approached the children of men."

This national vice of inebriety, however it might be indulged uncensured among the worshippers of Thor and Woden, was too flagrant for the toleration of a Christian priesthood, and the statutes of the church were both frequent and severe against the prevailing tendency. That no one, also, might be ignorant of the mark at which he should stop short, the following specification of the crime was given in one of the canons: "This is drunkenness, when the state of the mind is changed, the tongue stammers, the eyes are disturbed, the head is giddy, the belly is swelled, and pain follows." But as such definitions are only found useful to those who do not need them, a more tangible corrective was devised by Edgar the Peaceable, at the suggestion, it is said, of St. Dunstan. As it was discovered that one great source of the excess arose from the practice of handing round a large vessel at the table, while each guest vied with the others in the amplitude of his draught, these vessels were ordered by royal statute to be made with knobs or pins of brass placed at regular distances, while each drinker was only to go from one mark to another. But it was easy to elude such a formal restriction; and the phrase, "He is in a merry pin," came to designate a person who had transgressed the graduated scale of temperance, or, in common parlance, "got more than enough." It is probable, also, that the penances imposed by the church on such transgressors were frequently commuted or overlooked, as the Anglo-Saxon clergy were too much addicted to the same excesses. This we learn from the decrees of different councils, in which the incentives to intemperance were strictly prohibited—gambling, dancing, and singing in the monasteries, "even to the very middle of the night;" while every priest was forbid to have harpers or any music, or to permit jokes or plays to be performed in his presence; and every monastery was debarred

" Then was Holofernes
Enchanted with the wine of men:
In the hall of the guests

from being a haunt of practisers of the sportive arts; that is—as the decree particularly indicates them—poets, harpers, musicians, and buffoons.

It is difficult to ascertain the national costume of the Saxons at the period of their arrival in England, and until the time of their conversion to Christianity. But that it largely partook of barbarism is testified by the fact that they sometimes tattooed their bodies, like the primitive Britons; and although this practice was condemned in the year 785, it was not wholly rooted out of England till after the Norman conquest. The church, also, that set itself against this practice of skin-engraving, as a relic of the former heathenism, was equally zealous against their earlier clothing, from the same cause, and endeavoured to have it wholly set aside. This is evident from the rebuke addressed to the people, who still adhered in whole or in part to the costume of their ancestors, by the council of Cealhythe, A.D. 787. "You put on," it said, "your garments in the manner of pagans, whom your fathers expelled from the world; an astonishing thing that you imitate those whose life you always hated." At this time, as we learn from Paulus Diaconus, the dress of the Christianized Anglo-Saxons was similar to that of the Lombards, of whom he says, "Their garments were loose and flowing, and chiefly made of linen, adorned with broad borders, woven or embroidered with various colours." Fortunately we are enabled, from the many illuminated MSS. of the eighth and ninth centuries, to specify the particular parts of this briefly described costume, and ascertain with distinctness how our ancestors were dressed in the days of Alfred, Canute, and William the Conqueror.

First of all, then, we should mention the shirt, which was made of linen, and was in general use among the Anglo-Saxons so early as the eighth century. Over this was a tunic of linen or woollen, which was worn by all classes, from the sovereign to the peasant. This garment—of fine or coarse texture according to the means of the wearer—descending no lower than the knee, appears to have formed the outer covering of the common people when employed in their usual avocations, and was probably the origin of the English smock-frock. It was open at the neck, and occasionally at the sides also, while the sleeves, which descended to the wrists, were either close and tight, or puckered into small folds. If ornamented, it was generally with needle-work of different colours, round the border and collars. This garment was usually girded round the waist with a sash or belt. Last in the article of a working man's costume was the shoe, which appears to have been in common use, even among those who otherwise went bare-legged.

These shoes, not only in material and colour, but also in form, resembled those of the present day, having an opening at the top to receive the foot, which opening was fastened by two *thwangs* or thongs. The usual covering for the head was a cap or cowl, shaped like a Phrygian bonnet. Thus attired, we can form a distinct idea of the appearance of the English peasantry of this period, while travelling on the highway or engaged in the labours of the field. To these we can add other articles of dress belonging to the better classes, but which were also probably used by the common people upon particular occasions. The first of these was a short cloak or mantle, thrown over the tunic, and fastened either across the breast or shoulder with a buckle. Next came a pair of drawers, which begin to make their appearance in the pictures of the ninth century.



ARMED MAN.—Benedictional of St. Ethelwold.

These were either of linen or woollen, and at first were so short that they were fastened above the knee; but in process of time they were elongated into trousers, or rather pantaloons, where drawers and stockings composed one piece of attire. In addition to this, the stocking was frequently bandaged from ankle to knee with strips of cloth or leather; and as the colour and arrangement of such strips gave ample scope to the love of finery and display, we can imagine that not a few Malvolios of the period were "cross-gartered most villainously." Sometimes, instead of this cross-gartering, a half-stocking or sock was worn over the drawers, supposed to have been made of woollen, and ornamented with fringes. In this progress of addition, and perhaps of improvement in the common national costume, we shall do well to take into account, first, the settlement

of the Danes in England, who were distinguished, even beyond the Saxons, for their love of finery



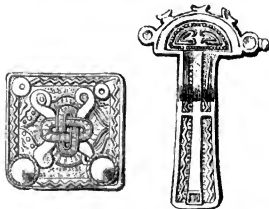
SAXON KING AND EOLDERMAN—Cotton MS. Cland. B. IV.

and display; and afterwards, the introduction of Norman fashions into the court of Edward the Confessor. These causes, it is probable, tended to make the dress of the people not only more complete, but also more elegant.

We now ascend to the costume of the rich and the noble, which mainly consisted of certain additional garments that were used on public or state occasions. The first of these was a long tunic, that descended below the knee; the second a kind of surcoat, that had short wide sleeves, and an aperture at the top to admit the head. These, which were frequently made of silk, after the eighth century had introduced the use of that luxury into the court of England, were also ornamented with rich embroideries of gold and silver, and silk thread of various colours, and lined with the fur of the beaver, sable, or fox. Such are the chief distinctions in costume of princes and nobles in the illuminated MSS. of the times. Except when the regal crown appears, no distinctive head-dress occurs, beyond the Phrygian shaped bonnet, which was worn by all classes, but in the case of the higher ranks, improved, as may be supposed, in texture, colour, and ornament. Indeed, in all these delineations we find nothing in the form of a hat, an article which was worn among the Britons, in shape similar to that of a

modern carman or coal-heaver, as may be seen in the coins of Cunobelinus. But the Saxons were independent of this head-covering, in consequence of the long hair they wore, and of which they were not a little proud. This was parted on either side from the middle of the head, and flowed, waving or in ringlets, to the shoulders; and such was either the time they consumed in dressing this ornament of nature, so prized by all the Teutonic tribes, or the superstitious veneration attached to it, that the English clergy inveighed against it with a vehemence equal to that of Prynné himself, when he so terribly denounced the "unloveliness of love-locks." But the long fair hair of our ancestors remained unshorn, and even unshaken, amidst the clerical tempest. The beard, however, was more mutable in its character; and the first change it underwent was by the shaving of the upper and lower lip, so that it became a continuation of the whiskers, terminating below the chin in two forked points. Afterwards, the beard was shaven away, and the mustaches left entire—the former being resigned wholly to the clergy—and hence the ridiculous error of the English spies whom Harold sent to the camp of William the Conqueror, when they mistook the Norman soldiers for priests, because they wore short hair, and shaved the upper lip.

In the articles of rich ornament, the Anglo-Saxons were not behind the other nations of



BUCKLES AND BROOCH, half the actual size.¹—Proceedings of the British Archaeol. Assoc.

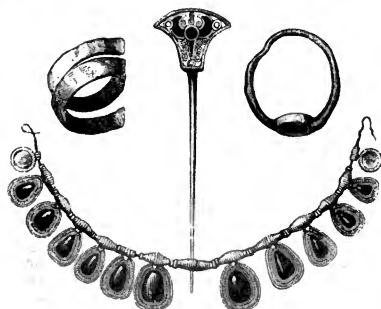
the period; but it speaks little for their gallantry that the men in this particular seem to have

¹ The buckles were discovered, together with spear heads, and an iron sword, at Bellevue, in the parish of Lymington, Kent; the

appropriated the costliest share to themselves. These were chiefly bracelets, brooches, and buckles made of gold, silver, and ivory; chains, armlets, and crosses, made of gold and silver, and set with jewels; sword-belts, mounted with the

ment, and as it was worn on the finger of the right hand next to the little one, this was called the "gold finger." This distinct badge of the wearer's rank could at all times be recognized, as gloves, which were a Norman innovation, were not worn by the Anglo-Saxons until the twelfth century.

In advancing to the more difficult subject of female costume, it may be premised that the dress of the Anglo-Saxon ladies was not only splendid and graceful, but in strict accordance with the most rigid modesty. The outer garment (*gunna* or gown) was a long tunic, the skirts of which nearly reached the ground, while the sleeves, that were loose and wide, reached only to the elbows. It was of various colours, but generally white, probably being made of linen, and was bound at the waist with a girdle. As this garment was a fair groundwork, upon which the wearer's taste and skill in embroidery could be exhibited to best advantage, we find it in the illuminated MSS. frequently adorned with needlework of variegated stripes, or small



NECKLACE AND PIN: 1 from a tumulus at Callege Lowe, Derbyshire; RINGS, from Little Wilbraham.

same rich accompaniments; and fillets or coronets by whose lustre an additional brightness was imparted to their long flowing hair. As might have been expected among a people essentially warlike, the hilts and sheaths of their weapons

sprigs, diverging gracefully from a centre. Over this, ladies of rank appear to have worn a cloak or mantle, probably for visiting or travelling. Under



SAXON SPINSTER, AND MALE COSTUME.—Cotton MS. Claud. B. 4.

were not neglected amidst the general adornment. The ring was an indispensable orna-

second of them has been gilt. The brooch was found near the turnpike road at Folkestone Hill, between Folkestone and Dover. The body is of bronze, gilt; the central band has been ornamented with slices of garnet, one of which remains at the bottom in a silver rim; the upper part has also been set with stones, or some kind of glass.

¹ The necklace is composed of gold drops, set with garnets, and is probably of late Roman workmanship. The jewelled hair-pin was found in the grave of a woman, at Wingham, Kent. The rings are of gold; one of them has been formed to encircle



HEADS, from the Saxon Cross of Rothbury, Northumberland.²—J. W. Archer, from his original drawing.

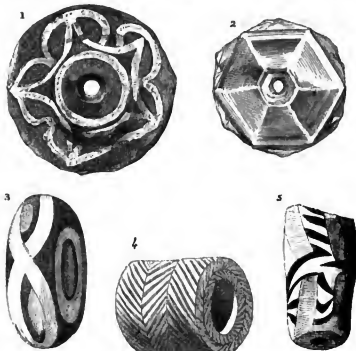
the gown was worn a more succinct tunic, perhaps the original kirtle, the sleeves of which descended

the finger in a series of elastic hoops.—Akerman's *Pagan Saxondom*.

² The top of this cross, which is greatly fractured, shows fragments of the crucified figure of our Saviour. The group of heads is from one side of the base, and is supposed to represent the spectators who assembled to witness the crucifixion. This illustration is given to show the manner of the Anglo-Saxon women in wearing the hair rolled back, or parted and confined by a fillet, with an ornament over the forehead, like that shown on some Roman coins.

to the wrist. The head-dress was a kerchief or veil of linen or silk, which, being fastened near the top of the forehead, or wrapped round the head and neck, enveloped the shoulders, and fell on either side as low as the knees. Shoes, of which the colour is always black, form part of a lady's dress in the Anglo-Saxon delineations; and although, from the length of her gowns, we are unable to perceive any token of stockings or socks, yet we may presume that such a useful article of dress, which was worn by the men, was common to the women also. Although the veil or head-rail, which we have already described, must have concealed the greater part of the head, yet we learn from Aldhelm, that the Anglo-Saxon ladies, at the close of the eighth century, were at least as careful of their hair as the other sex; and he describes them as wearing it artificially dressed, and delicately curled with irons. From the same authority we are informed of another practice by which the ladies endeavoured to heighten their beauty, that was scarcely so commendable—it was the painting of their cheeks with the red colour of stibium. This practice, how-

ever, among every race of mankind, from the naked savage girl, who plasters her face with chalk or ochre, to the fashionable court belle, who deli-



BEADS OF GLASS, AND OF COLOURED PASTE, found at Little Wiltbraham. 1, 2, half size; 3, 4, 5, full size.—Neville's Saxon Obsequies.



NECKLACE OR BRACELET, ¹ from a grave near Stamford; and BEADS, found at Syston Park, Lincolnshire.—British Museum.

ever, has prevailed not only in every stage of human existence, but at some time or other

¹ The necklace is composed of glass beads of various colours, sizes and degrees of opacity. Deep blue is the predominant tint, and this is relieved by a light green specimen, and by others nearly resembling, both in colour and substance, "Samian ware." The beads Nos. 1 and 2 are remarkable for their construction. No. 1 is of a pale brown, the knobs yellow, with a red band at the base. No. 2 was found in the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Fairford in Gloucestershire. It is banded with stripes of red, yellow, and green. The knobs are alternately red and yellow.

cately tints her cheek with more than the bloom of youth. In the enumeration of female orna-

naments, we find that they chiefly consisted of golden half-circles or fillets for the head, ear-rings, necklaces, beads, jewelled neck-crosses, rings, girdles adorned with gold or precious stones, a bulla, and a golden fly beautifully set with gems.

Having thus endeavoured to describe the broad outlines of an English home and its inmates, before they were modified or altered by the Norman conquest, we proceed to add a few minute particulars, by which the picture will become more complete. While the master and mistress were thus attired in full costume, the servants of the household are represented as waiting upon them bareheaded and barefooted. Within doors, the master generally wore his bonnet; but on leaving the house, his covering was laid aside, and he went forth bareheaded. A practice which he had perhaps derived from his warlike an-

cestors, made him always carry his weapons with him wherever he went; but even when England was most settled, there was too little cause to discontinue the habit. Thus equipped, with sword or spear, or both weapons together, he repaired to the social meeting or the market-place, ready equally to kiss his friend or chastise his enemy, as the case might require. Besides the possession of good dress and ornaments, and the full pleasures of the table, the Anglo-Saxon loved the en-

joyment of a warm bath; but to plunge into cold water was so utterly revolting to his feelings, that he only endured it at the command of the priest, and for the remission of his sins. In this way, he sauntered, ate, and chatted during the day, until the afternoon's banquet arrived, with its subsequent revelry, that was often kept up till midnight. It was through this luxurious disposition and love of enjoyment, that the church endeavoured to coerce him into full submission; and in the following extract from the laws of Edgar, we perceive how completely the penance was fitted for the man, however the man might be for the penance:—"He must lay aside his weapons, and travel barefoot a long way; nor be sheltered of a night. He must fast, and watch, and pray, both day and night, and willingly weary himself, and be so careless of his dress, that the iron should not come to his hair or nails. He must not enter a warm bath, nor a soft bed; nor eat flesh, nor anything by which he can be intoxicated; nor may he go inside of a church, but seek some holy place, and confess his guilt and pray for intercession. He must kiss no man, but be always grieving for his sins." In this way was the Saxon sinner assailed at every possible point of enjoyment: the whole world was tabooed against his entrance; and he lived "a man forbid," until the church was pleased to absolve him. Whether he contrived, in any of these cases, "to boil the pease," so that he might walk through his penance more lightly, we are not informed; but it may be suspected that such was the fact, from the dexterous plan which he adopted in what was to him the most odious of all penances—the penance of fasting. In this case, he hired a whole regiment of penitents to fast with him on bread, green herbs, and cold water; and as each man's share was of full account in the sum total, himself and 800 auxiliaries could thus get through a hungry seven years' penance in three days and a few odd hours. When such was the permission of the church, even in sins of greatest enormity, the peccadilloes of smaller account were liquidated in a way which the clergy must have found very profitable to their own private revenues. Thus, a man might redeem one day's fasting by the fine of a penny, or a whole year of such penance by the payment of thirty shillings, or the manumission of a slave worth that sum.

While the occupations of the men—such at least as were exempted from the necessity of toil—were of such an unintellectual and unprofitable character, those of the ladies appear to have been of a more industrious description. An idea of the multitude of their domestic occupations may be formed from the thronged households over which they presided, where almost every trade

and craft was comprised; and the huge daily flesh-feasts and carousals of their lords, for which they had to make due preparation. But besides these, there was the complicated needle-work of robes and hangings, that were so indispensable to every family above the rank of servitude, and the embroidery of clerical vestments, drapery for the church walls, and coverings for the altars, by which the ladies of the day manifested their religious zeal. No lady, however high in rank, was too proud for such occupations; and the hall of the palace, as well as the kitchen of the grange, was animated with the boom of the spinning-wheel and the click of the loom. We are informed incidentally in this way, by William of Malmesbury, that the four princesses, daughters of Edward the Elder, and sisters of Athelstane, were distinguished for their superior skill in spinning, weaving, and embroidery; and that Queen Editha, the wife of Edward the Confessor, was a complete mistress of the needle, and embroidered with her own hands the rich state robes of her husband.¹ Of this lady a touching delineation is given in the following simple statement of Ingulphus: "I have often seen her, while I was yet a boy, when my father was at the king's palace; and as I came from school, when I have met her, she would examine me in my learning; and from grammar, she would proceed to logic (which she also understood), concluding with me in the most subtle argument; then causing one of her attendant maids to present me with three or four pieces of money, I was dismissed, being sent to the larder, where I was sure to get some eatables." Although many ladies in England might be as skilful, industrious, and hospitable as Editha, perhaps few were equally capable of conducting a logical argument. It is gratifying to find, that while female industry was thus encouraged in England, female chastity was duly prized and carefully protected. This is evident from the severe laws enacted against those men who were guilty of outrage upon the female sex, not even excepting the female slaves, and where the punishment was proportioned to the rank of her against whom the offence was committed. The law was still more merciless against her who had willingly yielded to the crime.² Even the approaches also

¹ Hence the term "spinster," by which every unmarried woman still continues to be designated in England, upon a certain important occasion. Daughters were also termed children of the "spindle side," in the enumeration of a family.

² The adulteress was driven from place to place by crowds of her own sex, and mangled with their knives until she expired, or hanged herself to escape further torture. Her body was then burned, and her seducer put to death upon the spot. Such is the testimony of St. Boniface or Winfrith, in the early part of the eighth century. This, however, seems to have been a popular *crime*, or Lynoh-law process, rather than the result of the usual form of legislation.

to immodesty and unchastity in households where servants of both sexes were numerous, were strictly guarded, as may be learned from the following notice of Bede: "In the courts of princes there are certain men and women moving continually in more splendid vestments, and retaining a great familiarity with their lord and lady. There it is studiously provided that none of the women there who are in an enslaved state should remain with any stain of unchastity; but if by chance she should turn to the eyes of men with an immodest aspect, she is immediately chided with severity. There some are deputed to the interior, some to the exterior offices, all of whom carefully observe the duties committed to them, that they may claim nothing but what is so intrusted."

The other domestic usages of the Anglo-Saxons may be briefly dismissed. As each day is fraught with its own doubts and difficulties, and as the people in general were not particularly addicted to the toil of profound thinking, they were wont, like other nations of a similar character, to solve the question by lot. In this case a white sheet was thrown upon the ground, and slips from a fruit-bearing tree, marked on either side, were cast down at random upon it. The number of lucky or unlucky marks lying uppermost decided the matter at once, and saved all further speculation. Was it from this compendious way of solving a doubt that their descendants acquired such a wondrous aptitude for betting? But in matters of greater importance, where a heavy wrong had been inflicted, or grievous crime committed, while the culprit could not be directly convicted, the same chance-medley system was adopted, under a more solemn form. The accused was bound hand and foot, and cast into deep water, where, if he floated on the surface without stir or motion, he was held innocent, but if he struggled or sunk, he was accounted guilty. This was the trial reserved exclusively for witches and wizards at a later period. Another form of the water ordeal was for the accused to plunge his naked arm into boiling water, from which if he could withdraw it unscalded, he was absolved from suspicion. These forms of trial, which originally must have been the right of every noble householder to exercise among his own serfage, were reckoned a direct appeal to heaven, and as such, their superintendence was claimed by the clergy, at first, it may be, from motives of pure humanity, but which afterwards degenerated into a selfish spirit of rule and aggrandizement. In the same way they became the umpires of the ordeal by fire, the most solemn form of trial in Saxon legislation when sufficient proof of guilt was wanting. By this process the accused was obliged to walk blindfold and bare-

footed over nine red-hot ploughshares, placed at equal distances, or to carry a bar of red-hot mass of iron to a certain distance unhurt. But in this case the culprit was previously put under the charge of the clergy, who also heated the irons; and when his probation was over, his hands or feet were muffled up for three days, at the end of which he was to exhibit them in open court. Who does not at once see his numerous chances of escape, especially if he was rich and liberal? At all events, it is certain that several persons thus tried passed the ordeal unhurt—and it is equally certain that the same feat can be achieved by an ordinary juggler.

On the birth of a child, after the conversion of the people to Christianity, the first great subject of thought was the administration of baptism, and the imposition of a name. The sacred rite was performed by immersion; and as for the name, it was not a patronymic, but one expressive of some peculiar quality or circumstance, and generally a compound word. Thus, Egbert means the bright eye; Æthelwulf, the noble wolf; Ealdwulf, the old wolf; Eadward, the prosperous guardian; Æthelgifu, the noble gift. To these was frequently added a surname, expressive either of locality, occupation, or family, when the Christian name itself would not have been a sufficient designation. The period spent by the boy between infancy and manhood was called *cnighthade* (knighthood); but, as we have seen, this was a term indicative of servitude, rather than liberty and distinction. The paternal authority, however, was limited. Thus, if a boy of fifteen years old had an inclination to become a monk, he might pursue his purpose, notwithstanding his father's inclination to the contrary. After the age of fifteen, also, a father might not give his daughter in marriage against her will. What is commonly called the school-boy period of life, and remembered in after stages as the darkest or brightest of our existence, had scarcely a place in England during the Anglo-Saxon ascendancy, as it was confined only to the higher ranks, and, even in their case, only for a brief season. It was not wonderful, therefore, if so many of their kings and nobles were unable to read, or to sign their own names. When scholarship was required, the chief teachers were the ecclesiastics; and flogging appears to have been their principal incentive in accelerating the progress of their pupils. At the age of fourteen, the stripling, now a young man, threw aside his previous occupations, and commenced the study of arms, which was reckoned the proper profession of the high-born. How the rest of his life was usually spent we have already seen. When this was closed, and the only office that remained was to return dust to dust, the last duties were performed by the

survivors with that reverential care and affection which is common to every people, however diversified may be the mode. In that of the Anglo-Saxons we have abundant information, as it forms the frequent subject of their pictorial illustrations. From these we perceive that the body, after being washed in pure water, was wrapped in a shirt, and clothed according to the rank of the wearer; and if he had held a high office, it was often adorned with his robes of state, and the rich insignia he had worn when living. All this was finally enveloped in a winding-sheet, while the face was carefully left uncovered, that the friends of the deceased might view it to the last. When the period for burial had arrived, a *sudarium* or napkin was spread upon the face, the extremities of the winding-sheet were drawn over it, and the body consigned to the coffin, which at first was made of wood, but afterwards of stone, often richly carved, as is found on opening the graves of illustrious personages. The funeral procession, the chant of monks with which it was accompanied, the prayers over the closing grave, and the plentiful dole of bread and meat that was usually administered at the gate of the house of mourning, may be left to the ima-

gination of the reader. One funeral custom, however, we must not omit, as it originated during the Anglo-Saxon period. This was the ringing of the passing bell when the person's death occurred, that all who were within hearing might pray for the repose of his soul.

Of the sedentary sports and pastimes used by the Anglo-Saxons before the Norman conquest, we can say little, as scarcely any notice occurs of them among the writers of the day. We may presume, however, that they were, for the most part, such as were followed at a later period, which we must, therefore, reserve for a subsequent era of this history. With the stirring and active out-door amusements we are better acquainted, and can speak of them with greater certainty. We learn, from Asser's *Life of Alfred*, that the young noblemen of the day, after having acquired what was reckoned a sufficient knowledge of the Latin language, betook themselves to "the arts adapted to manly strength, such as hunting;" and we know that this last sport has been reckoned essential in every age in the training of young gentlemen for a military life. The animals chiefly hunted in England were the wolf, until it was finally extirpated—wild boars and



SAXON BOAR HUNT.—From Strutt.

deer, the hare, and sometimes the goat. These were either run down with horse and hound, amidst the joyous cheer of the horn, or driven into nets. As each proprietor was at full liberty to hunt the game upon his own ground, the extinction of this right by the Norman game-laws was considered by the Anglo-Saxons as one of the most oppressive results of the Conquest. Hawking was also a favourite sport among them, and was in such high account with the great Alfred, that, amidst his many important cares, he instructed his falconers in the proper training of hawks, and wrote a book on the subject. The falcons of England, however, were judged so inferior, that the best were brought from abroad, and purchased at high prices. After hawking came fowling, the sport of those who were not rich enough to keep falcons, but where variety

made amends for the want of splendour and bustle. In this case the birds of game were sometimes allured with decoys, sometimes trapped with snares and gins, and sometimes caught with bird-lime; but to bring them down upon the wing, the bow and arrow were used, as also the sling and stone. Two pictures occur in the Cotton MS. of fowling practised with these simple weapons, which were probably used also by the poorer classes in hunting. As horse-racing may be termed an English passion, it would have been strange if at least the germ of it had not been indicated among the earlier amusements of our Saxon ancestors. But that it was in usual practice among them, although in its simplest form, we can conclude from a passage in Bede, where he mentions incidentally, and as a thing of course, that when himself and his school-fellows were

riding together, they tried the mettle and speed of their horses in a race, as soon as they entered upon the open plain.

We have already spoken of the state of education in England at this period, and the unprofitable results with which it was followed. Was this, then, to be attributed to any inherent deficiency in the Anglo-Saxon intellect, or disinclination to the pursuit of knowledge, from the toil and difficulty with which it was attended? We scarcely think that any will venture to answer in the affirmative. The cause, perhaps, is to be found in the unsettled state of the people from the landing of Hengist and Horsa to that of William the Conqueror. Learning being a plant of slow growth, requires a long and peaceful interval; but the protracted struggle of the Saxons before their occupation of England was secured, then the wars of the Heptarchy, and, finally, the Danish invasions, allowed no such interval to occur. Still, however, their opportunities, such as they were, do not appear to have been wholly neglected; and, in common with the scholars of every country, English students of all ranks repaired to Ireland, at that period abounding in learned and liberal scholastic institutions, where they were received with

hospitable welcome, and gratuitously supplied with food, books, and instruction. Of this we are informed by Bede; while the high intellectual rank of the Irish schools, and the eagerness with which they were sought by our countrymen, is thus reluctantly attested by Aldhelm:—"Why should Ireland, whither troops of students are daily transported, boast of such unspeakable excellence, as if, in the rich soil of England, Greek and Roman masters were not to be had to unlock the treasures of Divine knowledge? Though Ireland, rich and blooming in scholars, is adorned, like the poles of the world, with innumerable bright stars, it is Britain that has her radiant sun, her sovereign-pontiff Theodore." This "radiant sun," who, as we have seen, was the Primate of England during the latter part of the seventh century, fully deserved the commendations bestowed on him, by the zeal with which he laboured to introduce learning into the country in the train of Christianity, and the successors whom his instructions had prepared or his example stimulated.

Of these learned Englishmen, Aldhelm himself was one. A cotemporary of Theodore, and originally the pupil of one of those monks whom the archbishop had brought with him from Italy,



CHURCH AND REMAINS OF THE MONASTERY AT JARROW.¹—From Sartoe's Durham.

his scholarship was matured and perfected by one of those Irish preceptors against whom he afterwards declaimed with such patriotic jea-

lousy. Although he was eminent, and deservedly so, among the writers of the day, yet his subjects were of a contracted and temporary character, that afforded little scope for the development of genius, as they consisted chiefly of laudations of virginity, both in prose and verse, and the right method of computing the period of Easter; while

¹ "—Almost at the very mouth of the Tyne," says Camden, "is to be seen Glirwy, now Jarrow, the native soil of the Venerable Bede, where also in ancient times flourished a little monastery. The foundation whereof, and the time of the foundation, this inscription sheweth, which is yet extant in the church wall"—

DEICATIO BASILICÆ
S PAVLI VIII KL MAII
ANNO XVI. ECFRIDI REG
CEOLFRIÐI ABB. FIVS DEMQ.
PUCLES DEO AVCTORE
CONDITORIS ANNO IIII.

Bede died and was buried in this monastery, but his remains were afterwards removed to Durham, and laid in the same coffin or chest with those of St. Cuthbert. Some remains of the original edifice may be observed in the church. Bede's Well, near the church, is still venerated; the bottom of it is covered with pins, from the custom observed by visitors of dropping a pin into the water. His chair is preserved in the church.

his writings, which were in Latin, were turgid, pedantic, and artificial. Eddius, surnamed Stephanus, who wrote a *Life of Bishop Wilfred* in Latin, and was the first who instructed the churches of Northumbria in the science of sacred music, was another literary English character of note. A third distinguished luminary among the learned men of the eighth century was Winfrith, better known as St. Boniface, a native of Devonshire, who finally became Archbishop of Mentz, and suffered martyrdom from the pagans of East Friesland, and whose letters, illustrative of the period in which he lived, have been published in the *Magna Bibliotheca Patrum*. One unlucky proof which he afforded of his orthodoxy and religious zeal, was to denounce the Irishman Virgilius, Bishop of Saltzburgh, as a heretic, for asserting the existence of the antipodes! But far more illustrious than any of these was Venerable Bede, whose name and writings are still as fresh in the present, as ever they were in past ages. He was born at Jarrow, in the county of Durham, somewhere about the years 672 and 677, and died in 735. His chief work was the *Ecclesiastical History of England*, and it is from this well-known production, devoted though it be to the affairs of the

church, that the best portion of our information on the civil affairs of the country is derived. As the greater part of his life was spent in a cloister, while his whole time was devoted to writing, he produced, besides his voluminous history, many other works, chiefly on theology and educational subjects, and a Martyrology. He was also the author of a volume on the metrical art, and another of hymns and epigrams. These works were written in Latin; but his last literary labour, upon which he was engaged when he died, was a translation of St. John's Gospel into his native tongue. The literary exertions of Alfred the Great, by which he sought to become the teacher as well as the liberator and lawgiver of his country, are too well known to require particular notice here. His various productions, both original and translated, which he executed in the midst of difficulties such as few sovereigns have been able to surmount, were as remarkable, and perhaps as beneficial, as his victories. It will be seen, however, that, at the best, the history of Anglo-Saxon literature forms a very scanty record. The genius of England, like its political constitution, required the labour of generations and the lapse of ages to bring it into full form and maturity.

PERIOD FROM THE NORMAN CONQUEST TO THE DEATH
OF KING JOHN.—150 YEARS.

FROM A.D. 1066—1216.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

England.	1153 MALCOLM IV.	France.	1086 VICTOR III.
	1165 WILLIAM.		1083 URBAN II.
1086 WILLIAM I.	1214 ALEXANDER II.	1060 PHILIP I.	1099 PASCAL II.
1087 WILLIAM II.		1109 LOUIS VI.	1118 CELASIUS II.
1100 HENRY I.	Ireland.	1137 LOUIS VII.	1119 CALIXTUS II.
1135 STEPHEN.	1064 TUBLOGH.	1180 PHILIP II.	1124 HONORIUS II.
1154 HENRY II.	1086 INTERREGNUM.		1130 INNOCENT II.
1189 RICHARD I.	1094 MURTAGH O'BRIEN in the South,	Germany	1143 CELESTINE II.
1199 JOHN.	... DONALD MACLACHLAN O'NEIL in the North.	1056 HENRY IV.	1144 LUCIUS II.
Scotland.	1119 DONALD MACLACHLAN O'NEIL.	1107 HENRY V.	1145 EUGENIUS III.
1057 MALCOLM III.	1126 INTERREGNUM.	1125 LOTHARE.	1153 ANASTASIUS IV.
1093 DONALD BANE.	1136 TURLUGH O'CONNOR the Great.	1139 CONRAD III.	1154 ADRIAN V.
1094 DUNCAN.	1152 FREDERICK I.	1152 FREDERICK I.	1159 ALEXANDER III.
1095 DONALD BANE (restored).	1151 HENRY VI.	1191 HENRY VI.	1181 LUCIUS III.
	1129 OTTO IV.	1209 OTTO IV.	1185 URBAN III.
1093 EDGAR.		Popas.	1187 GREGORY VIII.
1107 ALEXANDER I.	1156 MURTAGH MACLACHLAN O'NEIL.	1061 ALEXANDER II.	1188 CLEMENT II.
1124 DAVID I.	1168 RODERIC O'CONNOR.	1073 GREGORY VII.	1191 CELESTINE III.
			1193 INNOCENT III.

WILLIAM I., SURNAMED THE CONQUEROR.—ACCESSION, A.D. 1066—DEATH, A.D. 1087.

Battle Abbey founded—William's advance to London—Feeble resistance of the English—William crowned at Westminster—Riot at his coronation—He revisits Normandy—Revolt in England during his absence—His merciless proceedings to complete the conquest at his return—Anarchy and sufferings thereby occasioned—William's military operations in the north of England—Desertion among his nobles—Revolt in Northumberland—William suppresses it—Confiscations and oppressions which follow—Resistance of Hereward, Lord of Brunn, in Lincolnshire—Horward's Camp of Refuge at Ely—His successes over the Normans—He is obliged to capitulate—Completion of the conquest—William departs to the Continent—Revolt of his nobles during his absence—They are defeated—Execution of Waltheof, Earl of Northumberland—Rebellion of William's family against him—Demand of Robert, his eldest son, for a separate government—He makes war upon his father—Combat between William and his son under the walls of Gerberoy—The Northumbrians again in rebellion—They kill their Norman governor and his garrison—Their suppression by Odo, brother of William—Odo intrigues for the popedom—He is arrested and imprisoned by William—Tyrannical formation of the New Forest—William's inordinate love of hunting—He repairs with an army to France—His death occasioned by an accident—Ingenuitudo of his sons and courtiers—Inglorious funeral of William the Conqueror.

THE first feelings of the Normans after the battle of Hastings seem to have been sensations of triumph and joy, amounting almost to a delirium. They are represented by a contemporary¹ as making their horses to prance and bound over the thickly strewn bodies of the Anglo-Saxons; after which they proceeded to rifle them, and despoil them of their clothes. By William's orders the space was cleared round

the pope's standard, which he had set up; and there his tent was pitched, and he feasted with his followers amongst the dead. The critical circumstances in which he had so recently been placed, and the difficulties which still lay before him, disposed the mind of the Conqueror to serious thoughts. Not less, perhaps, in gratitude for the past than in the hope that such a work would procure him heavenly favour for the future, he solemnly vowed that he would erect a splendid abbey on the scene of this his first victory; and

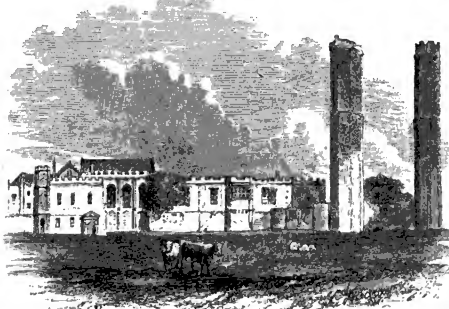
¹ William of Poitiers. This writer asserts, that although Harold's mother offered its weight in gold for the dead body of

her son, the stern victor was deaf to her request, professing indignation at the proposal that he should enjoy the rites of sepul-

when, in process of time, this vow was accomplished, the high altar of the abbey church stood on the very spot where the standard of Harold had been planted and thrown down. The exte-

men of mark who came with the Conqueror and survived the battle of Hastings.²

The most sanguine of the Normans, in common with the most despondent among the English, expected that, immediately after the battle of Hastings, the Conqueror would march straight to London, and make himself master of that capital. But the first move was a retrograde one; nor did William establish himself in the capital until more than two months had passed. While the army of Harold kept the field at Senlac or Battle, several new ships, with reinforcements, came over from Normandy to join William. Mistaking the proper place for landing, the commanders of these vessels put in to Romney, where they were at once assaulted and beaten by the people of



BATTLE ABBEY.—From a drawing in the King's Library, British Museum.

rior walls embraced the whole of the hill, the centre of their position, which the bravest of the English had covered with their bodies, and all the surrounding country where the scenes of the combat had passed, became the property of the holy house, which was called, in the Norman or French language, *l'Abbaye de la Bataille*, and was dedicated to St. Martin, the patron of the soldiers of Gaul. Monks, invited from the great convent of Marmontier, near Tours, took up their residence in the new edifice. They were well endowed with the property of the English who had died in the battle, and prayed alike for the repose of the souls of those victims, and for the prosperity and long life of the Normans who had killed them.³ In the archives of the house was deposited a long roll, on which were inscribed the names of the nobles and gen-

tle of the coast. William learned this unpleasant news the day after his victory, and to save the other recruits, whom he still expected, from a similar disaster, he resolved, before proceeding farther, to make himself master of all the south-eastern coast. He turned back, therefore, from Battle to Hastings, at which latter place he stayed some days, awaiting his transports from beyond sea, and hoping, it is said, that his presence would induce the population of those parts to make voluntary submission. At length, seeing that no one came to ask for peace, William resumed his march with the remnant of his army, and the fresh troops which had arrived in the interval from Normandy. He kept close to the sea-coast, marching from south to north, and spreading devastation on his passage. He took a savage vengeance at Romney for the reverse his

ture for whose excessive cupidity so many men lay unburied. Harold, it is added, was buried on the beach. Most of the English historians, however, say that the body was given to his mother without ransom, and interred by her in Waltham Abbey, which had been founded by Harold before he was king. The Cottonian MS., Julius D. 6, which appears to have been written in Waltham Abbey about a century after the event, relates that two monks, who were allowed by William to search for the body, were unable to distinguish it among the heaps of slain, until they sent for Harold's mistress, Editha, "the Swan-necked," whose eye of affection was not to be eluded or deceived. The improbable story told by Giraldus Cambrensis (and in more detail in the Harleian MS. 3776) about Harold, after receiving his wound, having escaped from the battle, and living for some years as an anchorite in a cell near St. John's Church, in Chester, though a pretty enough romance, is palpably unconvincing of notice in an historical point of view.

¹ The building of Battle Abbey was commenced by the Conqueror in A.D. 1067, the year following that on which the battle of Hastings was fought. In the reign of Edward III. the abbey

was fortified by permission of the king. The circuit of the ruins is computed at about a mile. Gilpin considers that the prevailing style indicates the rebuilding of the greater part of the edifice in the time of the later Henries. The remains consist of three sides of a quadrangle, the fourth having been removed. The grand entrance was a large square building, embattled, with an octagon tower at each corner. The abbey church is supplanted by the edifice of Sir Thomas Webster. The refectory lies in utter ruin, and the crypts have been converted into a stable. Many fine minor vestiges exist in different parts of the ruin.

² Thierry, *Histoire de la Conquête*.

³ The original roll of Battle Abbey is lost; but some copies have been preserved, from which the document has been repeatedly printed. It is believed, however, that these pretended transcripts are far from faithful, and that, besides other corruptions, many names have been inserted in later times by the monks of the abbey, to gratify families or individuals that wished to make it appear they were sprung from followers of the Conqueror. To date from the Conquest, as is well known, is still the ambition of noble English families.

troops had sustained there, by massacring the inhabitants and burning their houses. From Romney he advanced to Dover, the strongest place on the coast—"the lock and key of all England," as Holinshed calls it. With little or no opposition, he burst into the town, which his troops set fire to; and the strong castle, which the son of Godwin had put into an excellent state of defence, was so speedily surrendered to him, that a suspicion of treachery rests on the Saxon commander. The capture of this fortress was most opportune and important, for a dreadful dysentery had broken out in the Norman army, and a safe receptacle for the sick had become indispensable. Dover Castle also commanded the best landing-place for troops from the Continent, and William was not yet so sure of his game as not to look anxiously for a place of retreat on the coast, in case of meeting with reverses in the interior. He spent eight or nine days in strengthening the castle, and repairing some of the damage done to the town by his lawless soldiery. Meanwhile, in order to conciliate the inhabitants, he made them some compensation for the losses and injuries they had sustained; and in the same interval he received more recruits from Normandy.

When the Conqueror at last moved from Dover, he ceased to creep cautiously round the coast, but, penetrating into Kent, marched direct to London. A confused story is told by some of our early historians about a popular resistance, organized by Archbishop Stigand and the abbot Egelnoth, in which the men of Kent, advancing like the army of Macduff and Siward against Macbeth, under the cover of cut-down trees and boughs, disputed the passage of the Normans, and, with arms in their hands, exacted from them terms most favourable to themselves and the part of England they occupied. But the plain truth seems to be that, overawed by the recent catastrophe of Hastings, and the presence of a compact and numerous army, the inhabitants of Kent made no resistance, and meeting William with offers of submission, placed hostages in his hands, and so obtained mild treatment.

During these calamities the Saxon Witan had assembled in London, to deliberate and provide for the future; but evidently, as far as the lay portion of the meeting was concerned, with no intention of submitting to the Conqueror. The first care that occupied their thoughts was to elect a successor to the throne. Either of Harold's brave brothers, at such a crisis, when valour and military skill were the qualities most wanted, might probably have commanded a majority of suffrages; but they had both fought their last fight; and, owing to their youth, their inexperience, their want of popularity, or to some other circumstance, the two sons of Harold seem never

to have been thought of. Many voices would have supported Morcar or Edwin, the powerful brothers-in-law of Harold, who had already an almost sovereign authority in Northumbria and Mercia; but the citizens of London, and the men of the south of England generally, preferred young Edgar Atheling, the grand-son of Edmund Ironside, who had been previously set aside on account of his little worth: and when Stigand the primate, and Aldred the Archbishop of York, threw their weight into this scale, it outweighed the others, and Edgar was proclaimed king. It should seem, however, that even at this stage, many of the bishops and dignified clergymen, who were even then Frenchmen or Normans, raised their voice in favour of William, or let fall hints that were all meant to favour his pretensions. The pope's bull and banner could not be without their effect, and, motives of interest and policy apart, some of these ecclesiastics may have conscientiously believed they were performing their duty in promoting the cause of the elect of Rome. Others there were who were notoriously bought over, either by money paid beforehand, or by promises of future largesse.

The party that ultimately prevailed in the Witan did not carry their point until much precious time had been consumed; nor could the blood of Cerdic, Alfred, and Edmund, make the king of their choice that rallying point which conflicting factions required, or a hero capable of facing a victorious invader, advancing at the head of a more powerful army than England could hope to raise for some time. In fact, Edgar was a mere cipher—a boy incapable of government as of war—with nothing popular about him except his descent. The primate Stigand took his place at the council board, and the military command was given to Earls Edwin and Morcar. A very few acts of legal authority had been performed in the name of Edgar, when William of Normandy appeared before the southern suburb of London. If the Normans had expected to take the capital by a *coup-de-main*, and at once, they were disappointed; the Londoners were very warlike; and the population of the city, great even in those days, was much increased by the presence of the thanes and chiefs of all the neighbouring counties, who had come in to attend the Witan, and had brought their servants and followers with them. After making a successful charge, with 600 of his best horse, against some citizens who were gathered on that side of the river, William set fire to Southwark, and marched away from London, with the determination of ravaging the country around it, destroying the property of the thanes who had assembled at the Witan, and, by interrupting all communication, induce the well-defended capital to surrender.

Detachments of his army were soon spread over a wide tract; and in burning towns and villages, in the massacre of men armed and men unarmed, and in the violation of helpless females, the people of Surrey, Sussex, Hampshire, and Berkshire, were made to feel the full signification of a Norman conquest. William crossed the Thames at Wallingford, near to which place he established an intrenched camp, where a division of his army was left, in order to cut off any succours that might be sent towards London from the west. This done, he proceeded across Buckinghamshire into Hertfordshire, "slaying the people," till he came to Berkhamstead, where he took up a position, in order to interrupt all communication with London from the north. The capital, indeed, at this time seems to have been girded round by the enemy, and afflicted by the prospect of absolute famine. Nor were there wanting other causes of discouragement. The Earls Edwin and Morcar showed little zeal in the command of a weak, and, as yet, unorganized army, and soon withdrew towards the Humber, taking with them all the soldiers of Northumbria and Mercia, who constituted the best part of King Edgar's forces, but who looked to the earls much more than to the king. These two sons of Alfgar probably hoped to be able to maintain themselves in independence in the north, where, in reality, they at a later period renewed, and greatly prolonged the contest with the Normans. Their departure had a baneful effect in London; and while the spirit of the citizens waxed fainter and fainter, the partizans and intriguers for William, encouraged at every move by the prevalent faction among the clergy, raised their hopes and extended their exertions.

After some time, however, Earls Morcar and Edwin appear to have returned to the capital. On many an intermediate step the chroniclers are provokingly silent: but at last it was determined that a submissive deputation should be sent from London to Berkhamstead; and King Edgar himself, the primate Stigand, Alfred, Archbishop of York, Wolfstan, Bishop of Worcester, with other prelates and lay chiefs, among whom the Saxon chronicler expressly names the two Earls of Northumbria and Mercia, and many of the principal citizens, repaired to William, who received them with an outward show of moderation and kindness. It is related that when the man whom he most hated, as the friend of Harold and the energetic enemy of the Normans—that when Stigand came into his presence, he saluted him with the endearing epithets of father and bishop. The puppet-king Edgar made a verbal renunciation of the throne, and the rest swore allegiance to the Conqueror—the bishops swearing for the whole body of the clergy, the

chiefs for the nobility, and the citizens for the good city of London.¹ During a part of this singular audience, William pretended to have doubts and misgivings as to the propriety of his ascending the vacant throne; but these hypocritical expressions were drowned in the loud acclamations of his Norman barons, who felt that the crown of England was on the point of their swords. Having taken oaths of fidelity and peace, the Saxon deputies left hostages with the Norman, who, on his side, promised to be mild and merciful to all men. On the following morning the foreigners began their march towards London, plundering, murdering, and burning, just as before.² They took their way through St. Alban's. Even now William did not enter London in person, but, sending on part of his army to build a fortress for his reception, he encamped with the rest at some distance from the city. This fortress, which was built on the site, and probably included part of a Roman castle, grew gradually, in after times, into the Tower of London. Some accounts state that William's vanguard was hostily engaged by the citizens, but according to others, they met with no resistance, and were permitted to raise their fortifications without any serious molestation.

As soon as the Normans had finished his stronghold, William took possession of it, and then they fixed his coronation for a few days after. The Conqueror is said to have objected to the performance of this ceremony while so large a part of the island was independent of his authority; and he certainly hoped, by delaying it, to obtain a more formal consent from the English nation, or something like a Saxon election, which would be a better title in the eyes of the people than the right of conquest. Little, however, was gained by delay; and the coronation, which, for the sake of greater solemnity, took place on Christmas Day, was accompanied by accidents and circumstances highly irritating to the people. It is stated, on one side, that William invited the primate Stigand to perform the rites, and that Stigand refused to crown a man "covered with the blood of men, and the invader of others' rights."³ Although there might have been some policy in making this great champion of the Saxon cause hallow the Conqueror, it does not appear probable that William would ask this service of one who was lying under the severe displeasure of Rome; and it is said, on the other side, that

¹ "Bagon tha for noode," says the *Saxon Chronicle*, "tha maest was to hearn godun; and thaet was mien unrad thaet man aeor swa ne dyle tha hit god betan nolde for arum synnum." (They submitted them for need, when the most harm was done. It was very ill-advised that they did not so before, seeing that God would not better things for our sins.—Ingram's Translation.)

² Roger Hoveden; *Chron. Sax.*

³ William of Newbury.

he refused to be consecrated by Stigand, and conferred that honour on Aldred, Archbishop of York, whom some of the chroniclers describe as a wise and prudent man, who understood the expediency of accommodating himself to circumstances. The new abbey of Westminster, the last work of Edward the Confessor, was chosen as the place for the coronation of our first Norman king. The suburbs, the streets of London, and all the approaches to the abbey were lined with double rows of soldiers, horse and foot. The Conqueror rode through the ranks, and entered the abbey church, attended by 260 of his warlike chiefs, by many priests and monks, and a considerable number of English, who had been gained over to act a part in the pageantry. At the opening of the ceremony one of William's prelates, Geoffrey, the Bishop of Coutances, asked the Normans, in the French language, if they were of opinion that their chief should take the title of King of England? and then the Archbishop of York asked the English if they would have William the Norman for their king? The reply on either side was given by acclamation in the affirmative, and the shouts and cheers thus raised were so loud that they startled the foreign cavalry stationed round the abbey. The troops took the confused noise for a cry of alarm raised by their friends, and, as they had received orders to be on the alert, and ready to act in case of any seditious movement, they rushed to the English houses nearest the abbey, and set fire to them all. A few, thinking to succour their betrayed duke and the nobles they served, ran to the church, where, at sight of their naked swords, and the smoke and flames that were rising, the tumult soon became as great as that without its walls. The Normans fancied the whole population of London and its neighbourhood had risen against them; the English imagined that they had been duped by a vain show, and drawn together, unarmed and defenceless, that they might be massacred. Both parties ran out of the abbey, and the ceremony was interrupted, though William, left almost alone in the church, or with none but the Archbishop Aldred and some terrified priests of both nations near him at the altar, decidedly refused to postpone the celebration. The service was therefore completed amidst these bad auguries, but in the utmost hurry and confusion, and the Conqueror took the usual coronation oath of the Anglo-Saxon kings, making, as an addition of his own, the solemn promise that he would treat the English people as well as the best of their kings had done.¹ Meanwhile the commotion without continued, and it is not mentioned at what hour of the day or night the conflagra-

tion ended. The English, who had been at the abbey, ran to extinguish the fire—the Normans, it is said, to plunder, and otherwise profit by the disorder; but it appears that some of the latter exerted themselves to stop the progress of the flames, and to put an end to a riot peculiarly unpalatable to their master, whose anxious wish was certainly, at that time, to conciliate the two nations.

Soon after his coronation, William withdrew from London to Barking, where he established a court, which gradually attracted many of the nobles of the south of England. Edric, surnamed the Forester, Coxo, a warrior of high repute, and others are named; and, as William extended his authority, even the thanes and the great earls from the north, where the force of his arms was not yet felt, repaired to do him homage. In return William granted them the confirmation of their estates and honours, which he had not at present the power to seize or invade. It appears that the Conqueror's first seizures and confiscations, after the crown lands, were the domains of Harold, and his brothers Gurth and Leofwin, and the lands and property of such of the English chiefs as were either very weak, or unpopular, or indifferent to the nation.

Edgar Atheling was an inmate of the new court, and William, knowing he was cherished by many of the English on account of his descent, pretended to treat him with great respect, and left him the earldom of Oxford, which Harold had conferred on him when he ascended the throne in his stead. From Barking the new king made a progress through the territory, that was rather militarily occupied than securely conquered, displaying as he went as much royal pomp, and treating the English with as much courtesy and consideration, as he could. The extent of this territory cannot be exactly determined, but it appears the Conqueror had not yet advanced, in the north-east beyond the confines of Norfolk, nor in the south-west beyond Dorsetshire. Both on the eastern and western coast, and in the midland counties, the invasion was gradual and slow, and, as yet, the city of Oxford had certainly not fallen.

All William's measures at this time were mild and conciliating; he respected the old Anglo-Saxon laws; he established good courts of justice, encouraged agriculture and commerce, and (at least nominally) enlarged the privileges of London and some other towns. At the same time, however, the country he held was bristled with castles and towers; and additional fortresses erected in and around the capital, showed his distrust of what was termed, in the language of the Normans, an over-numerous and too proud population. Next to London, the city of Winchester, which had been a favourite residence of the

¹ Guil. Pictav.: Orderic. Vital.: Chron. Sax.

Anglo-Saxon kings, excited most suspicion; "for," says William of Poitiers, the Conqueror's chaplain, "it is a noble and powerful city, inhabited by a race of men rich, fearless, and perfidious." A castle was therefore erected at Winchester, and a strong Norman garrison put into it. Such operations could not be otherwise than distasteful to the English, who were further irritated by seeing proud foreign lords fixed among them, and married to the widows and heiresses of their old lords, who had fallen at Hastings. The rapacious followers of William were hard to satisfy; and, to secure their attachment, he was frequently obliged to go beyond those bounds of moderation he was inclined to set for himself. A most numerous troop of priests and monks had come over from the Continent, and their avidity was scarcely inferior to that of the barons and knights. Nearly every one of them wanted a church, a rich abbey, or some higher promotion. To pass over other wrongs and provocations inseparable from foreign conquest, the people presently saw the coming on of that sad state of things which they soon after suffered, "when England became the habitation of new strangers, in such wise, that there was neither governor, bishop, nor abbot remaining therein of the English nation." It was, however, to these foreign churchmen that our country was chiefly indebted for whatever intellectual improvement or civilization was imported at the Conquest.

In the month of March, 1067, the English in the north and west being yet untouched, and their countrymen in the south beginning to harbour violent feelings—while the Normans were anxious to provoke an insurrection, and prosecute the war in the land where so many broad acres remained to reward the victors—William resolved to pass over into Normandy. Had he determined to vex and rouse the English, he could scarcely have left a more fitting instrument than his half-brother, Odo, to whom he confided the royal power during his absence, associating with him as counsellors of state, William Fitz-Osborn, Hugo of Grantmesnil, Hugo de Montfort, Walter Gifford, and William de Garenne. On the other hand, as if to make an English revolt hopeless, should it be attempted, he carried in his train Stigand, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the abbot Egelnoth, Edgar Atheling, Edwin, Earl of Mercia, Morcar, Earl of Northumbria, Waltheof, Earl of Northampton and Huntingdon, and many others of high nobility. The place chosen for his embarkation was Pevensey, near Hastings; and when he had made a liberal distribution of money and presents to a part of his army which had followed him to the beach, he set sail with a fair

wind for Normandy, just six months after his landing in England. According to every account, he was received with enthusiastic joy by his continental subjects, who were filled with wonderment at his success, and the quantity of gold and silver and other precious effects he brought back with him. A part of this wealth, the fruit of blood and plunder, was sent to the pope, with the banner of Harold, which had been taken at the battle of Hastings, and another portion was distributed among the abbeys, monasteries, and churches of Normandy; "neither monks nor priests remaining without a guerdon." William gave them coined gold, and gold in bars, golden vases, and, above all, richly embroidered stuffs, which, on high feast-days they hung up in their churches, where they excited the admiration of all travellers and strangers. The whole of the account given by William's chaplain tends to raise our idea of the wealth of England. "That land," says the Poitevin, "abounds more than Normandy in the precious metals. If in fertility it may be termed the granary of Ceres, in riches it should be called the treasury of Arabia. The English women excel in the use of the needle, and in embroidering in gold; the men in every species of elegant workmanship. Moreover, the best artists of Germany live amongst them; and merchants, who repair to distant countries, import the most valuable articles of foreign manufacture, unknown in Normandy." The same contemporary informs us that at the feast of Easter, which William held with unusual splendour, a relation of the King of France, named Raoul, came with a numerous retinue to the Conqueror's court, where he and his Frenchmen, not less than the Normans, considered with a curiosity, mingled with surprise, the chased vases of gold and silver brought from England; and, above all, the drinking-cups of the Saxons, made of large buffalohorns, and ornamented at either extremity with precious metal. The French prince and his companions were also much struck with the beauty of countenance and the long flowing hair of the young Englishmen whom William had brought over with him as guests or hostages.

While all thus went on merrily in Normandy, events of a very different nature were taking place on the other side of the Channel. The rule of Odo and the barons left in England pressed harshly on the people, whose complaints and cries for justice they despised. Without punishment or check, their men-at-arms were permitted to insult and plunder, not merely the peasants and burgesses, but people of the best condition, and the cup of misery and degradation was filled up, as usual in such cases, by violence offered to the women. The English spirit was not yet so depressed, and, in fact, never sank so low as to tole-

rate such wrongs. Several popular risings took place in various parts of the subjugated territory, and many a Norman, caught beyond the walls of his castle or garrison-town, was cut to pieces. These partial insurrections were followed by concerted and extensively combined movements. A grand conspiracy was formed, and the Conqueror's throne was made to totter before it was nine months old. The men of Kent, who had been the first to submit, were the first to attempt to throw off the yoke. A singular circumstance attended their effort. Eustace, Count of Boulogne, the same who had caused such a stir at Dover in the time of Edward the Confessor, was then in open quarrel with William the Norman, who kept one of his sons in prison. This Eustace was famed far and wide for his military skill; and his relationship to the sainted King Edward, whose sister he had married, made the English consider him now in the light of a natural ally. Forgetting, therefore, their old grievances, the people of Kent sent a message to Count Eustace, promising to put Dover into his hands, if he would make a descent on the coast, and help them to wage war on their Norman oppressors. Eustace accepted the invitation, and, crossing the Channel with a small but chosen band, he landed, under favour of a dark night, at a short distance from Dover, where he was presently joined by a host of Kentish men in arms. A contemporary says, that had they waited but two days, these insurgents would have been joined by the whole population of those parts; but they imprudently made an attack on the strong castle of Dover, were repulsed with loss, and then thrown into a panic, by the false report that Bishop Odo was approaching them with all his forces. Count Eustace fled, and got safely on board ship, but most of his men-at-arms were slain or taken prisoners by the Norman garrison, or broke their necks by falling over the cliffs on which Dover Castle stands. The men of Kent, with a few exceptions, found their way home in safety, by taking by-paths and roads with which the Normans were unacquainted.

In the west the Normans were much less fortunate. Edric the Forester, who had visited the Conqueror at Barking, and done homage to him, was the lord of extensive possessions that lay on the Severn and the confines of Wales. This powerful chief was at first desirous of living in peace, but being provoked at the depredations committed by some Norman captains who had garrisoned the city of Hereford, he took up arms, and forming an alliance with two Welsh princes, he was enabled to shut the foreigners close up within the walls of the town, and to range undisputed master of all the western part of Herefordshire.

At this favourable moment the two sons of

King Harold appeared in the west; but though they were nearly a year older than at the time they were passed over unnoticed by the Witan assembled at London, they soon showed that neither of them had the qualities requisite for the saviour of the Anglo-Saxon nation. Their proceedings would be altogether inexplicable if we did not reflect that they were allied with, and probably controlled by a host of pirates. These two young men sailed over from Ireland with a considerable force, embarked in sixty ships. They ascended the Bristol Channel and the river Avon, and landing near Bristol, plundered that fertile country. Whatever were their pretences and claims, they acted as common enemies, and were met as such by the English people, who repulsed them when they attempted to take the city of Bristol, and soon after defeated them upon the coast of Somersetshire, whither they had repaired with their ships and plunder. The invaders, who suffered severely, took to their ships, and returned immediately to Ireland. In Shropshire, Nottinghamshire, and other parts of the kingdom, both where they had felt the Norman oppression, and where, as yet, they only apprehended it, bodies of English rose in arms, and urged their neighbours to join them. The indignation of the people was general, and encouraged by the Conqueror's absence, efforts were made, and others contemplated, for throwing off the yoke. Rumours spread that a simultaneous massacre, like that perpetrated on the Danes, was intended; and it was equally natural that the English should make use of such threats in their moments of rage, and that the Normans, conscious of oppression, and well versed in the history of St. Brice's Day, should believe them and tremble at them. Letter after letter, and message after message, were sent into Normandy; but the Conqueror, either because he was insensible to the alarm, or thought sufficient provocation had not been given, lingered there for more than eight months. When at last he departed, it was in hurry and agitation. He embarked at Dieppe on the 6th of December, and sailed for England by night. On arriving, he placed new governors, whom he had brought from Normandy, in his castles and strongholds in Sussex and Kent. On reaching London he was made fully sensible of the prevailing discontent; but with his usual crafty prudence he applied himself to soothe the storm for awhile, deeming that the time had not yet arrived for his openly declaring that the fickle, faithless English were to be exterminated or treated as slaves, and all their possessions and honours given to the Normans. He celebrated the festival of Christmas with unusual pomp, and invited many Saxon chiefs to London to partake in the celebration. He received these guests with smiles and caresses

giving the kiss of welcome to every comer.¹ If they asked for anything, he granted it; if they announced or advised anything, he listened with respectful attention; and it should seem that they were nearly all the dupes of these royal artifices. He then propitiated the citizens of London by a proclamation, which was written in the Saxon language, and read in all the churches of the capital. "Be it known unto you," said this document, "what is my will. I will that all of you enjoy your national laws as in the days of King Edward; that every son shall inherit from his father, after the days of his father; and that none of my people do you wrong." William's first public act after all these promises was to impose a heavy tax, which was made more and more burdensome as his power increased.

The war of 1068, or what may be called the Conqueror's second campaign in England, opened in the fertile province of Devonshire, where the people, supported by their hardy neighbours of Cornwall, and animated by the presence of the mother and some other relations of King Harold, refused to acknowledge his government, and had prepared to resist the advance of his lieutenants. Some of the thanes to whom the command of the insurrection had been intrusted, proved cowards or traitors; the Normans advanced, burning, and destroying, and breathing vengeance; but the men of Exeter, who had had a principal share in organizing the patriotic resistance, were resolute in the defence of their city. Githa or Editha, Harold's mother, had fled there after the battle of Hastings, and carried with her considerable riches. When the Conqueror came within four miles of Exeter, he summoned the citizens to submit, and take the oath of fealty. They replied, "We will not swear fealty to this man, who pretends to be our king, nor will we receive his garrison within our walls; but if he will receive as tribute the dues we were accustomed to pay to our kings, we will consent to pay them to him." To this somewhat novel proposal William said, "I would have subjects, and it is not my custom to take them on such conditions."² Some of the magistrates and wealthiest of the citizens then went to William, and, imploring his mercy, proffered the submission of the city, and gave hostages; but the mass of the population either did not sanction this proceeding, or repented of it; and when William rode up at the head of his cavalry, he found the gates barred and the walls manned with combatants, who bade him defiance. The Normans, in sight of the men on the ramparts, then tore out the eyes of one of the hostages they had just received; but this savage act did not daunt the people, who were well prepared for

defence, having raised new turrets and battlements on the walls, and brought in a number of



ROUGEMONT CASTLE, part of the old defences of Exeter.³—From a view in the King's Library, British Museum.

armed seamen both native and foreigners, that happened to be in their port. The siege continued for eighteen days, and cost William a great number of men; and when the city surrendered at last, if we are to believe the *Saxon Chronicle*, it was because their chiefs had again betrayed them. The brave men of Exeter, however, obtained much more favourable terms than were then usual; for, though they were forced to take the oath, and admit a Norman garrison, their lives, property, and privileges were secured to them, and successful precautions were taken by the Conqueror to prevent any outrage or plunder. Having ordered a strong castle to be built in the captured town, William returned eastward to Winchester, where he was joined by his wife Matilda, who had not hitherto been in England. At the ensuing festival of Whitsuntide she was publicly crowned by Aldred, the Archbishop of York. On the surrender of Exe-

¹ Bishop Grandison, on the authority of an old chronicle, states that King Athelstane founded a castle here, which was destroyed by the Danes in 1003. It was rebuilt by William the Conqueror. After the surrender of Exeter to General Fairfax, it was dismantled, and all its towers and battlements destroyed. There are now few remains of the building. The lofty gateway represented in the wood-cut is one of the most ancient vestiges. The name Rougemont is considered to have been derived from the red colour of the soil on which the castle stands.—*Lyson's Magna Britannia*.

² Duleiter ad oscula invitabat.—*Orderic*.

³ *Ibid*.

ter, the aged Githa, with several ladies of rank, escaped to Bath, and finding no safety there, they fled to the small islands at the mouth of the Severn, where they lay concealed until they found an opportunity of passing over to Flanders.

Harold's sons, Godwin and Edmund, with a younger brother named Magnus, again came over from Ireland; and with a fleet hovered off the coast of Devonshire and Cornwall, landing occasionally, and inviting the people to join them against the Normans. Nothing could be more absurdly concerted than these movements. Having rashly ventured too far into the country, they were suddenly attacked by a Norman force from Exeter, and defeated with great slaughter. Their means were now exhausted, and, wearied by their ill success, their Irish allies declined giving any further assistance to these exiles. The sons of Harold next appeared as suppliants at the court of Sweyn, King of Denmark.

During the spring and early summer of this same year (1068), William established his authority in Devonshire, Somersetshire, and Gloucestershire, and besides taking Exeter, made himself master of Oxford and other fortified cities which he had left in his rear when he advanced into the west. Wherever his dominion was imposed, the mass of land was given to his lords and knights, and fortresses and castles were erected and garrisoned by Normans and other foreigners, who continued to cross the Channel in search of employment, wealth, and honours. Meanwhile, the accounts of the sufferings of the conquered people, as given by the native chroniclers, are thus condensed in a striking passage of Holinshed:—"He took away from divers of the nobility, and others of the better sort, all their livings, and gave the same to his Normans. Moreover, he raised great taxes and subsidies through the realm; nor anything regarded the English nobility; so that they who before thought themselves to be made for ever by bringing a stranger into the realm, did now see themselves trodden under foot, to be despised, and to be mocked on all sides, insomuch that many of them were constrained (as it were, for a further testimony of servitude and bondage) to shave their beards, to round their hair, and to frame themselves, as well in apparel as in service and diet, at their tables, after the Norman manner, very strange and far differing from the ancient customs and old usages of their country. Others, utterly refusing to sustain such an intolerable yoke of thralldom as was daily laid upon them by the Normans, chose rather to leave all, both goods and lands, and, after the manner of outlaws, got them to the woods with their wives, children, and servants, meaning from thenceforth to live upon the spoil of the country ad-

joining, and to take whatsoever came next to hand. Whereupon it came to pass within a while that no man might travel in safety from his own house or town to his next neighbours." The bands of outlaws thus formed of impoverished, desperate men, were not suppressed for several successive reigns; and while the Normans considered and treated them as banditti, the English people long regarded them in the light of unfortunate patriots.

Men of higher rank and more extended views were soon among the fugitives from the pale of the Conqueror. When in his conciliating mood, William had promised Edwin, Earl of Mercia, one of his daughters in marriage, and flattered by the prospect of such a prize, this powerful brother-in-law of Harold had rendered important services to the Norman cause; but now, when he asked his reward, the Conqueror not only refused the fair bride, but insulted the suitor. Upon this, Edwin, with his brother Morcar, absconded from the Norman court, and went to the north of England, there to join their incensed countrymen, and make one general effort for the recovery of their ancient liberties. No foreign soldier had as yet passed the Humber; and it was behind that river that Edwin and Morcar fixed the great camp of independence, the most southern bulwark of which was the fortified city of York. Among the men of Yorkshire and Northumbria they found some thousands of hardy warriors, who swore they would not sleep under the roof of a house till the day of victory, and they were joined by some allies from the mountains of Wales and other parts. The ever active Conqueror, however, came upon them before they were prepared. His march, considering the many obstacles he had to overcome, was wonderfully rapid. Advancing from Oxford, he took Warwick and Leicester, the latter of which places he almost entirely destroyed. Then crossing the Trent, which he had not seen till now, he fell upon Derby and Nottingham. From Nottingham he marched upon Lincoln, which he forced to capitulate and deliver hostages, and thence pressing forward might and main, he came to the river Ouse, near the point where it falls into the Humber. Here he found Edwin and Morcar drawn out to oppose him. The battle which immediately ensued was fierce in the extreme; but, as at Hastings, their superiority in number, arms, and discipline, gave the Normans the victory. Many of the English perished; the rest retreated to York, within the walls of which they hoped to find refuge; but the conquerors, following them closely, broke through the walls and entered the city, destroying everything with fire and sword, and massacring all they found, from the boy to the old man. The wreck of the pa-

triotic army fled to the Humber, and descended that estuary in boats; they then turned to the north, and landed in the country of the Scotch, or in the territory near the Borders, which became the places of refuge of all the brave men of the north, who did not yet despair of liberty.¹

The victors, who were not prepared to advance farther, built a strong citadel at York, which became their advanced post and bulwark towards the north. A chosen garrison of 500 knights and men-at-arms, with a host of squires and servants-at-arms, was left at this dangerous post. So perilous, indeed, was it considered, from the well-known martial and obstinate character of the men that dwelt beyond its walls, that the Normans laboured day and night to strengthen their position, forcing the poor inhabitants of York who had escaped the massacre to dig deep ditches and build strong walls for them. Fearing to be besieged in their turn, they also collected all the stores and provisions they could.

In spite of his successes in the north, and his firm establishment in the midland counties, where he built castles and gave away earldoms, the Conqueror's throne was still threatened, and the country still agitated from one end to the other. The English chiefs, who had hitherto adhered to his cause, fell off, at first one by one, and then in troops together, following up their defection with concerted plans of operation against him. To these was added a fugitive of still higher rank, of whose custody the Conqueror was very negligent. At the instance of Marleswine, Cospatric, and some other noblemen, Edgar Atheling fled by sea into Scotland, taking his mother, Agatha, the widow of Edmund, son of Edmund Ironside, and his two sisters, Margaret and Christina, with him. These royal fugitives were received with great honour and kindness, and conducted to his castle of Dunfermline by the Scottish monarch, Malcolm Canmore. Edgar's sister Margaret was young and handsome; "and in process of time, the said King Malcolm cast such love unto the said Margaret, that he took her to wife."² Some of the English nobles had preceded Edgar to Scotland; many followed him; and these emigrants, and others that arrived from the same

quarter on various subsequent occasions, became the founders of a principal part of the Scottish nobility.

It is probable that William did not mourn much for the departure of the English thanes; but presently he was vexed and embarrassed by the departure of some of his Norman chiefs who had followed him from the Continent. These warriors, wearied by the constant surprises and attacks of the English, and seeing no term to that desultory and destructive warfare, longed for the quiet of their own homes. Some considered themselves enriched enough by the plunder they had made; others thought that estates in England were not worth the trouble and danger with which they were to be obtained and secured; others, again, wanted to join their wives, who were constantly pressing them to return; for it appears that few or none of them had as yet thought it safe to bring their families to England. William tried to reanimate their zeal by offers more bountiful than ever, and by promising lands, money, and honours in abundance the moment the conquest of England should be completed. In spite, however, of all these manoeuvres, Hugh de Grantmesnil, Earl of Norfolk, his brother-in-law, Humphrey Tilleuil, the warden of Hastings Castle, and a great number of others, retired from the service, and re-crossed the Channel. The king punished this desertion by immediately confiscating all the possessions they had obtained in our island. Foreseeing, however, that he was about to be surrounded by great difficulties and dangers, he sent his own wife Matilda back to Normandy, that she might be in a place of safety. At the same time he invited fresh adventurers and soldiers of fortune from nearly every country in Europe; and, allured by his brilliant offers, bands flocked to him from the banks of the Rhine, the Seine, the Loire, the Garonne, and the Tagus—from the Alps, and the Italian peninsula beyond the Alps.

The strong garrison which the A.D. 1069. Conqueror had left at York could scarcely adventure a mile in advance of that post without being attacked by the natives, who lay constantly in ambush in all the woods and glens. The governor, William Malet, was soon fain to declare that he would not answer for the security of York itself unless prompt succour was sent him. On receiving this alarming news, William marched in person, and arrived before York just as the citizens, in league with all the country people of the neighbourhood, were besieging the Norman fortress. Having raised this siege by a sudden attack, he laid the foundations of a second castle in York, and, leaving a double garrison, returned southward. Soon after his departure, the English made a second attempt to drive the enemy

¹ "A more general proof of the ruinous oppression of William the Conqueror may be deduced from the comparative condition of the English towns in the reign of Edward the Confessor, and at the compilation of *Domesday*. At the former epoch there were, in York, 607 inhabited houses—at the latter, 967; at the former there were, in Oxford, 721—at the latter, 243; of 172 houses in Dorchester, 100 were destroyed; of 243 in Derby, 103; of 487 in Chester, 205. Some other towns had suffered less, but scarcely any one fails to exhibit marks of a decayed population. As to the relative numbers of the peasantry and value of lands at these two periods, it would not be easy to assert anything without a laborious examination of *Domesday Book*."—Hallam, *State of Europe during the Middle Ages*, vol. ii. p. 420.

² *Grafton*.

from their fortress, but they were repulsed with loss; and the second castle and other works were finished without further interruption. Thinking themselves now secure in this advanced post, the Normans resumed the offensive, and made a desperate attempt to extend their frontier as far north as Durham. The advance was made by a certain Robert de Comine, to whom William had promised a vast territory yet to be conquered.

This Robert set out from York with much pomp and circumstance, having assumed, by anticipation, the title of Earl of Northumberland. His army was not large, consisting only of 1200 lances; but his confidence was boundless. He crossed the Tees, and was within sight of the walls of Durham, which the Normans called "the stronghold of the rebels of the north," when Egelwin, the English bishop of that place, came forth to meet him, and informed him that the natives had vowed to destroy him, or be destroyed, and warned him not to expose himself with so small a force. Comine treated the warning with contempt, and marched on. The Normans entered Durham, massacring a few defenceless men. The soldiers quartered themselves in the houses of the citizens, plundering or wasting their substance; and the chief himself took possession of the bishop's palace. But when night fell, the people lighted signal-fires on the hills, that were seen as far as the Tees to the south, and as far northward as the river Tyne; and, at the summons, the inhabitants gathered in great numbers, and hurried to Durham. At the point of day they rushed into the city, and attacked the Normans on all sides. Many were killed before they could well rouse themselves from the deep sleep induced by the fatigue of the preceding day's march, and the revelry and debauch of the night. The rest attempted to rally in the bishop's house, where their leader had established his quarters. They defended this post for a short time, discharging their arrows and other missiles on the heads of their assailants, but the English ended the combat by setting fire to the house, which was burned to the ground, with Robert de Comine and all the Normans in it. The chroniclers relate, that of all the men engaged in the expedition only two escaped.

When the Northumbrians struck the blow at Durham, they were expecting powerful allies, who soon arrived. As we have so often had occasion to repeat, these men, with the inhabitants of most of the Danelagh, were exceedingly fierce and warlike, and chiefly of Danish blood. Many of the old men had followed the victorious banner of the great Canute into England, or had served under his sons, Kings Harold Harefoot and Hardicanute; and the sons of these old warriors were now in the vigour of mature manhood. They

had always maintained an intercourse with Denmark, and as soon as they saw themselves threatened by the Normans, they applied to that country for assistance. The court of the Danish king was soon crowded by supplicants from the Danelagh, from Norwich and Lincoln, to York, Durham, and Newcastle. There were also envoys from other parts of the kingdom, where the Saxon blood predominated, and the sons of King Harold added their efforts to urge the Danish monarch to the invasion of England. At the same time the men of Northumberland had opened a correspondence with Malcolm Canmore and his guest Edgar Atheling, and allied themselves with the English refugees in Scotland and on the Border. Even supposing that the sons of Harold made no pretensions to the crown, there must have been some jealousy and confusion in this confederacy; for while one party to it held the weak Edgar as legitimate sovereign, another maintained that by right of succession the King of Denmark was King of England. It seems well established that the Danish monarch, Sweyn Estridsen, held the latter opinion; and the ill success of the confederacy may probably be attributed to the disunion inevitably arising from such clashing interests and pretensions. As soon as the battle of Hastings was known, and before any invitations were sent over, Sweyn had contemplated a descent on England. To avert this danger, William had recourse to Adelbert, the Archbishop of Bremen, who, won by persuasion and presents of large sums of money, undertook the negotiation, and endeavoured to make the Danish king renounce his project.

Two years passed without anything more being heard of the Danish invasion; but when in this, the third year after the battle of Hastings, the solicitations of the English emigrants were more urgent than ever, and the men of the north, his natural allies, were up in arms, the powerful Dane despatched a fleet of 240 sail, with orders to act in conjunction with the King of Scotland and the Northumbrians. The army embarked in this fleet was composed of almost as many heterogeneous materials as the mercenary force of William; besides Danes and Holsteiners, there were Frisians, Saxons, Poles, and adventurers from other countries, tempted by the hope of plunder.¹ The Danish king gave the supreme command of the fleet to his brother Osbeorn. After alarming the Normans in the south-east, at Dover, Sandwich, and Ipswich, the Danes went northward to the Humber, and sailed up that estuary to the Ouse, where they landed about the middle of August. It appears that Osbeorn was not able to prevent his motley army

¹ Southey, *Naval Hist.*

from plundering and wasting the country. As soon, however, as the Anglo-Danes, the men of Yorkshire and Northumberland, were advised of the arrival of the armament, they flocked to join it from all parts of the country; and Edgar Atheling, with Marleswine, Cospatric, Waltheof the son of Siward, the great enemy of Macbeth, Archil, the five sons of Carl, and many other English nobles, arrived from the frontiers of Scotland, bearing the consoling assurance that, in addition to the force they brought with them, Malcolm Canmore was advancing with a Scottish army to support the insurgents. York was close at hand, and they determined to commence operations by the attack of the Norman fortifications in that city. The Normans had rendered the walls of the town so strong that they defended them seven days; on the eighth day of the siege they set fire to the houses that stood near their citadels, in order that their assailants might not use the materials to fill up the ditches of the castles, and then they shut themselves up within those lines. A strong wind arose—the flames spread in all directions; the minster, or cathedral church, with its famous library, and great part of the city, was consumed; and even within their castles the Normans saw themselves threatened with a horrid death by the fire they had kindled. Preferring death by the sword and battle-axe to being burned alive, they made a sally, and were slain, almost to a man, by an enemy far superior in number, and inflamed with the fiercest hatred. They had suffered no such loss since the fight of Hastings; 3000 Normans and mercenaries of different races fell; and only William Malet, the governor of York, with his wife and children, and a few other men of rank, were saved and carried on board the Danish fleet, where they were kept for ransom. Such parts of the city of York as escaped the conflagration were occupied by or for Edgar Atheling. A rapid advance to the south, after the capture of York, with no enemy in their rear, might have insured the confederates a signal and perhaps a decisive success; but the King of Scotland did not appear with his promised army, and at the approach of winter the Danes retired to their ships in the Humber, or took up quarters between the Ouse and the Trent. William was thus allowed time to collect his forces and bring over fresh troops from the Continent.

The Conqueror was hunting in the forest of Dean when he received the first news of the catastrophe of York; and then and there he swore, by the splendour of the Almight, that he would utterly exterminate the Northumbrian people, nor ever lay down his lance when he had once taken it up, until he had done the deed. He forthwith opened secret negotiations with

Osborn, and finally succeeded, by means of gold and other presents, in inducing him to agree to withdraw his Danish fleet and army, and to give no more assistance to the Northumbrians. With the earliest spring William took the field, riding at the head of the finest and most numerous cavalry that had ever been seen in England, and causing his infantry to follow by forced marches. As he thus advanced the English rose nearly everywhere in his rear, re-commencing a war on many different points at once. An inferior commander would have been confused by this multiplicity of attacks, and inevitably ruined; but William did not suffer his attention to be distracted, and steadily pursued his course to the north, where he knew the great blow must be struck.

The defenders of York learned nearly at the same moment that the ruthless Conqueror was approaching their walls, and that their faithless allies, the Danes, had abandoned them, and were sailing away for the south, where, according to the compact they had made, they were to be permitted to victual, and to plunder the English. Abandoned as they were, and ill provided with defences—for in their rage they had utterly destroyed the two castles—they made an obstinate resistance; nor was York taken until many hundreds of English and Normans lay dead together. Edgar Atheling, escaping with his life, and little else, fled for a second time to the court of the Scottish king. Elated by his victory, William spent but a short time in York, and then continued his march northward. His rage had not moderated with time, and he thought it wise and good policy to carry into effect the fearful vow he had made in the forest of Dean. His troops required no excitement from him; the destruction of their comrades at Dnrham and York in the preceding year, and the loss they had just sustained themselves at the latter city, rankled in their savage minds, and they threw themselves on the territory of Northumbria in a frenzy of vengeance, wasting the cultivated fields, burning towns and villages, and massacring indiscriminately flocks, herds, and men. To accomplish this havoc over a great width of country, they marched in separate columns. An English army, commanded by Cospatric, and very inferior in numbers, retreated before the Normans into Scotland. Egelwin, the Bishop of Durlam—the same who had given the fruitless warning to Robert de Comine—assembled the inhabitants of that city, and, like a good shepherd, proposed to conduct his flock to a place of safety, out of the reach of what an old rhyming chronicler calls “Normans, Burgolouns,[†] thieves, and felons.” Leaving their homes to become the prey of the enemy, but

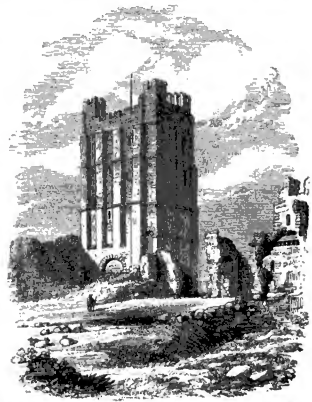
[†] Burgundians.

carrying with them the body or bones of St. Cuthbert, these wretched people followed their bishop across the Tyne to Lindisfarne or Holy Island, near the mouth of the Tweed; and the Normans a second time entered Durham, but in such force as to leave them no grounds for apprehending a repetition of the tragedy that had terminated their first visit. Having fortified Durham, the invaders pushed forward to the Tyne, continuing their work of devastation, and feeling their thirst for blood unslaked. A havoc more complete and diabolical was never perpetrated. The Norman and French chroniclers and historians join the English in narrating and deploring the catastrophe which, even in those times of violence and blood, seems to have overpowered men's minds with a wild horror and wonderment. William of Malmesbury, who wrote in the reign of Stephen, about eighty years after, says, "From York to Durham not an inhabited village remained. Fire, slaughter, and desolation made a vast wilderness there, which continues to this day." From Durham north to Hexham, from the Wear to the Tyne, the remorseless Conqueror continued the same infernal process. Orderic Vitalis denounces the "*feralis occisio*," the dismal slaughter; and says that more than 100,000 victims perished. The fields in culture were burned, and the cattle and the corn in the barns carried off by the conquerors, who made a famine where they could not maintain themselves by the sword. After eating the flesh of dead horses which the Normans left behind them, the people of Yorkshire and Northumberland, driven to the last extremity, are said to have made many a loathsome repast on human flesh.¹ Pestilence followed in the wake of famine; and as a completion to this picture of horror, we are informed that some of the English, to escape death by hunger, sold themselves, with their wives and children, as slaves to the Norman soldiery, who were well provided with corn and provisions, purchased on the Continent with gold and goods robbed from the English.

On his return from Hexham to York, by an imperfectly known and indirect route across the Fells, William was well nigh perishing. The snow was still deep in those parts, and the rivers, torrents, ravines, and mountains continually presented obstacles to which the Normans had been little accustomed in the level counties of England. The army fell into confusion, the king lost the track, and passed a whole night without knowing where he was, or what direction his troops had taken. He did not reach York without a serious loss, for he left behind him most of his horses, which were said to have perished in

the snow; his men also suffered the severest privations.

Confiscation now became almost general. All property in land, whether belonging to patriotic chiefs, or to men who had taken no active part in the conflict, began to pass into the possession of the Normans and other foreigners. Nor was movable property safer or more respected. William's commissioners, who in many places performed their work sword in hand, did not always draw a distinction between the plate and jewels left in deposit and the treasures that belonged to the monasteries themselves, but carried off the church ornaments and the vessels of silver or gold that were attached to the service of the altar. They also removed or destroyed all deeds and documents, charters of immunities, and evidences of property. The newly-conquered territory in the north was distributed in immense lots. William de Garenne had twenty-eight villages; William de Percy more than eighty manors. In *Domesday Book*, which was drawn up fifteen



KEEP OF RICHMOND CASTLE.—Whittaker's History of Richmondshire.

years after the Norman occupation of them, most of these domains are described as lying fallow or waste. Vast tracts of country to the north of the city of York fell to the lot of Allan the Bre-

² Richmond Castle is understood to have been founded by Alan Rufus, son of Hoel, Count of Brotagus, a kinsman of William the Conqueror, by whom he was created Earl of Richmond. It is situated on a precipitous rock, which rises upwards of 100 ft. above the River Swale. The successors to the founder in the earldom of Richmond added to the exterior defences, but the Norman keep, about 100 ft. high, with walls 11 ft. thick, remains unchanged, and almost entire.

¹ Florent. Wigorn.

ton, who erected a castle and other works of defence on a steep hill, nearly surrounded on all sides by the river Swale. Like most of the chiefs of the conquering army, he gave a French name to the place—he called it *Richemont* or *Richmount*, now *Richmond*. Dreux Bruère, the chief of a band of Flemish auxiliaries, had the eastern part of Yorkshire, between the rivers and the sea. The territory of this Fleming was afterwards conferred on Eudes of Champaign, who married a half-sister of the Conqueror. When Eudes' wife was delivered of a son, he represented to the king that his lands were not at all fertile, producing only oats, and prayed he would make him a grant of an estate proper to bear wheat, that he might have wherewith to make wheaten bread for his infant, the king's nephew. King William presented him with some lands to his heart's wish, in Lincolnshire. Gamel, who came from Meaux, with a troop of his own townsmen, established himself in lands adjoining the Yorkshire possessions of Eudes of Champaign; and Basin, Sivard, Francon, and Richard D'Estouteville are mentioned as landholders and neighbours of Gamel of Meaux. The vast domain of Pontefract was the share of Gilbert de Lacy, who soon afterwards extended the Norman conquest in Lancashire and Cheshire, and obtained three estates still more extensive.¹ Every baron erected his castle; and in every populous town there was a strong fortress, where the Normans confined the principal natives as hostages, and into which they could retire in case of an insurrection. William did not advance farther than Hexham; but some of his captains continued the progress both to the north and to the west, though their tenure of the land was scarcely secured until some years later, when the mountainous country of Westmoreland and Cumberland, and the adjacent part of Northumberland, were reduced by various chiefs. The first Earl of Cumberland was a cer-

tain Renouf Meschines, who divided the domains and handsome women of the country among his followers, thus following out the feudal system fully established by William. Simon, the son of Thorn, the English proprietor of two rich manors, had three daughters; one of these Meschines gave to Humphrey, his man-at-arms; the second he gave to Raoul, nicknamed *Tortes-mains* (crooked hands); and the third he reserved for his squire, William of St. Paul. In the north of Northumberland, Ives de Vescy took possession of the town of Alnwick, along with the granddaughter and all the inheritance of a Saxon who had died in battle. Robert de Bruce obtained, by conquest, several manors, and the dues of Hartlepool, the seaport of Durham. Robert D'Omfreville had the forest of Riddesdale, which belonged to Mildred the Saxon, the son of Akman. On his receiving investiture of this domain, D'Omfreville swore that he would clear the land of wolves and the enemies of the Conqueror. The nominal government of Northumberland was, however, intrusted to a native who had recently borne arms against William. This was Cospatric, who came in with Waltheof, the brave son of Siward, with Morcar and Edwin, the brothers-in-law of King Harold, and submitted to William for the second time, being probably induced thereto by liberal promises from the Conqueror, who then considered them as the main prop of the English cause, wanting whom Edgar Atheling would at once fall into insignificance. The reward of Cospatric we have mentioned; Waltheof was made Earl of Huntingdon and Northampton, and received the hand of Judith, one of King William's nieces; and Morcar and Edwin were restored to their paternal estates. In reality, however, these four men were little better than prisoners, and three of them perished miserably in a very short time.²

The insurrections which broke out in William's

¹ Thierry, *Histoire de la Conquête*.

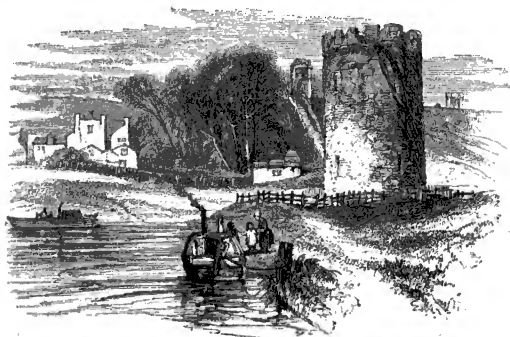
² "A peculiar aspect is given to the English annals by the Norman conquest. In tracing the progress of the other great nations of modern Europe, from their first establishment on the ruins of the Roman empire to their full development as states and kingdoms, we pursue our inquiries, amidst the changes and revolutions of dynasties, with difficulty and hesitation; yet we do not meet with any catastrophe occasioning so sudden and jarring an interruption as that great event, which, considered as an historical incident, has no parallel in character. Even in Spain, where so many kingdoms were rendered allens to Christendom, the lineal succession of the nation seems to be more unbroken than in England. We arrive at the period when the whole Gothic monarchy is sheltered in the caverns of Cordova, yet it still survives; Pelayo and his descendants are the lawful successors of Hermeneric and Athanagild; Castile and Leon are gradually re-peopled by those who, proud of the name of Goths, issue forth from the mountain fastnesses, in which they have preserved the laws which their ancestors adopted and the language which they assumed. Not so in England, where the Norman conquest forms a dark, determined boundary-line—where the accession of William becomes an era upon which we are ac-

customed to found chronologies and calculations—a term of beginning and of ending. Hence it has become extremely difficult to disconnect the train of ideas suggested by the Conquest, from the views which we take of Anglo-Saxon history and of the growth and progress of the law; and we should be always on our guard lest we should be misled by the impressions which we unconsciously receive.

"Whatever colour of right may be given to the title by which William claimed the crown—by whatever efforts he may have attempted to acquire the character of a lawful sovereign, and not of an invader—still his triumph appeared to place the English people in the lowest state of degradation. Even after the lapse of centuries, the Conquest could not be considered with impartiality; for when England was contending against those sovereigns who laboured to subvert her civil and religious liberties, the arguments founded upon the occupation of the kingdom by the Normans were still mooted by the zealous advocates who fanned the flames of mutual hostility, and who prosecuted their discussions, not as points of abstract inquiry, or as the themes of historical research, but as subjects of vital and practical importance. *Doomsday* was the authentic record of the entire and unqualified subjection of the English race in the eyes of the in-

rear, during his march to York, were partially suppressed by his lieutenants, who suffered some reverses, and perpetrated great cruelties. The garrison of Exeter, besieged by the people of Cornwall, was relieved by Fitz-Osborne; Montacute repulsed the insurgents of Devonshire and Somersetshire; and Edric the Forester, who took the town of Shrewsbury, with the help of the men of Chester and some Welsh, was foiled in his attempt to reduce the castle. The whole of the north-west was, however, in a very insecure state; and the haste with which William marched thither on his return to York from Hexham, seems to denote some greater peril on the side of the Normans than is expressed by any of the annalists. The weather was still inclement, and

his troops were fatigued by their recent exertions, their rapid marches and counter-marches in Northumberland; yet he led them, amidst storms of sleet and hail, across the mountains which divide our island lengthwise, and which have been called, not inappropriately, the Appennines of England. The roads he took, as being those which led direct to Chester, were scarcely passable for cavalry, and his troops were annoyed and disheartened by actual difficulties and prospective hardships and dangers. The auxiliaries, particularly the men of Anjou and Brittany, began to murmur aloud; and not a few of the Normans, complaining of the hard service to which their chief was exposing them, talked of returning beyond sea. William silenced their



WATER TOWER AND WALLS OF CHESTER.—J. S. Prout, from his sketch on the spot.

mur-murs with his wonted art; and on the rough way over the wealds he partook in the fatigues of the common soldiers, marching on foot with them, and faring as they fared. Chester, which still retained the outer features of a Roman city, and where the Conqueror gazed on Roman walls and gates then comparatively entire, had not yet been invaded by the Normans. No defence, however, was attempted there; and, after entering in triumph, William proceeded to lay the foundations of a new and strong castle, while detach-

ments of his army reduced the surrounding country. During the Conqueror's stay Edric the Forester submitted, and was received into favour. From Chester William marched to Salisbury, where he distributed rewards among the mercenaries, a part of whom he disbanded; and from Salisbury he repaired to his strong citadel or palace at Winchester, which city became a favourite abode with him, as it had been with his Saxon predecessors. To retain the newly-conquered province in the north-west, he had left a strong body

calculators of indefeasible hereditary right, who sought to prove that all the boasted franchises of England had proceeded from the mere motion and bounty of the sovereign, and were therefore revocable at the will and pleasure of him who had made the grants. In reasoning against these opinions, the earnest antagonists of prerogative and arbitrary power sought to strengthen the rights of the people by the assertion of their antiquity; they discovered the English parliament, with all its powers and members, in the obscure witenagemot of the Saxon age, and endeavoured to prove that the safeguards of liberty survived, though Harold had fallen on the field."—*Falgrave, The Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth*, vol. i. p. 51.

¹ Chester is conjectured to have had its origin in one of the fortresses constructed by Octavius Scapula, for the security of the Roman army after the discomfiture of Caractacus. It is certain that Chester was a walled city before 908, and there is no reason to doubt that the walls were originally built by the Romans. It had four principal gates, besides posterns—these were the North-gate, East-gate, Bridge-gate, and Water-gate; and on the walls there were formerly several towers. The Water Tower projects towards the river Dee, and large iron rings are attached to it, for the purpose of fastening vessels, which, before the harbour was choked with sands, came up to the walls.—*Lyson's Magna Britannia*.

of troops behind him, under the command of a Fleming, named Gherbaud, who became the first Count or Earl of Chester. This Gherbaud was soon wearied by the constant fatigues and dangers of his post; for the English rose whenever they found an opportunity, and the mountaineers from North Wales harassed him incessantly, so that he was glad to resign his command, fiefs, and honours, and return to his own country. The Conqueror then granted the earldom of Chester to Hugh D'Avranches, a more warlike and much fiercer commander, who earned, even in that age, the surname of "the Wolf." Not satisfied with defensive operations, the new earl immediately crossed the Dee, invaded North Wales, made himself master of a part of Flintshire, and built a

the banks of the Clwyd, the Dee, and the Mersey, as they had done by the rivers of the north-eastern coast.

The disturbances on the eastern coast, which had been overlooked, now grew to such importance as to demand attention. Hereward, "England's darling," as he was called by his admiring countrymen, was Lord of Brunn or Bourn, in Lincolnshire, and one of the most resolute chiefs the Normans ever had to encounter. Having expelled the foreigners, who had taken possession of his patrimony, he assisted his neighbours in doing the like, and then established a fortified camp in the Isle of Ely, where he raised the banner of independence, and bade defiance to the Conqueror. His power or influence soon extended

along the eastern sea-line, over the fen country of Lincolnshire, Huntingdon, and Cambridge; and English refugees of all classes—thanes dispossessed of their lands, bishops deprived of their mitres, abbots driven from their monasteries to make room for foreigners—repaired from time to time to his "camp of refuge." The jealous fears of the king increased the danger they were intended to lessen. Though Edwin and Morecar remained perfectly quiet, and showed every disposition to keep their oaths of allegiance, he dreaded them, on account of their great popularity with their countrymen, and he finally resolved to seize their persons. The two earls received timely notice of this intention, and secreted themselves. When he



RHUDDLAN CASTLE, Flintshire. ¹—Grose's Antiquities.

castle at Rhuddlan, thus taking an important step towards the subjugation of the Welsh, a project the Normans never abandoned until it was completed, two centuries later, by Edward I. Hugh the Wolf and his ferocious followers, roused to even more than their usual ferocity by the obstinate and fierce resistance they encountered, shed the blood of the Welsh like water, and burned and wasted their houses and lands. The fearful tragedy of Northumberland and Yorkshire was repeated on a smaller scale in this corner of the island, and famine and pestilence stalked along

through the vigilance of the Normans was lulled, Edwin endeavoured to escape to the Scottish border; but he was betrayed by three of his attendants, and fell on the road, gallantly fighting against his Norman pursuers, who cut off his head, and sent it as an acceptable present to the Conqueror.² Morecar effected his escape to the morasses of Cambridgeshire, and joined Hereward, whose camp was further crowded about this time by many of the English chiefs of the north, who had been driven homeless into Scotland. Among the ecclesiastics of Northumbria who took this course was Egelwin, the Bishop of Durham. Even Stigand, the Primate of all England, but now degraded by king and pope, and replaced by Lanfranc, an Italian, is mentioned among the refugees of Ely.³

¹ This castle stands on the eastern side of the river Clwyd, within about two miles of its influx into the sea. It was built, according to Camden, by Llewellyn ap Ithelwit, Prince of Wales, and is reported to have been a principal palace of the Welsh princes; but was burned, A.D. 1063, in an excursion made by Harold, afterwards King of England, in retaliation for the depredations committed by the Welsh on the English borders. It was strengthened by Edward I. in 1275. It belongs to the crown.

² *Orbiculus Vitalis*; H. Hunt.

³ M. Thierry's view of the Norman conquest is, that it was the

William at length moved with a formidable army. The difficulties of this war on the eastern coast were different from, but not inferior to what the Normans had encountered in the west and the north. There were no mountains and defiles, but the country was in good part a swamp, on which no cavalry could tread; it was cut in all directions by rivers, and streams, and broad meres; and the few roads that led through this dangerous labyrinth were little known to the foreigners. The country, too, where the banner of independence floated was a sort of holy land to the English; the abbeyes of Ely, Peterborough, Thorney, and Croylund, the most ancient, the most revered of their establishments, stood within

it; and the monks, however professionally timid or peaceful, were disposed to resistance—for they well knew that the coming of the Normans would be the signal for driving them from their monasteries.

During two or three years, the Conquest was checked in this direction. The Normans, surprised among the bogs and the tall rushes that covered them, suffered many severe losses. The sagacious eye of William at last saw that the proper way of proceeding would be by a blockade that should prevent provisions and succour from reaching the Isle of Ely. He accordingly stationed all the ships he could collect in the Wash, with orders to watch every inlet from the sea to

result of a conspiracy between Rome and William of Normandy, which had been maturing for years, and which had for its grand object the humiliation of the Anglo-Saxon Church and people, by subjecting the one to the absolute empire of the pope, and the other to the civil and military despotism of the Norman bastard. This view he supports by special proofs; but the strongest is, doubtless, to be found in the Normans in general, and William in particular, being so largely endowed with those qualities which Rome required, and which she knew so well how to enlist in her service. Rome's quarrel with Anglo-Saxon England, for want of absolute submission to her will, bore a striking analogy to her quarrel with the inhabitants of Dauphiny, Provence, and Languedoc, no long after, for the same deadly offence. In both cases the revenge taken by her wounded pride was fierce, bloody, relentless; and in both her grand agents were the feudal chiefs of the north of France, whom she employed also in enslaving Ireland to her will.

The following facts, from that author's *History of the Norman Conquest*, are in this view particularly memorable:—

"From the period of England's deliverance from the Danish domination, King Canute's law for raising the yearly impost of Peter's pence, had shared the fate of all the other laws decreed by the foreign government. The public administration compelled no one to observe it, and Rome now received from England only the offerings and free gifts of individual devotion. Thus the ancient regard of the Romish Church for the English nation rapidly declined. Conversations to their and their king's prejudice were held in enigmatical language, in the halls of St. John of Lateran."

Rome, accustomed to sell all things herself, accused the Anglo-Saxon bishops of simony. Eldred, as Archbishop of York, went to Rome for the pallium, and obtained it only on an Anglo-Saxon chief, who had accompanied him, threatening that, if refused, he would obtain a law prohibiting the sending of money to Rome. Hence deep resentment was felt even in granting the pallium.

"The Norman, Robert de Jumigès, expelled by the Anglo-Saxon patriots from the see of Canterbury immediately went to Rome, and denounced Stigand, the native churchman whom the national desire had put in his place, and returned to Normandy with papal letters, declaring him to be lawful archbishop. . . . The journey from Canterbury to Rome was in those days a painful one; Stigand was in no haste to go and justify himself before the fortunate rival of Benedict X.; and the old leaven of hatred against the English people fermented more strongly than ever."

Finally, Lanfranc, a monk of Lombard origin, famous for his knowledge of the civil law, after having incurred William's displeasure, by blaming his marriage with Matilda, as a kinswoman within the forbidden degrees, found it convenient to seek a reconciliation with so powerful a prince, by pleading the cause of that very marriage with the pope, and obtaining a formal dispensation for it. Thus "he became the soul of his (William's) councils, and his plenipotentiary at the court of Rome. The respective pretensions of the Romish clergy and the Duke of Normandy, with regard to England, and the possibility of realizing them, and of meeting with joint success therein, were, it

would appear, from that time the subject of serious negotiations. An armed invasion was, perhaps, not yet thought of; but William's relationship to Edward seemed one great cause for hope, and, at the same time, an incontestable title in the eyes of the Roman priests, who favoured, throughout Europe, the maxima of hereditary royalty, in opposition to the practice of election."

"The Duke of Normandy preferred an accusation of sacrilege against his enemy before the pontifical court; he demanded that England should be laid under interdict by the church, and declared to be the property of him who should first take possession, with the reservation of the pope's approval. . . . But Harold was in vain cited to defend himself before the tribunal of Rome. He refused to acknowledge himself amenable to that court; he deputed no ambassador thither, being too haughty to submit the independence of his crown to any foreign dictation, and, at the same time, possessed of too much good sense to confide in the impartiality of judges appealed to by his enemy."

Add to this, that Norman knights had been of great service to the Roman see already in Italy. In short, Hildebrand, whose constant object it was to transform the religious supremacy of Rome into an universal sovereignty over all Christian states, began to consider the Normans as destined to fight all its battles, and to do homage to it for its conquests.

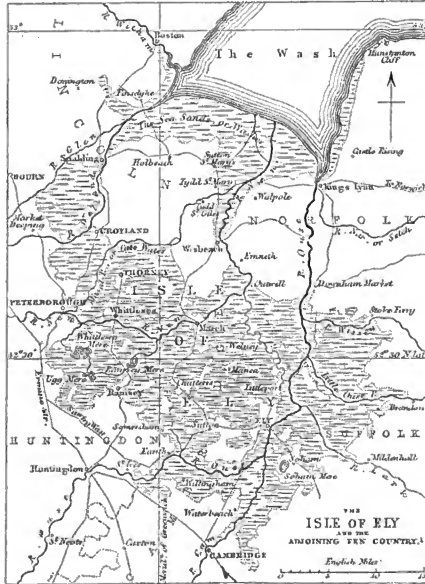
Such, says Thierry, were the very singular relations which accidental events had recently established, when the complaints and the appeal of the Duke of Normandy were laid before the court of Rome. Fraught with his long-cherished hope, Archdeacon Hildebrand thought the propitious hour had arrived for attempting, with regard to the kingdom of England, those designs which had been so happily carried into effect in Italy. His most strenuous efforts were directed to substitute, instead of ecclesiastical pleadings relative to the lukewarmness of the English people, the simony of its prelates and the perjury of its king, a formal treaty with the Norman for the conquest of the island at common cost and for mutual profit. Although the real design was thus converted to a purely political purpose, the cause of William against Harold was examined in the conclave, without other motive appearing than to sift the question of hereditary right, or to uphold the sanctity of an oath as inviolable, and the veneration for relics as obligatory. These pleas, to many of the judges, seemed not enough to justify the church in sanctioning hostile aggression against a Christian nation, or a military invasion of its territory. When Hildebrand insisted, loud murmurs arose, the more conscientious prelates declaring that it would be infamous to authorize so murderous a course; but he was not to be moved, and his sentiments prevailed at last.

"According to the terms of the Papal sentence, pronounced by the pope himself, William, Duke of Normandy, had leave to enter England, to bring it back to its obedience to the Holy See, and to re-establish for ever the tax of St. Peter's pence. Harold and all his adherents were excommunicated by a Papal bull, transmitted to William by the hands of his envoy; and to it was added the gift of a banner from the apostolical church, and a ring, containing one of St. Peter's hairs, enclasped beneath a diamond of some price."

the fens; and he so stationed his army as to block up every road that led into the fens by land. When he resumed more active operations, he undertook a work of great note and difficulty. In order to approach the fortified camp in the midst of marshes, and an expanse of water in some places shallow, in others deep, he began to build a wooden causeway, two miles long, with bridges over the beds of the rivers. Hereward frequently interrupted these operations, and in a

who had brought over with him from Normandy a conjuror and soothsayer as an essential part of his army of invasion, was readily induced to employ a sorceress on the side of the Normans, in order to neutralize or defeat the spells of the English.² This sorceress was placed, with much ceremony, on the top of a wooden tower at the head of the works; but Hereward, the "cunning captain," watching his opportunity, set fire to the dry reeds and rushes; the flames were rapidly spread by the wind, and tower and sorceress, workmen and soldiers, were consumed.

When the Isle of Ely had been blockaded three months, provisions became scarce there. Those whose profession and vowed duties included frequent fasting were the first to become impatient under privation. The monks of Ely sent to the enemy's camp, offering to show a safe passage across the fens, if the king would only promise to leave them in undisturbed possession of their houses and lands. The king agreed to the condition, and two of his barons pledged their faith for the execution of the treaty. Under proper guides the Normans then found their way into the Isle of Ely, and took possession of the strong monastery which formed part of Hereward's line of defence. They killed 1000 Englishmen, that either occupied an advanced position, or had made a sortie; and then, closing round the "camp of refuge," they finally obliged the rest to lay down their arms. Some of these brave men were liberated on paying heavy fines or ransoms; some were put to death; some de-



manner so murderous, sudden, and mysterious, that the affrighted workmen and soldiers became firmly convinced that he was leagued with the devil, and aided by some necromancer. William,

deprived of their sight; some maimed and rendered unfit for war, by having a right hand or a foot cut off; some were condemned to perpetual imprisonment. Hereward, the soul of the con-

¹ This map is intended to exhibit, as nearly as existing authorities render possible, the extent of the fens, with the courses of the rivers, and the direction of the adjacent sea-coast, prior to the works undertaken for their drainage. The following maps, compared with various historical notices, have served to supply the materials for its construction:—"A General Plott and Description of the Fens and Surrounded Grounds," &c. By H. Hondius (Amstelredam, 1689). "A Map of the Great Level of the Fens," By Sir Jonas Moore. Sixteen sheets. (London, 1684). The roads that are indicated are mostly (if not all) of ancient date—chiefly of Roman, or else of early British construction.

² Croyland, it appears, had a particularly ill name in this respect; and evil spirits, that did not respect the monks, might well be supposed to have no mercy on the Normans. Camden's description of the place, however, even as it existed in his day, shows how admirably it was adapted for defence; while the abundance of water-fowl must have made starving it out almost impossible. He begins with its demonology:—

"If, out of the same author [Ingulphus], I should describe the devils of Croyland (with their blubber lips, fiery mouths, scaly faces, beetle heads, sharp teeth, long chins, hoarse throats, black skins, hump shoulders, big bellies, burning loins, bandy legs, tailed buttocks, &c.), which haunted those places, and very

federacy, would not submit; but, making an effort which appeared desperate to all, he rushed from the beleaguered camp, and escaped by throwing himself into the marshes, where the Normans would not venture to follow him. Passing from fen to fen, he gained the low, swampy lands in Lincolnshire, near his own estate, where he was joined by some friends, and renewed a partizan or guerilla warfare, which lasted four or five years, and cost the Normans many lives, but which could not, under existing circumstances, produce any great political result. At last, seeing the hopelessness of the struggle, he listened to terms from William, who was anxious to pacify an enemy his armies could never reach, and who probably admired, as a soldier, his wonderful courage and address. Hereward made his peace, took the oath of allegiance, and was permitted by the Conqueror to preserve and enjoy the estates of his ancestors. The exploits of the last hero of Anglo-Saxon independence formed a favourite theme of tradition and poetry; and long after his death the inhabitants of the Isle of Ely showed with pride the ruins of a wooden tower, which they called the castle of Hereward.

After the destruction of the camp of refuge in Ely, the Norman forces, naval as well as military, proceeded to the north, to disperse some bands which had again raised the standard of independence, and invoked the presence of Edgar Atheling, who was enjoying the tranquillity and obscurity for which he was fitted in Scotland. After some bloody skirmishes, the confederates were driven beyond the Tweed; and then William crossed that river, to seize the English emigrants and punish Malcolm Canmore. A Scottish army, which had been so anxiously expected by the English insurgents at York two years before, when its weight in the scale might have proved fatal to the Normans, had tardily marched, at a moment when the Northumbrians and people of Yorkshire were almost exterminated, and when it could do little more than excite the few remaining inhabitants to a hopeless rising, and burn the houses of such as refused to join in it. The want of provisions in a land laid waste soon made the Scots re-cross

the Border. To avenge this mere predatory incursion, however, William now advanced from the Tweed to the Frith of Forth, as if he intended to subdue the whole of the "land of the mountain and flood," taking with him the entire mass of his splendid cavalry, and nearly every Norman foot-soldier he could prudently detach from garrison duty in England. The emigrants escaped his pursuit, nor would Malcolm deliver them up; but, intimidated by the advance of an army infinitely more numerous and better armed than his own, the Scottish king, says the *Saxon Chronicle*, "came and agreed with King William, and delivered hostages, and was his man; and the king went home with all his force."

On his return from Scotland, during his stay at Durham, the king summoned Cospatric to appear before him, and, on the idle ground of old grievances, which had been pardoned when that nobleman surrendered with Edwin and Morcar, he deprived him of the earldom of Northumberland, for which, it appears, he had paid a large sum of money. Cospatric, fearing worse consequences, abandoning whatever else he had in England, fled to Malcolm Canmore, who gave him a castle and lands. The earldom of Northumberland was conferred on Waltheof, an Englishman like himself, but now the nephew of the Conqueror, by marriage with his niece Judith.

The Normans had now been seven years in the land, engaged in almost constant hostilities; and at length England, with the exception of Wales, might fairly be said to be conquered. In most abridgments and epitomes of history, the events we have related, in not unnecessary detail, are so faintly indicated, and huddled together in so narrow a space, as to leave an impression that the resistance of our ancestors after the battle of Hastings was trifling and brief—that the sanguinary drama of the Conquest was almost wholly included in one act. Nothing can be more incorrect than this impression, or more unfair to that hardy race of men, who were the fountain-source of at least nine-tenths of the blood that flows in the large and generous veins of the English nation.

much annoyed Guthlacus and the monks, you would laugh at the history, and much more at my madness in relating it. But since the situation and nature of the place is strange, and different from all others in England, and since the monastery was particularly famous in former times, I shall give you the description of it somewhat more at large. This Crowland (anno 1607) lies in fens so inclosed and encompassed with deep bogs and pools, that there is no access to it but on the north and east sides, and there, too, only by narrow causeways. This monastery and Venice (if we may compare small things with great) have the same sort of situation; it consists of three streets, separated from each other by water-courses planted with willows, and raised on piles driven into the bottom of the pool, having communication by a triangular bridge of curious workmanship, under which the inhabitants say there was a very deep pit, that was dug to receive the concourse of waters there. Be-

yond the bridge, where, as one words it, 'a bog is become firm ground' (in solum mutatur limus), formerly stood that famous monastery, though of a small compass, about which, unless on the side where the town stands, the ground is so rotten and boggy, that a pole may be thrust down 30 ft. deep; and there is nothing round about but reeds, and, next the church, a grove of alders. However, the town is pretty well inhabited; but the cattle are kept at some distance from it, so that, when the owners milk them, they go in boats which will hold but two, called skerries. Their greatest gain is from the fish and wild-ducks that they catch, which are so many, that in August they can drive into a single net 3000 ducks at once; and they call these pools their corn-fields, there being no corn growing within five miles of the place. For this liberty of catching fish and wild ducks, they formerly paid yearly to the abbot, as they do now to the king, 1300 sterling."

Not long after his return from Scotland, circumstances imperatively called for the presence of William in his continental dominions. His talents as a statesman and warrior are indisputable, yet few men have owed more to good fortune. Their wrongs and provocations were the same then as now, and policy would have suggested to the people of Maine to exert themselves a year or two before, when William, engaged in difficult wars in England, would have been embarrassed by their insurrection on the Continent. But they made their great effort just as England was reduced to the quietude of despair, and when William could proceed against them unencumbered by any other war. Herbert, the last count or national chief, bequeathed the county of Maine, bordering on Normandy, to Duke William, who, to the displeasure of the people, but without any important opposition, took possession of it several years before he invaded England. Instigated by Fulk, Count of Anjou, and vexed by a tyrannical administration, the people of Maine now rose against William, expelled the magistrates he had placed over them, and drove out from their towns the officers and garrisons of the Norman race. Deeming it imprudent to remove his Norman forces from this island, he collected a considerable army among the English population, and, carrying them over to Normandy, he joined them to some troops levied there, and, putting himself at their head, marched into the unfortunate province of Maine. The national valour, which so often opposed him, was now exerted, with a blind fury, in his favour. The English beat the men of Maine, burned their towns and villages, and did as much mischief as the Normans (among whom was a strong contingent from Maine) had perpetrated in England.

While these things were passing on the Continent, Edgar Atheling received an advantageous offer of services and co-operation from Philip, King of France, who at last, and too late, roused himself from the strange sloth and indifference with which he had seen the progress made by his overgrown vassal, the Duke of Normandy. The events in Maine, the dread inspired in all the neighbouring country, even to the walls of Paris, and William's exhibition of force, were probably the immediate causes that dispelled Philip's long sleep. He invited Edgar to come to France and be present at his council, promising him a strong fortress, situated on the Channel, at a point equally convenient for making descents upon England, or incursions or forays into Normandy. Closing with the proposals, Edgar got ready a few ships and a small band of soldiers—being aided therein by his sister, the Queen of Scotland, and some of the Scottish nobility—and made sail for France. His usual bad luck attended him;

he had scarcely gained the open sea when a storm arose, and drove his ships ashore on the coast of Northumberland, where some of his followers were drowned, and others taken prisoners by the Normans. He and a few of his friends of superior rank escaped and got into Scotland, where they arrived in miserable plight, with nothing but the clothes on their backs, some walking on foot, some mounted on sorry beasts. After this misfortune, his brother-in-law, King Malcolm, advised him to seek a reconciliation with William, and Edgar accordingly sent a messenger to the Conqueror, who at once invited him to Normandy, where he promised proper and honourable treatment. Instead of sailing direct from Scotland, the Atheling, whose feelings were as obtuse as his intellect, took his way through England, the desolated kingdom of his ancestors, feasting at the castles of the Norman invaders as he went along. William received him with a show of kindness, and allotted him an apartment in the palace of Rouen, with a pound of silver a-day for his maintenance; and there the descendant of the great Alfred passed eleven years of his life, occupying himself with dogs and horses.

The king, who had gone to the Continent to quell one insurrection, was recalled to England by another of a much more threatening nature, planned, not by the English, but by the Norman barons, their conquerors and despoilers. William Fitz-Osborn, the prime favourite and counsellor of the Conqueror, had died a violent death in Flanders, and had been succeeded in his English domains, and the earldom of Hereford, by his son, Roger Fitz-Osborn. This young nobleman negotiated a marriage with Raoul or Ralph de Gaël, a Breton by birth, and Earl of Norfolk in England by the right of the sword. For some reason not explained, this alliance was displeasing to the king, who sent from Normandy to prohibit it. The parties were enraged at this prohibition, which they also determined not to obey; and on the day which had been previously fixed for the ceremony, Emma, the affianced, was conducted to Norwich, where a wedding-feast was celebrated, that was fatal to all who were present at it.¹ Among the guests who had been invited, rather for the after-act than to do honour to the bride and bridegroom, were Waltheof, the husband of Judith, sundry barons and bishops of the Norman race, some Saxons who were friends to the Normans, and even some chieftains from the mountains of Wales, with whom their neighbour, the Earl of Hereford, the brother of the bride, had thought proper to cultivate amicable relations. A sumptuous feast was followed by copious libations; and when the heads of the

¹ Chron. Sax.

guests were heated by wine, the Earls of Hereford and Norwich, who were already committed by carrying the forbidden marriage into effect, and who knew the implacable temper of William, opened their plans with a wild and energetic eloquence. They inveighed against the arbitrary conduct of the king, his harsh and arrogant behaviour to his noblest barons, and his apparent intention of reducing the Normans to the same condition of misery and servitude as the English, whose wrongs and misfortunes they affected to compassionate. Hereford complained of his conduct with regard to the marriage, saying it was an insult offered to the memory of his father, Fitz-Osborn, the man to whom the Bastard incontestably owed his crown. By degrees the excited assembly broke forth in one general curse against the Conqueror. The old reproach of his birth was revived over and over again. "He is a bastard, a man of base extraction," cried the Normans; "it is in vain he calls himself a king; it is easy to see he was never made to be one, and that God hath him not in his grace." "He poisoned our Conan, that brave Count of Brittany," said the Bretons. "He has invaded our noble kingdom, and massacred the legitimate heirs to it, or driven them into exile," cried the English. "He is ungrateful to the brave men who have shed their blood for him, and raised him to a higher pitch of greatness than any of his predecessors ever knew," said the foreign captains; "and what has he given to us conquerors covered with wounds? Nothing but lands naturally sterile or devastated by the war; and then, as soon as he sees we have improved those estates, he takes them from us, or diminishes their extent." The guests cried out tumultuously that all this was true—that William the Bastard was in odium with all men—that his death would gladden the hearts of many.¹

The great object of the Norman conspirators was to gain over Earl Walthef, whose warlike qualities and great popularity with the English were well known to them; and, when they proceeded to divulge the particulars of their plan, the Earls of Hereford and Norwich allured him with the promise of a third of England, which was to be partitioned into the old Saxon kingdoms of Wessex, Mercia, and Northumberland. With the fumes of wine in his head, and a general ardour and enthusiasm around him, Walthef, it is said, gave his approval to the conspiracy; but, according to one version of the story, the next morning, "when he had consulted with his pillow, and awaked his wits to perceive the danger whereunto he was drawn, he determined not to move in it," and took measures to prevent its

breaking out. A more generally received account, however, is, that Walthef, seeing from the first the madness of the scheme, and the little probability it offered of benefiting the English people, refused to engage in it, and only took an oath of secrecy. The whole project, indeed, was insane; the discontented barons had scarcely a chance of succeeding against the established authority and the genius of William; and their success, had it been possible, would have proved a curse to the country; a step fatally retrograde; a going back towards the time of the Saxon Heptarchy, when England was fractured into a number of petty hostile states. It is quite certain that Walthef never took up arms, nor did any overt act of treason, but in his uneasiness of mind, and his confidence in so dear a connection, he disclosed to his wife Judith all that had been done in Norwich Castle; and this confidence is generally believed to have been the main cause of his ruin. Roger Fitz-Osborn and Ralph de Gaël, the real heads of the confederacy, were hurried into action before their scheme was ripe, for their secret was betrayed by some one. The first of these earls, who had returned to his government, and collected his followers and a considerable number of Welsh, was checked in his attempt to cross the Severn at Worcester, nor could he find a passage at any other point, as Ours, the Viscount of Worcester, and Wulfstan, the bishop, occupied the left bank of that river with a great force of Norman cavalry. Egelwin, the abbot of Evesham, who, like Wulfstan, was an Englishman, induced the population of Gloucester to rise and co-operate with the king's officers; and Walter de Lacy, a great baron in those parts, soon brought up a mixed host of English and Normans, that rendered the Earl of Hereford's project of crossing the Severn, to co-operate with his brother-in-law in the heart of England, altogether hopeless. Lanfranc, the Italian Archbishop of Canterbury, who acted as viceroy during William's absence, proceeding with the greatest decision, also sent troops from London and Winchester to oppose Fitz-Osborn, at whose head he hurled, at the same time, the terrible sentence of excommunication. In writing to the king in Normandy, the primate said, "It would be with pleasure, and as envoy of God, that we could welcome you among us; but," added the energetic old priest, "do not hurry yourself to cross the sea, for it would be putting us to shame to come and aid us in destroying such traitors and thieves." The Earl of Hereford fell back from the Severn, and his brother-in-law, the Earl of Norfolk, left to himself, and unable to procure in time assistance, for which he had applied to the Danes, was suddenly attacked by a royal army of very superior force, led on by Odo, the Bishop of

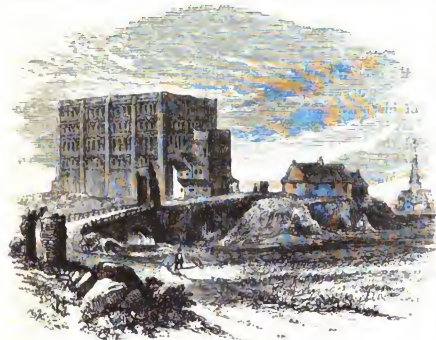
¹ *Wm. Malm. ; Malt. Paris. ; Orderic.*

Bayeux, Geoffrey, Bishop of Coutances, and Richard de Bienfait and William de Warenne, the two justiciaries of the kingdom, who obtained a complete victory, and cut off the right foot of every prisoner they made. The earl retreated to Norwich, garrisoned his castle with the most trusty of his followers, and, leaving his bride to defend it, passed over to Brittany, in hopes of obtaining succour from his countrymen. The daughter of William Fitz-Osborn defended Norwich Castle with great bravery; and when, at the

tons, who were supported by the French king,² William then crossed the Channel to suppress the insurrection in England; but by the time he arrived, there was little left for him to do except to punish the principal offenders. The Earl of Hereford had been followed, defeated, and taken prisoner, and many of his adherents, Welsh, English, and Normans, hanged on high gibbets, or blinded, or mutilated. At a royal court De Gaël was outlawed, and his brother-in-law, Fitz-Osborn, condemned to perpetual imprisonment

and the forfeiture of his property. Scarcely one of the guests at the ill-augured marriage of Emma Fitz-Osborn escaped with life, and even the inhabitants of the town of Norwich felt the weight of royal vengeance. The last and most conspicuous victim was Waltheof, who had been guilty, at most, of a misprision of treason. His secret had been betrayed by his wife Judith, who is said, moreover, to have accused him of inviting over the Danish fleet, which now made its appearance on the coast of Norfolk. The motive that made this heartless woman seek the death of her brave and generous husband, was a passion she had conceived for a Norman nobleman, whom she hoped to marry

if she could but be made a widow. Others, however, although acting under different impulses, were quite as urgent as the Conqueror's niece for the execution of the English earl. These were Norman barons, who had cast the eyes of affection on his honours and estates—"his great possessions being his greatest enemies." The judges were divided in opinion as to the proper sentence, some of them maintaining that, as a revolted *English* subject, Waltheof ought to die; others, that as an officer of the king, and according to *Norman* law, he ought only to suffer the minor punishment of perpetual imprisonment. These differences of opinion lasted nearly a whole year, during which the earl was confined in the royal citadel of Winchester. At length his wife and other enemies prevailed, the sentence of death was pronounced, and confirmed by the king, who



NORWICH CASTLE.—J. S. Prout, from an old view

end of three months, she capitulated, she obtained mild terms for her garrison, which was almost entirely composed of Bretons. They did not suffer in life or limb, but were shipped off to the Continent within the term of forty days. The Bretons generally had rendered themselves unpopular at William's court. With the true character of their race, they were irascible, turbulent, factious, and much more devoted to the head of their clan than to the king. When they were embarked, Lanfranc wrote to his master, "Glory be to God, your kingdom is at last purged of the filth of these Bretons." The king invaded Brittany, in the hope of exterminating the fugitive Earl of Norwich in his native castle, and reducing that province to entire subjection; but, after laying an unsuccessful siege to the town of Dol, he was obliged to retire before an army of Bre-

¹ The site of Norwich Castle was probably occupied by one belonging to the East Anglian kings. It had three nearly circular concentric lines of defence, each consisting of a wall and ditch, inclosing a court. Beside these, there was the keep, the only part now standing, and which has been covered by a modern casing of granite. The whole comprehended an area of 23 acres. The inner ditch and the bridge over it still remain. The bridge is 150 ft. long, and has one arch of 40 ft. span, supposed to be the largest and most perfect arch remaining of what

has been popularly but erroneously termed Saxon architecture. The wall of the innermost baillium has long been destroyed, but there are the remains of two round towers, part of the original gateway at the inner end of the bridge. The central keep is a substantial quadrangular building, of 110 ft. from east to west, including a small tower, through which was the principal entrance. From north to south it is 93 ft.; its height to the battlements is upwards of 60 ft.

² Daru, *Hist. de la Bretagne*.

is said to have long wished for the opportunity of putting him out of his way. The unfortunate son of that great and good Earl Siward, whom Shakspeare has immortalized, was executed on a hill, a short distance from the town of Winchester, at a very early hour in the morning, and in great haste, lest the citizens should become aware of his fate, and attempt a rescue.¹ His body was thrown into a hole dug at a cross-road, and covered with earth in a hurry; but the king was induced to permit its removal thence, and the English monks of Croyland, to whom the deceased earl had been a benefactor, took it up, and carried it to their abbey, where they gave it a more honourable sepulture. The patriotic superstition of the nation soon converted the dead warrior into a saint, and the universal grief of the English people found some consolation in giving a ready credence to the miracles said to be performed at his tomb. The Anglo-Saxon hagiology seems to have abounded, beyond that of most other nations, in unfortunate patriots and heroes who had fallen in battle against the invaders of the country. And what became of the widow of the brave son of Siward—of the “infamous Judith,” as she is called by nearly all the chroniclers? So far from permitting her to marry the man of whom she was enamoured, her uncle William, who was most despotic in these matters, and claimed as part of his prerogative the right of disposing of female wards, insisted on her giving her hand to one Simon, a Frenchman of Senlis, a very brave soldier, but lame and deformed; and when the perverse widow rejected the match with insulting language, he drove her from his presence, deprived her of all Waltheof's estates, and gave them to Simon, without the incumbent of such a wife. Cast from the king's favour, and reduced to poverty, she became almost as unpopular with the Normans as she was with the English; and the wretched woman, hated by all, or justly contemned, passed the rest of her life in wandering in different corners of England, seeking to hide her shame in remote and secluded places.

The Normans had been gradually encroaching on the Welsh territory, both on the side of the Dee and on the side of the Severn, and now William in person led a formidable army into Wales, where he is said to have struck such terror, that the native princes performed feudal homage to him at St. David's, and delivered many hostages and Norman and English prisoners, with which he returned as a “victorious conqueror.” In the north of England he made no further progress, and had considerable difficulty in retaining the land he had occupied. The Scots again crossed

the Tweed and the Tyne, and much harassed the Norman barons. At the approach of a superior army they retired; but William's officers did not follow them, and the only result of the expedition, on the king's side, was the founding of the city of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. The impression made upon Scotland by the Conqueror when he had marched in person, must have been of the slightest kind, and his circumstances never permitted him to return.

A.D. 1077-9. He was now wounded by the sharp tooth of filial disobedience, and obliged to be frequently, and for long intervals, on the Continent, where a fierce and unnatural war was waged between father and son. When William first received the submission of the province of Maine, he had promised the inhabitants to make his eldest son, Robert, their prince; and before departing for the conquest of England he stipulated that, in case of succeeding in his enterprise, he would resign the duchy of Normandy to the same son. So confident was he of success, that he permitted the Norman chiefs, who consented to and legalized the appointment, to swear fealty and render homage to young Robert as their future sovereign. But all this was done to allay the jealousy of the King of France and his other neighbours, uneasy at the prospect of his vastly extending power; and when he was firmly seated in his conquest, and had strengthened his hands, William openly showed his determination of keeping and ruling both his insular kingdom and his continental duchy. Grown up to man's estate, Robert claimed what he considered his right. “My son, I wot not to throw off my clothes till I go to bed,” was the homely but decisive answer of his father. Robert was brave to rashness, ambitious, impatient of command; and a young prince in his circumstances was never yet without adherents and counsellors, to urge him to those extreme measures on which they found their own hopes of fortune and advancement. He was suspected of fanning the flames of discontent in Brittany as well as in Maine, and to have had an understanding with the King of France, when that monarch frustrated William's attempt to seize the fugitive Breton, Raoul de Gâel, and forced the King of England to raise the siege of Dol. Some circumstances, which added to the number of the unnatural elements already engaged, made Robert declare himself more openly. In person he was less favoured by nature than his two younger brothers, William and Henry, who seemed to engross all their father's favour, and who probably made an improper use of the nickname of *Courte-heuse*,² which was given to Robert on account of the shortness of his legs. One day,

¹ Orderic gives some curious particulars respecting the execution.

² Literally “short-house,” or “short-boot”—*Brevis Cervice*.—Orderic. *Vital.*

when the king and his court were staying in the little town of L'Aigle, William and Henry went to the house of a certain Roger Chaussiègue, which had been allotted to their brother Robert for his lodging, and installed themselves, without his leave, in the upper gallery or balcony. After playing for a time at dice, "as was the fashion with military men," they began to make a great noise and uproar, and then they finished their boyish pranks by emptying a pitcher of water on the heads of Robert and his comrades, who were passing in the court below. Robert, naturally passionate, probably required no additional incentive; but it is stated that one of his companions, Alberic de Grantmesnil, a son of Hugh de Grantmesnil, whom King William had formerly deprived of his estates in England, instigated the prince to resent the action of his brothers as a public affront, which could not be borne in honour. Robert drew his sword, and ran up stairs, vowing that he would wipe out the insult with blood. A great tumult followed, and the king, who rushed to the spot, had much difficulty in quelling it. That very night Robert fled with his companions to Rouen, fully determined to raise the standard of revolt. He failed in his first attempt, which was to take the castle of Rouen; and, soon after, some of his warmest partizans were surprised and made prisoners by the king's officers. The prince escaped across the frontiers of Normandy, into the district of Le Perche, where Hugh, nephew of Albert le Ribaud, welcomed him, and sheltered him in his castles of Sorel and Reymalard. By the mediation of his mother, who seems to have been fondly attached to him, Robert was reconciled to his father; but the reconciliation did not last long, for the prince was as impatient for authority as ever; and the young counsellors who surrounded him found it unseemly, and altogether abominable, that he should be left so poor, through the avarice of his father, as not to have a shilling to give his faithful friends who followed his fortunes.¹ Thus excited, Robert went to his father, and again demanded possession of Normandy; but the king again refused him, exhorting him, at the same time, to change his associates for serious old men, like the royal counsellor and prime minister, Archbishop Lanfranc. "Sire," said Robert bluntly, "I came here to claim my right, and not to listen to sermons; I heard plenty of them, and tedious ones, too, when I was learning my grammar;" and then he added that he insisted on a positive answer to his demand of the duchy. The king wrathfully replied that he would never give up Normandy, his native land, nor share with another any part of England, nor that he had won with his own toil and peril.

"Well, then," said Robert, "I will go and bear arms among strangers, and perhaps I shall obtain from them what is refused to me by my father."² He set out accordingly, and wandered through Flanders, Lorraine, Gascony, and other lands, visiting dukes, counts, and rich burgesses, relating his grievances and asking assistance; but all the money he got on these eleemosynary circuits he dissipated among minstrels and jugglers, parasites and prostitutes, and was thus obliged to go again a-begging, or borrow money at an enormous interest. Queen Matilda, whose maternal tenderness was not estranged by the follies and vices of her son, contrived to remit him several sums when he was in great distress. William discovered this, and sternly forbade it for the future. But her heart still yearning for the prodigal, the queen made further remittances, and her secret was again betrayed. The king then reproached her, in bitter terms, for distributing among his enemies the treasures he gave her to guard for himself, and ordered the arrest of Samson, her messenger, who had carried the money, and whose eyes he vowed to tear out as a proper punishment. Samson, who was a Breton, took to flight, and became a monk, "for the salvation both of body and soul."³

After leading a vagabond life for some time, Robert repaired to the French court, and King Philip, still finding in him the instrument he wanted, openly espoused his cause, and established him in the castle of Gerberoy, on the very confines of Normandy, where he supported himself by plundering the neighbouring country, and whence he corresponded with the disaffected in the duchy. Knights and troops of adventurers on horseback flocked to share the plunder and the *pay* he now had to offer them: in the number were as many Norman as French subjects, and not a few men of King William's own household. Burning with rage, the king crossed the Channel with a formidable English army, and came in person to direct the siege of the strong castle of Gerberoy, where he lost many men in fruitless operations, and from sorties made by the garrison. With all his faults, Robert had many good and generous qualities, which singularly endeared him to his friends when living, and which, along with his cruel misfortunes, caused him to be mourned when dead. Ambition, passion, and evil counsel had lulled and stupified, but had not extirpated his natural feelings. One day, in a sally from his castle, he chanced to engage in single combat with a stalwart warrior clad in mail, and concealed, like himself, with the visor of his helm. Both were valiant and well skilled in the use of their weapons; but, after a fierce combat, Robert wounded

¹ "Ibique super solarium (sicut militibus mos est) tessera ludere coeperunt."—*Orderic. Vital.*

² *Ibid.*

³ *Orderic.*

⁴ *Pro salvatione corporis et anime.—Orderic. Vital.*

and unhorsed his antagonist. In the voice of the fallen warrior, who shouted for assistance, the prince, who was about to follow up his advantage with a death-stroke, recognized his father, and, instantly dismounting, fell on his knees, craved forgiveness with tears, and helping him to his saddle, saw him safely out of the *mêlée*, which now thickened. The men who were coming up to the king's assistance, and bringing a second horse for him to mount, were nearly all killed. William rode away to his camp on Robert's horse, smarting with his wound, and still cursing his son, who had so seasonably mounted him.¹ He relinquished the siege of Gerberoy in despair, and went to Rouen, where, as soon as his temper permitted, his wife and bishops, with many of the Norman nobles, laboured to reconcile him again to Robert. For a long time the iron-hearted king was deaf to their entreaties, or only irritated by them. "Why," cried he, "do you solicit me in favour of a traitor who has seduced my men—my very pupils in war, whom I fed with my own bread, and invested with the knightly arms they wear?"² At last he yielded, and Robert, having again knelt and wept before him, received his father's pardon, and accompanied him to England. But even now the reconciliation on the part of the unforgiving king was a mere matter of policy, and Robert, finding no symptoms of returning affection, and fearing for his life or liberty, soon fled for the third time, and never saw his father's face again. His departure was followed by another paternal malediction, which was never revoked.

A.D. 1080. Walcher of Lorraine, installed in the bishopric of Durham and his strong castle "on the highest hill," united to his episcopal functions the political and military government of Northumberland. The earl-bishop boasted that he was equally skilful in repressing rebellion with the edge of the sword, and reforming the morals of the English by eloquent discourse. But the Lorrainer was a harsh taskmaster to the English, laying heavy labours and taxes upon them, and permitting the officers under him and his men-at-arms to plunder, insult, and kill them with impunity.³ Liulf, an Englishman of noble birth, and endeared to the whole province, ventured, on being robbed by some of Walcher's satellites, to lay his complaint before the bishop. Shortly after making this accusation, Liulf was murdered by night in his manor-house, near the city of Durham, and it was well proved that one Gilbert, and others in the bishop's service, were the perpetrators of the foul deed. "Hereupon," says an old writer, "the

malice of the people was kindled against him, and when it was known that he had received the murderers into his house, and favoured them as before, they stomached the matter highly." Secret meetings were held at the dead of night, and the Northumbrians, who had lost none of their old spirit, and were absolutely driven to madness, because, among other causes of endearment, Liulf had married the widow of Earl Siward, the mother of the unfortunate Earl Waltheof, resolved to take a sanguinary vengeance. Both parties met by agreement at Gateshead;⁴ the bishop, who protested his innocence of the homicide, in the pomp of power, surrounded by his retainers; the Northumbrians in humble guise, as if to petition their lord for justice, though every man among them carried a sharp weapon hid under his garment. The bishop, alarmed at the number of English that continued to flock to the place of rendezvous, retired with all his retinue into the church. The people then signified in plain terms that, unless he came forth and showed himself, they would fire the place where he stood. As he did not move, the threat was executed. Then, seeing the smoke and flames arising, he caused Gilbert and his accomplices to be thrust out of the church. The people fell with savage joy on the murderers of Liulf, and cut them to pieces. Half-suffocated by the heat and smoke, the bishop himself wrapped the skirts of his gown over his face, and came to the threshold of the door. There seems to have been a moment of hesitation; but a voice was heard among the crowd, saying, "Good rede, short rede! slay ye the bishop!" and the bishop was slain accordingly.⁵ The foreigners had nothing left but the alternative of being burned alive or perishing by the sword. The bishop's chaplain seemed to give a preference to the former death, for he lingered long in the burning church; but in the end he was compelled, by the raging fire, to come out, and was also slain and lucked to pieces—"as he had well deserved," adds an old historian, "being the main promoter of all the mischief that had been done in the country."⁶ Of all who had accompanied the bishop to the tragical meeting at Gateshead, only two were left alive, and these were menials of English birth. Above 100 men, Normans and Flemings, perished with Walcher.⁷

A.D. 1082. William intrusted to one bishop the office of avenging another. His half-brother, Odo, the fierce Bishop of Bayeux, marched to Durham with a numerous army. He found no force on foot to resist him, but he treated the whole country as an insurgent province, and making no distinction of persons, and employing

¹ Chron. Sax.: Florent. Wigorn. The story is told somewhat differently in the Chron. Lambardi.

² Tirones meos, quos alui et armis militariis decoravi, abduxit.—Orderic. Vital. ³ Matt. Paris.; Anglia Sacra.

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⁴ The name means "goat's head." "ad caput capree."—Florent. Wigorn. ⁵ Matt. Paris. ⁶ [Ibidem].

⁷ Saxton Chronicle.

no judicial forms, he beheaded or mutilated all the men he could find in their houses. Some persons of property bought their lives by surrendering everything they possessed. By this exterminating expedition Odo obtained the reputation of being one of the greatest "dominators of the English;" but it seems to have been the last he commanded, and disgraced with cruelty, during the reign of William. This churchman, besides being Bishop of Bayeux in Normandy, was Earl of Kent in England, and held many high offices in this island, where he had accumulated enormous wealth, chiefly by extortion, or a base selling of justice. For some years a splendid dream of ambition, which he thought he could realize by means of money, increased his rapacity. There were many instances in those ages of kings becoming monks, but not one of a Catholic priest becoming a king. Profane crowns being out of his reach, Odo aspired to a sacred one—to the tiara—that triple crown of Rome, which gradually obtained, in another shape, a homage more widely extended than that paid to the Cæsars. His dream was cherished by the predictions of some Italian astrologers, who, living in his service, and being well paid, assured him that he would be the successor of Gregory VII., the reigning pope. Odo opened a correspondence with the Eternal City by means of English and Norman pilgrims who were constantly flocking thither, bought a palace at Rome, and sent rich presents to the senators. His project was not altogether so visionary as it has been considered by most writers, and we can hardly understand why his half-brother, William, should have checked it, unless indeed his interference proceeded from his desire of getting possession of the bishop's wealth. Ten years before the Conqueror invaded England, Robert Guiscard, one of twelve heroic Norman brothers, had acquired the sovereignty of the greater part of those beautiful countries that are now included within the kingdom of Naples. The Norman lance was dreaded in all the rest of Italy, and with a Norman pope established at Rome, the supremacy of that people might have been extended from one end of the peninsula to the other. The Bishop of Bayeux had some reason for counting on the sympathy of his powerful countrymen in the south, the close neighbours of Rome; and the influence of gold had been felt before now in the college of cardinals, and the elections of popes. It is quite certain that a considerable number of the Norman chiefs entered into Odo's views; and when he made up his mind to set out for Italy in person, a brilliant escort was formed for him. "Hugh the Wolf," the famous Earl of Chester, who had a long account of sin to settle—if he considered the butchering of English and Welsh as crimes—was anxious to

go to Rome, and joined the bishop, with some considerable barons, his friends, and much money.

The king was in Normandy when he heard of this expedition, and being resolute in his determination of stopping it, he instantly set sail for England. He surprised the aspirant to the papedom at the Isle of Wight, seized his treasures, and summoned him before a council of Norman barons hastily assembled at that island. Here the king accused his half-brother of "untruth and sinister dealings"—of having abused his power, both as viceroy and judge, and as an earl of the realm—of having maltreated the English beyond measure, to the great danger of the common cause—of having robbed the churches of the land—and finally, of having seduced and attempted to carry out of England, and beyond the Alps, the warriors of the king, who needed their services for the safe keeping of the kingdom. Having exposed his grievances, William asked the council what such a brother deserved at his hands? No one durst answer. "Arrest him, then!" cried the king, "and see that he be well looked to!" If they had been backward in pronouncing an opinion, they were still more averse to lay hands on a bishop; not one of the council moved, though it was the king that ordered them. William then advanced himself, and seized the prelate by his robe. "I am a clerk—a priest," cried Odo; "I am a minister of the Lord: the pope alone has the right of judging me!" But his brother, without losing his hold, replied, "I do not arrest you as Bishop of Bayeux, but as Earl of Kent."¹ Odo was carried forthwith to Normandy, and, instead of crossing the Alps and the Apennines, was shut up in a castle.

Soon after imprisoning his brother, William lost his wife, Matilda, whom he tenderly loved; and after her death it was observed or fancied he became more suspicious, more jealous of the authority of his old companions in arms, and more avaricious than ever. The coming on of old age is, however, enough in itself to account for such a change in such a man. After a lapse of ten years the Danes were again heard of, and their threats of invading England kept William in a state of anxiety for nearly two whole years, and were the cause of his laying fresh burdens upon his English subjects. He revived the odious Danegeld; and because many lands and manors which had been charged with it in the time of the Anglo-Saxon kings had been specially exempted from this tax when he granted them in fief to his nobles, he made up the deficiency by raising it upon the other lands, to the rate of six shillings a-hide. The money he thus obtained, with part of the treasures he had amassed, was

¹ Chron. Sax.; Florent.; Malmesb.; Orderic.

employed in hiring and bringing over foreign auxiliaries; for though he could rely on an English army when fighting against Frenchmen, or the people of Normandy, Maine, and Brittany, he could not trust them at home; and he well knew that many of them on the eastern and north-eastern shores would join the Danish invaders heart and hand, instead of opposing them. He therefore collected, as he had done before, men of all nations; and these came across the Channel in such numbers that, according to the chroniclers, people began to wonder how the land could feed so many hungry bellies. These hordes of foreigners sorely oppressed the natives, for William quartered them throughout the country, to be paid as well as supported.

To complete the miseries inflicted upon England at this time, William ordered all the land lying near the sea-coast to be laid waste, so that if the Danes should land, they would find no ready supply of food or forage.¹

The Conqueror had often felt the want of a naval force, and knowing that to encourage commerce was the best means of fostering a navy, he repeatedly invited foreigners to frequent his ports, promising that they and their property should be perfectly secure. But he did not live to possess a navy of his own.

Another domestic calamity afflicted the latter years of the Conqueror—for he saw a violent jealousy growing up between his favourite sons, William and Henry. Robert, his eldest son, continued an exile or fugitive; and Richard, his second son in order of birth (but whom some make illegitimate), had been gored to death by a stag,² some years before, as he was hunting in the New Forest; and he was noted by the old English annalists as being the first of several of the Conqueror's progeny that perished in that place—"the justice of God punishing in him his father's dispeopling of that country."

Perhaps no single act of the Conqueror inflicted more misery within the limits of its operation, and certainly none has been more bitterly stigmatized, than his seizure and wasting of the lands in Hampshire, to make himself a hunting-ground. Like most of the great men of the time, who had few other amusements, William was passionately fond of the chase. The Anglo-Saxon kings had the same taste, and left many royal parks and forests in all parts of England,

wherein he might have gratified a reasonable passion; but he was not satisfied with the possession of these, and resolved to have a vast hunting-ground "for his insatiate and superfluous pleasure," in the close neighbourhood of the royal city, Winchester, his favourite place of residence. In an early part of his reign he therefore seized all the south-western part of Hampshire, measuring thirty miles from Salisbury to the sea, and in circumference not much less than ninety miles. This wide district, before called Ytene or Ytchtene (a name yet partially preserved), was to some extent uninhabited, and fit for the purposes of the chase, abounding in sylvan spots and coverts; but it included, at the same time, many fertile and cultivated manors, which he caused to be totally absorbed in the surrounding wilderness, and many towns or villages, with no fewer than thirty-six mother or parish churches, all which he demolished, and drove away the people, making them no compensation. According to the indisputable authority of *Doomsday Book*, in which we have an account of the state of this territory both before and after its "afforestation," the damage done to private property must have been immense. In an extent of nearly ninety miles in circumference, one hundred and eight places, manors, villages, or hamlets suffered in a greater or less degree.³ Some melancholy traces of these ancient abodes of the Anglo-Saxons are still to be found in the recesses of the New Forest, and have been described by a gentleman⁴ who passed much of his life in and near those woods, and who was the successor in office to Sir Walter Tyrrel, as bow-bearer to the king. In many spots, though no ruins are visible above ground, either the line of erections can be traced by the elevation of the soil, or fragments of building materials have been discovered on turning up the surface. The traditional names of places still used by the foresters, such as "Church-place," "Church-moor," "Thomson's Castle," seem to mark the now solitary spots as the sites of ancient buildings where the English people worshipped their God, and dwelt in peace, before they were swept away by the Conqueror; and the same elegant writer we have last referred to suggests that the termination of *ham* and *ton*, yet annexed to some woodlands, may be taken as evidence of the former existence of hamlets and towns in the Forest.⁵

¹ *Saxon Chronicle*.

² Other accounts say he was killed by a "pestilent blast" which crossed him while hunting; but, we believe, all fix the scene of his death in the New Forest.

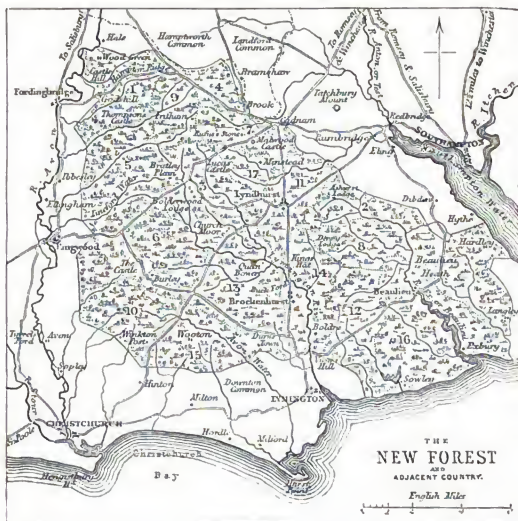
³ Warner, *Topographical Remarks on the South-Western Parts of Hampshire*.

⁴ The late William Stewart Rose, Esq. The office of bow-bearer for the New Forest is now, of course, a sinecure, and it is almost purely honorary, the salary being 40s. in the year, and

one buck in the season. In his oath of office the bow-bearer swears "to be of good behaviour towards his majesty's wild beasts."

⁵ See notes to *The Red King*, a spirited poem, by William Stewart Rose, Esq., the royal bow-bearer, in which the manners and costume of the period are carefully preserved. Mr. Rose justly observes, "that this cannot be considered as one of those 'historical doubts,' the solution of which involves nothing beyond the mere disentanglement of an intricate knot. It may

We have entered into these slight details because some foreign writers, at the head of whom is Voltaire, have professed a disbelief of the early history of the New Forest, and because some



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| 1. Akeley Walk. | 6. Burley Walk. | 10. Holmaley Walk. | 14. Whitley Ridge Walk. |
| 2. Ashurst Walk. | 7. Castle Malwood Walk. | 11. Irons Hill Walk. | 15. Wivierley Walk. |
| 3. Balderwood Walk. | 8. Denny Lodge Walk. | 12. Lady Cross Walk. | 16. Beaulieu Manor. |
| 4. Bramblehill Walk. | 9. Eyewort's Walk. | 13. Rifeild Walk. | 17. Minstead Manor. |
| 5. Broomy Walk. | | | |

native writers, including even Dr. Warton, who was "naturally disposed to cling to the traditions of antiquity," fancying there were no existing ruins or traces of such desolation, have doubted whether William destroyed villages, castles, and churches, though that demolition is recorded by chroniclers who wrote a very short time after the event, and is proved beyond the reach of a doubt by *Doomsday Book*. If any other proof were necessary, it ought to be found in the universal tradition of the people in all ages, that on account of the unusual crimes and cruelties committed there by William, God made the New Forest the death-scene of three princes of his own blood. The seizure of a waste or wholly uninhabited district would have been nothing extraordinary; it was the sufferings of the people, who were driven from their villages—the wrongs done the clergy,

be considered as making one of a series of acts of tyranny, unvarnished with any plea which might palliate or disguise its enormity; and, as such, forming a curious feature in the history of manners."

whose churches were destroyed—that made the deep and ineffaceable impression.

At the same time that the Conqueror thus enlarged the field of his own pleasures at the expense of his subjects, he enacted new laws, by which he prohibited hunting in any of his forests, and rendered the penalties more severe than ever had been inflicted for such offences. At this period the killing of a man might be atoned for by payment of a moderate fine or composition; but not so, by the New Forest laws, the slaying of one of the king's beasts of chase. "He ordained," says the *Saxon Chronicle*, "that whosoever should kill a stag or a deer should have his eyes torn out; wild boars were protected in the same manner as deer, and he even made statutes equally severe to preserve the hares. This savage king loved wild beasts as if he had been *their father*." These forest laws, which were executed with rigour against the English, caused great misery; for many of them depended on the chase as a chief means of subsistence. By including in his

royal domain all the great forests of England, and insisting on his right to grant or refuse permission to hunt in them, William gave sore offence to many of his Norman nobles, who were as much addicted to the sport as himself, but who were prohibited from keeping sporting dogs, even on their own estates, unless they subjected the poor animals to a mutilation of the fore-paws, that rendered them unfit for hunting. From their first establishment, and through their different gradations of "forest laws" and "game-laws," these jealous regulations have constantly been one of the most copious sources of dissension, litigation, violence, and bloodshed.¹

Towards the end of the year 1086, William summoned all the chiefs of the army of the Conquest, the sons of those chiefs, and every one to whom he had given a fief, to meet him at Salisbury. All the barons and all the abbots came, attended with men-at-arms and part of their vassals, the whole assemblage, it is said, amounting to 60,000 men. The chiefs, both lay and churchmen, took again the oath of allegiance and homage to the king; but the assertion that they rendered the same to Prince William, as his successor, seems to be without good foundation. Shortly after receiving these new pledges, William, accompanied by his two sons, passed over to the Continent, taking with him "a mighty mass of money fitted for some great attempt," and being followed by the numberless curses of the English people. The enterprise he had on hand was a war with France, for the possession of the city of Mantes, with the territory situated between the Epte and the Oise, which was then called the country of Vexin. William at first entered into negotiations for this territory, which he claimed as his right; but Philip, the French king, after amusing his rival for a while with quibbles and sophisms, marched troops into the country, and secretly authorized some of his barons to make incursions on the frontiers of Normandy. During the negotiations William fell sick, and kept his bed. As he advanced in years

he grew excessively fat; and, spite of his violent exercise, his indulgence in the pleasures of the table had given him considerable rotundity of person. On the score of many grudges, his hatred of the French king was intense; and Philip now drove him to frenzy by saying, as a good joke among his courtiers, that his cousin William was a long while lying-in, but that no doubt there would be a fine churching when he was delivered. On hearing this coarse and insipid jest, the conqueror of England swore by the most terrible of his oaths—by the splendour and birth of Christ—that he would be churchied in Notre Dame, the cathedral of Paris, and present so many wax torches that all France should be set in a blaze.²

It was not until the end of July (1087) that he was in a state to mount his war-horse, though it is asserted by a cotemporary that he was convalescent before then, and expressly waited that season to make his vengeance the more dreadful to the country. The corn was almost ready for the sickle, the grapes hung in rich ripening clusters on the vines, when William marched his cavalry through the corn-fields, and made his soldiery tear up the vines by the roots, and cut down the pleasant trees. His destructive host was soon before Mantes, which either was taken by surprise and treachery, or offered but a feeble resistance. At his orders the troops fired the unfortunate town, sparing neither church nor monastery, but doing their best to reduce the whole to a heap of ashes. As the Conqueror rode up to view the ruin he had made, his horse put his fore-feet on some embers or hot cinders, which caused him to swerve or plunge so violently, that the heavy rider was thrown on the high pommel of the saddle, and grievously bruised. The king dismounted in great pain, and never more put foot in stirrup.³ He was carried slowly in a litter to Rouen, and again laid in his bed. The bruise had produced a rupture; and being in a bad habit of body, and somewhat advanced in years, it was soon evident to all, and

¹ These laws, however, did not much affect the main fabric of the national jurisprudence, as to which Sir F. Palgrave remarks as follows:—"Notwithstanding the violence and desolation attendant upon the Conquest, William the Norman governed with as much equity and justice as was compatible with the forcible assumption of the regal power; and the main fabric of the Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence remained unchanged, although some alterations had been effected in the executive details. If William ever contemplated the introduction of the Norman jurisprudence as the law of the whole people of England, that plan had been defeated, and probably by the opposition of the Normans themselves, united to the unwillingness of the natives. Had the Conqueror succeeded, the royal prerogatives would have gained a great accession; for it was the English laws which protected the Norman barons, whose franchises were established by pleading the usages which had prevailed under Edward the Confessor. So great, indeed, was the traditional veneration inspired by the hallowed name of the last legitimate Anglo-Saxon king,

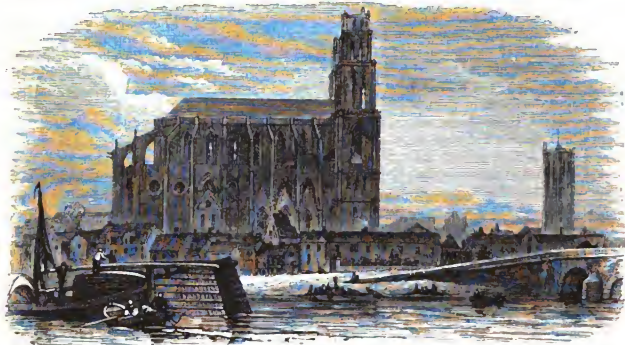
that the Normans themselves were willing to claim him as the author of the wise customs of their native country. And we may be also inclined to believe that notwithstanding the very strong terms in which the chroniclers describe the despotism of the Conqueror—"all things," it is said, "Divine and human, obeyed his beck and nod"—his supremacy over the church was the principal oppression of which they complained. But the employment of foreign functionaries was followed by new forms of proceeding, not accompanied, perhaps, by any decided intention of innovating, and dictated merely by the pressure of circumstances, which, nevertheless, had afterwards the effect of displacing much of the old jurisprudence as it existed before the invasion, or of causing it to assume another guise."—*Palgrave's Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth*, part i. p. 240.

² *Chron. de Normand.*: Brompton. It was the custom for women, at their churching, to carry lighted tapers in their hands.

³ *Ordric.*: *Anglia Sacra*.

even to himself, that the consequence would be fatal. Being disturbed by the noise and bustle of Rouen, and no doubt desirous of dying in a holy place, he had himself carried to the monastery of St. Gervas, outside of the city walls. There he lingered for six weeks, surrounded by doctors, who could do him no good, and by priests and monks, who, at least, did not neglect the opportunity of doing much good for themselves.

Becoming sensible of the approach of death, his heart softened for the first time; and though he preserved his kingly decorum, and conversed calmly on the wonderful events of his life, he is said to have felt the vanity of all human grandeur, and a keen remorse for the crimes and cruelties he had committed. He sent money to Mantes, to rebuild the churches he had burned, and he ordered large sums to be paid to the



MANTES.¹—Drawn by H. G. Hine, from his sketch on the spot.

churches and monasteries in England. It was represented to him that one of the best means of obtaining mercy from God was to show mercy to man; and at length he consented to the instant release of his state-prisoners, some of whom had pined in dungeons for more than twenty years. Of those that were English among these captives, the most conspicuous were—Earl Morcar, Beorn, and Ulnoth or Wulnot, the brother of Harold; of the Normans—Roger Fitz-Osborn, formerly Earl of Hereford, and Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, his own half-brother. The pardon which was wrung from him with most difficulty was that of Odo, whom, at first, he excepted in his act of grace, saying he was a firebrand, that would ruin both England and Normandy if set at large.

His two younger sons, William and Henry, were assiduous round the death-bed of the king, waiting impatiently for the declaration of his last will. A day or two before his death, the Conqueror assembled some of his chief prelates and

barons in his sick chamber, and declared in their presence that he bequeathed the duchy of Normandy, with Maine and its other dependencies, to his eldest son, Robert, whom, it is alleged, he could not put aside in the order of succession, as the Normans were mindful of the oaths they had taken, with his father's consent, to that unfortunate prince, and were much attached to him. "As to the crown of England," said the dying monarch, "I bequeath it to no one, as I did not receive it, like the duchy of Normandy, in inheritance from my father, but acquired it by conquest and the shedding of blood with mine own good sword. The succession to that kingdom I therefore leave to the decision of God, only desiring most fervently that my son William, who has ever been dutiful to me in all things, may obtain it, and prosper in it." "And what do you give unto me, O my father?" impatiently cried Prince Henry, who had not been mentioned in this distribution. "Five thousand pounds' weight of silver out of my treasury," was his answer. "But what can I do with five thousand pounds of silver, if I have neither lands nor a home?" "Be patient," replied the king, "and have trust in the Lord; suffer thy elder brothers to precede thee—thy time will come after theirs."² Henry went

¹ Mantes is situated on the left bank of the Seine. Two fine stone bridges communicate, by an intervening island, with the small town of Limay, on the opposite bank of the river. The town is well built, and the streets are adorned with four public fountains. The church is a fine Gothic edifice, with two lofty towers, and there is another more ancient tower, which belonged to the old church of St. Maclou. In the infancy of the French monarchy, Mantes was one of its bulwarks towards Normandy.

² Orderic.

astraight, and drew the silver, which he weighed with great care, and then furnished himself with a strong coffer, well protected with locks and iron bindings, to keep his treasure in. William left the king's bedside at the same time, and, without waiting to see the breath out of the old man's body, hastened over to England to look after his crown.

About sunrise on the 9th of September, the Conqueror was for a moment roused from a stupor into which he had fallen, by the sound of bells; he eagerly inquired what the noise meant, and was answered that they were tolling the hour of prime in the church of St. Mary. He lifted his hands to heaven, and saying, "I recommend my soul to my Lady Mary, the holy mother of God," instantly expired. The events which followed his dissolution not only give a striking picture of the then unsettled state of society, but also of the character and affections of the men that waited on princes and conquerors. William's last faint sigh was the signal for a general flight and scramble. The knights, priests, and doctors who had passed the night near him, put on their spurs as soon as they saw him dead, mounted their horses, and galloped off to their several homes, to look after their property and their own interests. The king's servants, and some vassals of minor rank, left behind, then proceeded to rifle the apartment of the arms, silver vessels, linen, the royal dresses, and everything it contained, and then were to horse, and away like the rest. From prime to tierce,¹ or for about three hours, the corpse of the mighty Conqueror, abandoned by all, lay in a state of almost perfect nakedness on the bare boards. The citizens of Rouen were thrown into as much consternation as could have been excited by a conquering enemy at their gates; they either ran about the streets, asking news and advice from every one they chanced to meet, or busied themselves in concealing their moveables and valuables. At last the clergy and the monks thought of the decent duties owing to the mortal remains of their sovereign; and, forming a procession, they went with a crucifix, burning tapers and incense, to pray over the dishonoured body for the peace of its soul. The Archbishop of Rouen ordained that the king should be interred at Caen, in the church of St. Stephen's, which he had built and royally endowed. But even now it should seem there were none to do it honour; for the minute relater of these dismal transactions, who was living at the time, says that his sons, his brothers, his rela-

tions were all absent, and that of all his officers, not one was found to take charge of the obsequies, and that it was a poor knight who lived in the neighbourhood who charged himself with the trouble and expense of the funeral, "out of his natural good nature and love of God." The body was carried by water, by the Seine and the sea, to Caen, where it was received by the abbot and monks of St. Stephen's; other churchmen and the inhabitants of the city joining these, a considerable procession was formed; but as they went along after the coffin, a fire suddenly broke out in the town; laymen and clerks ran to extinguish it, and the brothers of St. Stephen's were left alone to conduct the corpse to the church. Even the last burial service did not pass undisturbed. The neighbouring bishops and abbots assembled for this ceremony. The mass had been performed; the Bishop of Evreux had pronounced the panegyric, and the body was about to be lowered into the grave prepared for it in the church, between the altar and the choir, when a man, suddenly rising in the crowd, exclaimed with a loud voice, "Bishop, the man whom you have praised was a robber; the very ground on which we are standing is mine, and is the site where my father's house stood. He took it from me by violence, to build this church on it. I reclaim it as my right; and, in the name of God, I forbid you to bury him here, or cover him with my glebe." The man who spoke thus boldly was Asseline Fitz-Arthur, who had often asked a just compensation from the king in his lifetime. Many of the persons present confirmed the truth of his statement; and, after some parley, the bishops paid him sixty shillings for the grave alone, engaging, at the same time, to procure him the full value of the rest of his land. The body, dressed in royal robes, but without a coffin, was then lowered into the tomb; the rest of the ceremony was hurried over, and the assembly dispersed.²

The personal character of William is inscribed so distinctly in the particulars of his eventful history, that any further detail of it is unnecessary. As a brave soldier, he was distinguished at a period when mere personal bravery was of the highest account; as a sagacious leader, he was so far superior to any of his contemporaries, that for his equal in English history we must pass onward to the days of Crecy and Azincourt. Even these qualities, however, would not have sufficed to win for him the proud title of the "Conqueror," had he not excelled in political craft and cunning as much as in military skill.

¹ The chronicles, who were all monks or priests, always count by these and the other canonical hours, as *sceta*, *nona*, *vesper*, &c. The church service called *prime* or *prima*, and which immediately succeeded *matins*, began about six A.M., and lasted to *tierce* or *tertia*, which commenced about nine A.M.

² *Orderic*: Waco, *Roman, de Rou.*; *Chron. de Normand.* *Orderic* gives further details respecting the lowering of the body into the grave, but they are too revolting to be translated for general readers of the nineteenth century.

Dynasties have been changed and provinces won by war, but William's attempt against England was the last great and permanent conquest of a whole nation achieved in Europe. The companions of his conquest became one people with

¹ Of William the Conqueror, M. Bonnechose says:—"His insatiable ambition was served by an invincible perseverance; he had from his infancy to face innumerable difficulties; everything was at first against him—his illegitimate birth, his tender age, the ambition of relatives disputing his paternal inheritance; he grew up amid the severest trials; he injured his soul, in suppressing rebellion, to the employment of the most violent measures, and he learned, in regaining his own patrimony, how to appropriate that of others.

"With what sagacity did he foresee remote contingencies! with what consummate skill did he so arrange everything as to insure success! When his rival is in his hands, he caresses instead of threatening him, in order to obtain from him an oath which would make him his subject if he kept it, and would disgrace him if he broke it; afterwards, when Harold occupied the throne that William claimed, the latter still temporizes, and when at the point of employing violence, studies to maintain a show of justice. With what prudence does he secure that aid from Rome which his rival disdains! how he avails himself of the passions that he needs to serve his purposes! One after another, he addresses himself to men's cupidity, to their fears, to their superstition, to their prejudices, and turns all to account. At last the moment for action comes, and that same man, whom we have seen so temporizing, so measured, and as cunning as a fox, at once becomes a lion: to him we may apply the words of Bossuet: 'The promptitude of his action affords no time for counteraction, and in the thickest of the fight at Hastings he displays a courage which would have been rash, had not the extremity of the peril been such as to render the excess of courage indispensable.

"After gaining the battle, he trusts nothing to chance, and before risking himself in the interior, he subdues and fortifies the whole of the coast; next he establishes himself as strongly to the north of the capital as to the south, and after encompassing the city on all sides, just as he seems to have only to march in order to effect its reduction, he restrains himself. His language is not that of a conqueror or a master; William caresses the leading men among his enemies, he solicits their suffrages, he allures to him the descendant of the old Saxon kings, he gives the titles of father and bishop to the very priest who, at his own pressing request, has been declared at Rome to be an intruder and a rebel; he lays no violent hand on the crown of Cerdis, he contrives to have it offered to him; he accepts it, and swears he will govern England as the best of her kings. . . . When threatened with a formidable insurrection, we have seen how he conjured the storm, by promising to inquire into the old laws of the country, and to cause them to be observed; but the national law, as interpreted by a conqueror, is the law of the strongest. We shall see with what unheard-of ability, with what a despot's tact, William contrives to extract from ancient institutions whatever could consolidate his power, and how, in evoking from their tombs all the kings whose memory had retained popularity, from Arthur to Edward, he made all speak so as to favour his views. At last, when he found his authority fully established—when he had all England within his powerful grasp, and had made all resistance hopeless—he seizes his vast prey, he tears it to pieces as it suits his humour, and of all those portions, still reeking with the blood of a whole people, he appropriates the largest to himself. He possessed countless domains; heaps of gold were yearly poured into his treasury; immense forests

those they subdued; his power was transmitted to his posterity; and after all the changes and revolutions that have happened in the course of seven centuries and a half, the blood of our reigning family is still kindred to his."

grew by his command, on what were once the sites of thriving towns; and herds of game, for his gratification, found a haunt in tracts of land laid waste for the purpose, and from which man was expelled. . . . Taught by long practical acquaintance with men and affairs, he thoroughly knew human nature and despised it; nevertheless, he believed also in the existence of virtue; and when he anywhere discovered it, his confidence became as boundless as his esteem; extraordinary merit, even in his enemies, never found him indifferent or insensible, and his admiration disarmed his wrath. If he often employed criminal means to raise and strengthen himself, he also exhibited, in several acts of his life, a serious regard and sincere zeal for religion and justice; his wisdom, in fine, consolidated what violence had established."—*Les Quatre Conquêtes de l'Angleterre*, livre iv. ch. iii.

Thierry, on the subject of the Conquest, has the following remarks:—"If, in collecting in his own mind all the facts detailed in the foregoing narration, the reader wishes to form a just idea of England upon its conquest by William of Normandy, he must figure to himself not a mere change of political rule—not the triumph of one of two competitors—but the intrusion of a nation into the bosom of another people, which it came to destroy, and the scattered fragments of which it retained as an integral portion of the new system of society, in the *status* merely of personal property, or, to use the stronger language of records and deeds, of a 'clothing to the soil.' He must not picture to himself, on the one hand, William, the king and despot; on the other, simply his subjects, high and low, rich and poor, all inhabiting England, and, consequently, all English; he must bear in mind that there were two distinct nations, the old Anglo-Saxon race and the Norman invaders, dwelling intermingled on the same soil; or rather he might contemplate two countries—the one possessed by the Normans, wealthy and exonerated from capitation and public burdens—the other, the Anglo-Saxon, enslaved and oppressed with a land-tax; the former full of spacious mansions, of walled and moated castles; the latter scattered over with thatched cabins and ancient walls, in a state of dilapidation; this peopled with the happy and the idle, with soldiers and courtiers, with knights and nobles; that with men in misery and condemned to labour, with peasants and artisans; on the one he beholds luxury and insolence—on the other, poverty and envy; not the envy of the poor at the sight of the opulence of men born to opulence, but that malignant envy, although justice be on its side, which the despoiled cannot but entertain in looking upon the spoilers. Lastly, to complete the picture, these two lands are in some sort interwoven with each other; they meet at every point; and yet they are more distinct, more completely separated, than if the ocean rolled between them. Each has its own tongue, and speaks a tongue that is strange to the other. French is the court language—used in all the palaces, castles, and mansions, in the abbies and monasteries, in all places where wealth and power offer their attractions; while the ancient language of the country is heard only at the firesides of the poor and the serfs. For a long time these two idioms were propagated without intermixture—the one being the mark of noble, the other of ignoble birth, as is expressed with bitterness in the verses of a poet of the olden time, who complains that England in his day exhibited the spectacle of a land that had repudiated its mother tongue."—*Hist. of the Norman Conquest*, conclusion of book vi.

CHAPTER II.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.

WILLIAM II., SURNAMED RUFUS.—A.D. 1087—1100.

Accession of William II., surnamed Rufus—Opposition made to his succession—Claim of his elder brother, Robert, to the crown—Odo, who assists him, is banished—Flanbard, the rapacious minister of Rufus—Contentions between Rufus and his brothers—War between England and Scotland—War between England and Wales—Conspiracy in Northumberland against Rufus defeated—Departure of Robert of Normandy to the Crusade—Rufus invades Maine—His death in the New Forest—His character.



ILLIAM RUFUS, or William the Red, who left his father at the point of death, was informed of his decease as he was on the point of embarking at Wissant, near Calais.

The news only made him the more anxious to reach England, that he might, by the actual seizure of the succession, set at defiance the pretensions of any other claimant to the crown. Arriving in England, he secured the important fortresses of Dover, Pevensey, and Hastings, concealing his father's death, and pretending to be the bearer of orders from him. He then hastened to Winchester, where, with a proper conviction of the efficacy of money, he claimed his father's treasures, which were deposited in the castle there. William de Pont-de-l'Arche, the royal treasurer, readily delivered him the keys, and Rufus took possession of £60,000 in pure silver, with much gold and many precious stones. His next step was to repair to Lanfranc, the primate, in whose hands the destinies of the kingdom may almost be said to have at that moment been. Bloet, a confidential messenger, had already delivered a letter from the deceased king, commending the cause and guidance of his son William to the archbishop, already disposed by motives both of affection and self-interest in favour of William, who had been his pupil, and for whom he had performed the sacred ceremonies on his initiation into knighthood. It is stated, however, that Lanfranc refused to declare himself in favour of Rufus till that prince promised, upon oath, to govern according to law and right, and to ask and follow the advice of the primate in all matters of importance. It appears that Lanfranc then proceeded with as much activity as Rufus could desire. He first hastily summoned a council of the prelates and barons, to give the semblance of a free election. The former he knew he could influence, and of the latter many were absent in Normandy. Some preferred William's claim and character upon principle, and others were silenced by his pre-

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sence and promises. Though a strong feeling of opposition existed, none was shown at this meeting; and Lanfranc crowned his pupil at Westminster, on Sunday, the 26th of September, 1087, the seventeenth day after the Conqueror's death.

William's first act of royal authority speaks little in his favour either as a man or a son—it was the imprisonment of the unfortunate Englishmen whom his father had liberated on his death-bed. Earls Morcar and Wulnot, who had followed him to England, in the hope of obtaining some part of the estates of their fathers, were arrested at Winchester, and confined in the castle. The Norman state prisoners, however, who had been released at the same time by the Conqueror, re-obtained possession of their estates and honours. He then gave a quantity of gold and silver, a part of the treasure found at Winchester, to "Otho, the goldsmith," with orders to work it into ornaments for the tomb of that father whom he had abandoned on his death-bed.

When Robert Courtehoose heard of his father's death, he was living, an impoverished exile, at Abbeville, or, according to other accounts, in Germany. He, however, soon appeared in Normandy, and was joyfully received at Rouen, the capital, and recognized as their duke by the prelates, barons, and chief men. Henry, the youngest brother of the three, put himself and his five thousand pounds of silver in a place of safety, waiting events, and ready to seize every chance of gaining either the royal crown or the ducal coronet.

It was not perhaps easy for the Conqueror to make any better arrangement, but it was in the highest degree unlikely, under the division he had made of England and Normandy, that peace should be preserved between the brothers. Even if the unscrupulous Rufus had been less active, and the personal qualities of Robert altogether different from what they were, causes independent of the two princes threatened to lead to inevitable hostilities. The great barons, the followers of the Conqueror, were almost all possessed of estates and fiefs in both countries: they

were naturally uneasy at the separation of the two territories, and foresaw that it would be impossible for them to preserve their allegiance to two masters, and that they must very soon resign or lose either their ancient patrimonies in Normandy, or their new acquisitions in England. A war between the two brothers would at any time embarrass them as long as they held territory under both. The time, also, was not yet come to reconcile them to the thought of their native Normandy as a separate and foreign land. In short, every inducement of interest and of local attachment made them wish to see the two countries united under one sovereign; and their only great difference of opinion on this head was, as to which of the two brothers should be that sovereign; some of them adhering to William, while others insisted that, both by right of birth, and the honourableness, generosity, and popularity of his character, Robert was the proper prince to have both realms. A decision of the question was inevitable; and the first step was taken, not in Normandy, to expel Robert, but in England, to dethrone William. Had he been left to himself, the elder brother, from his love of ease and pleasure, would in all probability have remained satisfied with his duchy, but he was beset on all sides by men who were constantly repeating how unjust and disgraceful to him it was to see a younger brother possess a kingdom while he had only a duchy; by Norman nobles that went daily over to him complaining of the present state of affairs in England; and by his uncle Odo, the bishop, who moved with all his ancient energy and fierceness in the matter, not so much out of any preference of one brother to the other, as out of his hatred of the primate Lanfranc, whom he considered as the chief cause of the disgrace, the imprisonment, and all the misfortunes that had befallen him in the latter years of the Conqueror.

Robert promised to come over with an army in all haste, and Odo engaged to do the rest. At the Easter festival, the Red King kept his court at Winchester. Odo was there with his friends, and took that opportunity of arranging his plans. From the festival he departed to raise the standard of Robert in his old earldom of Kent, while Hugh de Grantmesnil, Roger Bigod, Robert de Mowbray, Roger de Montgomery, William, Bishop of Durham, and Geoffrey of Coutances, repaired to do the like in their several fiefs and governments. A dangerous rising thus took place simultaneously in many parts of England; but the insurgents lost time, and alienated the hearts of the English inhabitants by paltry acts of depredation, while the army from Normandy, with which Robert had promised to come over, and which Odo was in-

structed to look out and provide for upon the south coast of England, was slow in making its appearance. The Courteouse, a slave to his habitual indolence and indecision, was, as usual, in great straits for money; but those who acted for him had raised a considerable force in Normandy, and but for the adoption by the new king of a novel measure, and a confidence timely placed in the natives, England would have been again desolated by a foreign army. Rufus, on learning the preparations that were making for this armament, permitted his English subjects to fit out cruisers; and these adventurers, who seem to have been the first that may be called "privateers," rendered him very important service; for the Normans, calculating that there was no royal navy to oppose them, and that when they landed they would be received by their friends and confederates, the followers of Odo and his party, began to cross the Channel in small companies, each at their own convenience, without concert or any regard to mutual support in case of being attacked on their passage; and so many of them were intercepted and destroyed by the English cruisers, that the attempt at invasion was abandoned.¹ But Rufus was also greatly indebted to another measure which he adopted at this important crisis. Before the success of the privateering experiment could be fully ascertained, seeing so many of the Normans arrayed against him, he had recourse to the native English; he armed them to fight in their own country against his own countrymen and relatives; and it was by this confidence in them that he preserved his crown, and probably his life. He called a meeting of the long-despised chiefs of the Anglo-Saxon blood, who had survived the slow and wasting conquest of his father; he promised that he would rule them with the best laws they had ever known; that he would give them the right of hunting in the forests, as their forefathers had enjoyed it; and that he would relieve them from many of the tallages and odious tributes his father had imposed.² "Contested titles and a disputed succession," as Sir James Mackintosh has remarked, "obliged Rufus and his immediate successors to make concessions to the Anglo-Saxons, who so much surpassed the conquering nation in numbers; and these immediate sources of terrible evils to England became the causes of its final deliverance."³ Flattered by his confidence, the thanes and franklins who had been summoned to attend him, zealously promoted the levy; and when Rufus proclaimed his ban of war in the old Saxon form—"Let every man who is not a man of nothing,"⁴ whether he live in burgh or out of burgh,

¹ Southey, *Naval Hist.*: Dr. Campbell.

² Chron. Sax.: Waverley Annals.

³ Hist. England.

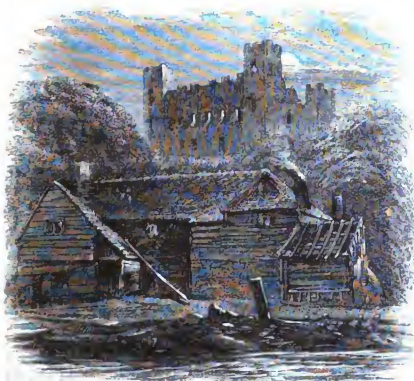
⁴ In Anglo-Saxon, a "nidering," or "unlithing," one of the

leave his house and come"—there came 30,000 stout Englishmen to the place appointed for the muster.

Kent, with the Sussex coast, was the most vulnerable part of the island, and Odo, the king's uncle, the most dangerous of his enemies; Rufus, therefore, marched against the bishop, who had strongly fortified Rochester Castle, and then thrown himself into Pevensey, there to await the arrival of the tardy and never-coming Robert. After a siege of seven weeks, the bishop was obliged to surrender this stronghold, and his nephew granted him life and liberty, on his taking an oath that he would put Rochester Castle

screened from the accusation of perjury, remained in the fortress. His loving nephew soon embraced him with a close environment, drawing round him a great force of English infantry and foreign cavalry. But the castle was strong and well garrisoned, for 500 Norman knights, without counting the meaner sort, fought on the battlements; and after a long siege the place was not taken by assault, but forced to surrender either by pestilential disease or famine, or probably by both. The English would have granted no terms of capitulation; but the Norman portion of William's army, who had countrymen, and many of them friends and relations in the castle, entertained very different sentiments, and at their earnest instance, the Red King allowed the besieged to march out with their arms and horses, and freely depart the land. The unconscionable Bishop of Bayeux would have included in the capitulation a proviso that the king's army should not cause their band to play in sign of victory and triumph as the garrison marched out, but this condition was refused, the king saying in great anger he would not make such a concession for 1000 marks of gold. The partisans of Robert then came forth with banners lowered, the king's music playing the while. As Odo appeared, there was a louder crash; the trumpets screamed, and the English shouted as he passed, "O! for a halter to hang this perjured, murderous bishop!" It was with these and still worse imprecations, that the priest who had blessed the Norman army at the battle of Hastings, departed from England never more to enter it.²

Having disposed of Odo, Rufus found no very great difficulty in dealing with the other conspirators, who began to feel that Robert was *not* the man to re-unite the two countries, or give them security for their estates and honours in both. Roger Montgomery, the powerful Earl of Shrewsbury, was detached from the confederacy by a peaceful negotiation; others were won over by



ROCHESTER CASTLE, Kent.—J. S. Prout, from a photographic view.

into his hands, and then leave the kingdom for ever. Relying on his solemn vow, Rufus sent the prelate, with an inconsiderable escort of Norman horse, from Pevensey to Rochester. The strong castle of Rochester, Odo had intrusted to the care of Eustace, Earl of Boulogne. When now reciting the set form of words, he demanded of the earl the surrender of the castle, Eustace, pretending great wrath, arrested both the bishop and his guards, as traitors to King Robert. The scene was well acted, and Odo, trusting to be

strongest terms of contempt. The expressions of the Saxon chronicler are, "Bæd thaet ælc man the wære unthiung sceolde cuman to him—Francisco and Englice—of porte and of applande."

¹ Rochester Castle was erected by William the Conqueror on what is believed to have been the site of an earlier fortress. The west wall of the castle overhangs the Medway, just above the ancient bridge erected in the reign of Richard II. The walls inclosed a quadrangular area nearly 800 ft. square. The keep stands in the south-eastern angle of this area, and is about 70 ft.

square, and rises about 104 ft. from the base, having a tower at each angle rising 12 ft. above the rest of the building. On the north side is another tower, about two-thirds the height of the keep, which guarded the entrance. The walls of this castle are of Kentish rag-stone, with quoins of Caen stone. The building, with the exception of a circular tower at the south-eastern angle, which was rebuilt after King John had besieged and taken the castle, is of pure Norman construction. It was dismantled in the reign of James I., and the roof and floors are entirely gone.

² Thierry: *Chron. Sax.*; *Orderic. Vital.*

blandishments; the Bishop of Durham was defeated by a division of William's army, and the Bishop of Worcester's English tenants, adhering to William, killed a host of the insurgents. The remaining chiefs of the confederacy either submitted on proclamation or escaped into Normandy. A few of them received a pardon, but the greater part were attainted, and Rufus bestowed their English estates on such of the barons as had done him best service.

In the course of the following year (1089), Lanfranc, who was in many respects a great and a good man, departed this life. A change was immediately observed in the king, who showed himself more debauched, tyrannical, and rapacious than he had been when cleecked by the primate's virtues and abilities. He appointed no successor to the head office in the church, but seized the rich revenues of the archbishopric of Canterbury, and spent them in his unholy revelries. Lanfranc had been, in fact, chief minister, as well as primate of the kingdom. As minister, he was succeeded by a Norman clergyman of low birth and dissolute habits, but gifted with an aspiring spirit, great readiness of wit, engaging manners, and an unhesitating devotion to the king in all things. He had first attracted attention in the English court of the Conqueror as a skilful spy and public informer. His name was Ralph, to which, in his capacity of minister, and through his violent measures, he soon obtained the significant addition of *le Flambar*, or "the destructive torch." His nominal offices in the court of the Red King were, royal chaplain, treasurer, and justiciary; his real duties, to raise as much money as he could for his master's extravagant pleasures, and to flatter and share his vices. He was ingeniously rapacious, and seems almost to have exhausted the art of extortion. Under this priest the harsh forest laws were made a source of pecuniary profit; new offences were invented for the multiplication of fines; another survey of the kingdom was begun, in order to raise the revenues of the crown from those estates which had been underrated in the record of *Doomsday*;¹ and all the bishoprics and abbeys, that fell vacant by death were left so by the king, who drew their revenues and applied them to his own use. These latter proceedings

could hardly fail to offend the monastic chroniclers, and the character of the Red King has in consequence come down to us darkened with perhaps rather more than its real depravity. There is, however, no reasonable ground for doubting that he was a licentious, violent, and rapacious king, nor (as has been well observed) is there either wisdom or liberality of sentiment in excusing his rapacity because it comprehended the clergy, who, after all, were the best friends of the people in those violent times.²

A.D. 1090. The barons who had given the preference to Robert having failed in their attempts to deprive William of England, the friends of William now determined to drive Robert out of Normandy, which country had fallen into a state of complete anarchy. The turbulent barons expelled Robert's troops from nearly all the fortresses, and then made war with one another on their own private account. Many would have preferred this state of things, which left them wholly independent of the sovereign authority; but those of the great lords who chiefly resided in England, were greatly embarrassed by it, and resolved it should cease. By treachery and bribery possession was obtained of Aumale, or Albemarle, St. Vallery, and other Norman fortresses, which were forthwith strongly garrisoned for Rufus. Robert was roused from his lethargy, but his coffers were empty, and the improvident grants of estates he had already made left him scarcely anything to promise for future services; he therefore applied for aid to his friend and feudal superior the French king, who marched an army to the confines of Normandy, as if to give assistance, but marched it back again on receiving a large amount of gold from the English king. At the same time the unlucky Robert nearly lost his capital by a conspiracy, Conan, a wealthy and powerful burgess, having engaged to deliver up Rouen to Reginald de Warenne for King Rufus. In these difficulties Robert claimed the assistance of the cautious and crafty Henry. Some very singular transactions had already taken place between these two brothers. While Robert was making his preparations to invade England, Henry advanced him £3000, in return for which slender supply he had been put in possession of the Cotentin country, which comprehended nearly a third part of the Norman duchy. Dissensions followed this unequal bargain, and Robert, on some other suspicions, either threw Henry into prison for a short time, or attempted to arrest him. Now, however, the youngest brother listened to the call of the eldest, and joined him at Rouen, where he chiefly contributed to put down the conspi-

¹ The measurements in *Doomsday* appear to have been made with a reference to the quality as well as the quantity of the land in each case, whereas Flambar is said to have caused the hides to be measured exactly by the line, or without regard to anything but their superficial extent. Sir Francis Palgrave believes that a fragment of Flambar's *Doomsday* is preserved in an ancient lieger or register book of the monastery of Evesham, now in the Cottonian Library, in MS. Vespasian, B. xxiv. It relates to the county of Gloucester, and must have been compiled between 1096 and 1112. See an account of this curious and hitherto unnoticed relic, with extracts, in Sir Francis' *Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth*, ii. 448, &c.

² Mackintosh, *Hist. of Eng.* l. 119; Suger's *Vit. Ludovic. Grossi*; Ingulph.; Malmezb.; Orderic.

racy, to repulse King William's adherent, Reginald de Warenne, and to take Conan, the great burgess, prisoner. The forgiving nature of Robert was averse to capital punishment, and he condemned Conan to a perpetual imprisonment; but Henry, some short time after, took the captive to the top of a high tower on pretence of showing him the beauty of the surrounding scenery, and while the eye of the unhappy man rested on the pleasant landscape, he suddenly seized him by the waist and flung him over the battlements. Conan was dashed to pieces by the fall, and the prince coolly observed to those who saw the catastrophe that it was not fitting that a traitor should escape condign punishment.*

In the following January, William A.D. 1091. Rufus appeared in Normandy, at the head of an army chiefly English. The affairs of the king and duke would have now come to extremity, but Robert again called in the French king, by whose mediation a treaty of peace was concluded at Caen. Rufus, however, gained almost as much by this treaty as a successful war could have given him. He retained possession of all the fortresses he had acquired in Normandy, together with the territories of Eu, Aumale, Fescamp, and other places; and secured, in addition, the formal renunciation on the part of Robert of all claims and pretensions to the English throne. On his side, William engaged to indemnify his brother for what he resigned in Normandy by an equivalent in territorial property in England, and to restore the estates to all the barons who had been attainted in Robert's cause. It was also stipulated between the two parties that the king, if he outlived the duke, should have Normandy; and the duke, if he outlived the king, should have England; the kingdom and duchy thus in either case to be united as under the Conqueror; and twelve of the most powerful barons on each side swore that they would do their best to see the whole of the treaty faithfully executed.

The family of the Conqueror were not a family of love. No sooner were the bonds of fraternal concord gathered up between Robert and William than they were loosened between them and their younger brother Henry. The united forces of the duke and king proceeded to take possession of his castles; and Henry was obliged to retire to a fortress on Mount St. Michael, a lofty rock on the coast of Normandy, insulated at high water by the sea. In this almost impregnable position he was besieged by Robert and William. In the end, Prince Henry was obliged to capitulate. He obtained with difficulty permission to retire into Brittany; he was despoiled of all he possessed, and wandered about for two years, with no better

attendance than grim poverty, one knight, three squires, and a chaplain. But in this, the lowest stage of his fortunes, he impressed men with a notion of his political abilities; and he was invited by the inhabitants of Damfront to take upon himself the government of that city.

Duke Robert accompanied the king to England, to take possession of those territories which were promised by the treaty. During his stay Rufus was engaged in a war with Malcolm Canmore, who, while William was absent in Normandy, had invaded England, and "overrun a great deal of it," says the *Saxon Chronicle*, "until the good men that governed this land sent an army against him and repulsed him." On his return, William collected a great force, both naval and military, to avenge this insult; but his ships were all destroyed before they reached the Scottish coast. The English and Scottish armies met, however, in Lothian, in England, according to the *Saxon Chronicle*—at the river called Scotte Uatra (perhaps Scotewater) says Ordericus Vitalis—and were ready to engage, when a peace was brought about by the mediation of Duke Robert on one side, and his old friend Edgar Atheling on the other. "King Malcolm," says the *Saxon Chronicle*, "came to our king, and became his man, promising all such obedience as he formerly rendered to his father, and that he confirmed with an oath. And the King William promised him in land and in all things whatever he formerly had under his father." By the same treaty, Edgar Atheling was permitted to return to England, where he received some paltry court appointment.

Returning from Scotland, Rufus was much struck with the favourable position of Carlisle; and, expelling the lord of the district, he laid the foundation of a castle, and soon after sent a strong English colony from the southern counties to settle in the town and its neighbourhood. Carlisle, with the whole of Cumberland, had long been an appanage of the elder son of the Scottish kings; and this act of Rufus was speedily followed by a renewal of the quarrel between him and Malcolm Canmore. To accommodate these differences, Malcolm was invited to Gloucester, where William was keeping his court; but, before undertaking this journey, the Scottish king demanded and obtained hostages for his security—a privilege not granted to the ordinary vassals of the English crown.† On arriving at Gloucester, however, Malcolm was required by Rufus to do him right, that is, to make him amends for the injuries with which he was charged, in his court there, or, in other words, to submit to the opinion and decision of the Anglo-Norman barons. Malcolm rejected the proposal, and said that the Kings of

* Orderic.: *Malmesb.*

† Allan's *Vindication of the Ancient Independence of Scotland*; *Falmer's Chron. Sax.*

Scotland had never been accustomed to do right to the Kings of England except on the frontiers of the two kingdoms, and by the judgment of the barons of both.¹ He then hurried northward, and, having raised an army, burst into Northumberland, where he soon afterwards fell into an ambush, and was slain, together with Edward, his eldest son. Broken-hearted by this calamity, his amiable queen, Margaret, died only four days after.

Duke Robert had returned to the Continent in disgust, at having pressed his claims for the promised indemnity in England without any success. He afterwards despatched messenger after messenger from the Continent, but still William would give up none of his domains. At last, in 1094, Robert had recourse to a measure deemed very efficacious in the court of chivalry. He sent two heralds, who, having found their way into the presence of the Red King, denounced him before his chief vassals as a false and perjured knight, with whom his brother, the duke, would no longer hold friendship. To defend his honour, the king followed the two heralds to Normandy, where, hoping at least for the majority of voices, he agreed to submit the matter in dispute to the arbitration of the twenty-four barons, who had sworn to do their best to enforce the faithful observance of the treaty of Caen. The barons, however, decided in favour of Robert; and then William appealed to the sword. The campaign went so much in favour of the Red King, that Robert was again obliged to apply for assistance to the King of France; and Philip once more marched with an army into Normandy. Rufus then sustained some serious losses; and trusting no longer to the appeal of the sword, he resolved to buy off the French king. He sent his commission into England for the immediate levying of 20,000 men. By the time appointed these men came together about Hastings, and were ready to embark, "when suddenly there came his lieutenant with a counter-order, and signified to them, that the king, minding to favour them, and spare them for that journey, would that every of them should give him ten shillings towards the charges of the war, and thereupon depart home with a sufficient safe conduct; which the most part were better content to do than to commit themselves to the fortune of the sea and bloody success of the wars in Normandy."² The king's lieutenant and representative in this cunning device, was Ralph Flambard. Some considerable sum was raised, and King Philip accepted it, and withdrew from the field, leaving Robert, as he had done before, to shift for himself. Rufus would then

in all probability have made himself master of Normandy, had he not been recalled to England by important events.

A.D. 1094-5. The Welsh, "after their accustomed manner, began to invade the English marches, taking booty of cattle, and destroying, killing, and spoiling many of the king's subjects." Laying siege to the castle of Montgomery, which had been erected on a recently occupied part of Wales, they took it by assault, and slew all whom they found within it. Before William could reach the scene of action all the Welsh were in arms, and had overrun Cheshire, Shropshire, and Herefordshire, besides reducing the Isle of Anglesey. To chastise them, he determined to follow them, as Harold had done before,³ for he saw that the Welsh "would not join battle with him in the plain, but kept themselves still aloof within the woods and marches, and aloft upon the mountains: albeit, oftentimes when they saw advantage they would come forth, and, taking the Normans and the English unawares, kill many and wound no small numbers."⁴ Stimulated, however, by the example of Harold, who had penetrated into the inmost recesses in Wales, the Red King still pursued them by hill and dale: but by the time he reached the mountains of Snowdon, he found that his loss was tremendous, and "not without some note of dishonour," began a retreat which was much more rapid than his advance. The next summer he entered the mountains with a still more numerous army, and was again forced to retire with loss and shame. He seems to have forgot that the invasions of Harold were made with light armed troops, and he found that his heavy Norman cavalry was ill suited for such a warfare. He turned from Wales in despair, but ordered the immediate erection of a chain of forts and castles along the frontier.

Before he was free from the troubles of this Welsh war his throne was threatened by a formidable conspiracy in the north of England. The exclusive right claimed by Rufus over all the forests continued to irritate the Norman barons, and other causes of discontent were not wanting. At the head of the disaffected was Robert Mowbray, Earl of Northumberland, a most powerful chief, possessing 280 English manors, whose long-continued absence from court created suspicion. The king published a decree that every baron who did not present himself at court on the approaching festival of Whitsuntide should be outlawed. The festival came and passed without any tidings of the Earl of Northumberland, who feared he should be cast into prison if he went to the south. The king marched

¹ Flor. Wigorn; Sim. Dun.

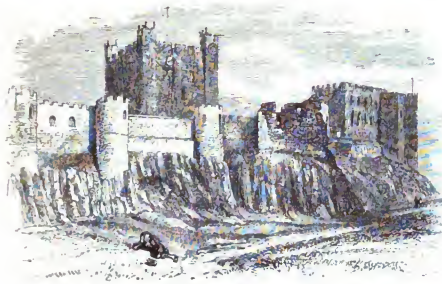
² Holinshed. The old authorities are Matthew Paris and Simeon Danelmensis.

³ See vol. i. p. 125.

⁴ Holinshed.

with an army into Northumberland, and after taking several of his less important fortresses, shut up the earl within the walls of Bamborough Castle. Finding he could neither besiege

lieutenant betrayed to them the whole secret of the conspiracy, the object of which was to place upon the throne of England, Stephen, Count of Aumale, nephew of the Conqueror, and brother to the infamous Judith. The extensive conspiracy included, among others, William, Count of Eu, a relation of the king's, William of Alderic, the king's god-father, Hugh, Earl of Shrewsbury, Odo, Earl of Holderness, and Walter de Lacey. The fates of these men were various: Earl Mowbray was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and died in a dungeon of Windsor Castle, about thirty years after; the Count of Eu rested his justification on the issue of a duel, which he fought with his accuser in the presence of the king and court;



BAMBOROUGH CASTLE, Northumberland.—J. S. Prout, from a photographic view.

nor blockade this impregnable place, he built another castle close to it, in which leaving a strong garrison, he returned to the south. The new castle, which was hastily constructed of wood, was called "Malvoisin" (the bad neighbour), and such it proved to Earl Mowbray. Being decoyed from his safe retreat by a feigned offer of placing the town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne in his hands, he was attacked by a large party of Normans from Malvoisin, who lay in wait for him. The earl, with thirty horsemen, fled to the monastery of St. Oswin, at Tynemouth. The sanctuary was not respected; but Mowbray and his few followers defended it with desperate valour for six days, at the end of which the earl, sorely wounded, was made prisoner. But Bamborough Castle was even more valuable than the person of this noble captive, and the Red King, who had laid the snare into which the earl had fallen, had also arranged the plan upon which the captors now acted. They carried Mowbray to a spot in front of his castle, and invited his countess, the fair Matilda, to whom he had been married only a few months, to a parley. When the countess came to the outer walls, she saw her husband in the hands of his bitter enemies, who told her they would put out his eyes before her face, unless she instantly delivered up the castle. It was scarcely for woman to hesitate in such an alternative: Matilda threw open the gates. Within the walls the king's men found more than they expected, for Earl Mowbray's

but being vanquished in the combat, he was convicted, according to the prevailing law, and condemned to have his eyes torn out, and to be otherwise mutilated.¹ William of Alderic, who was much esteemed and lamented, was hanged; the Earl of Shrewsbury bought his pardon for an immense sum of money; the Earl of Holderness was deprived of all he possessed and imprisoned; the rest escaped to the Continent, leaving their estates in England to be confiscated.

A.D. 1096. At a moment when the Red King had successfully disposed of all his enemies in England, and was in a condition to renew the war in Normandy, his thoughtless brother resigned that duchy to him for a sum of money. The Christians of the West, no longer content to appear at Jerusalem as despised and ill-treated pilgrims with beads and crosses in their hands, resolved to repair thither with swords and lances, and conquer the whole of Palestine and Syria from the infidels. The preaching of Peter the Hermit, the decisions of the council of Clermont, and the bulls of Pope Urban II., had kindled a warlike flame throughout Europe. Duke Robert had early enlisted in the crusade, engaging to take with him a numerous and well-armed body of knights and vassals; but wanting money, "no news to his coffers," he applied to his brother the Red King, who readily entered into a bargain which was concluded on terms most advantageous to himself. For the sum of £10,000, the duke resigned the government of Normandy to his brother. This act is generally considered by historians not as a sale, but as a mortgage, which

¹ The castle is considered to retain masonry of the sixth century, when it was founded, according to the *Saxon Chronicle*, by Ida, King of Northumberland. It is founded upon a platform of lofty basaltic cliffs, and is only accessible on the south-east side.

² *Cecatus et extesticulatus est.*—*Malmes.*

was to expire in five years. But it is almost idle to talk of conditions in such a strange transaction, which could have left Robert but a slight chance of ever recovering his dominion from his unscrupulous brother, had Rufus lived. When the bargain was struck, Rufus was almost as penniless as Robert. According to an old historian, to make up this sum with despatch, "he did not only oppress and fleece his poor subjects, but rather with importunate exactions, did, as it were, flea off their skins. All this was grievous and intolerable, as well to the spirituality as temporality; so that divers bishops and abbots, who had already made away with some of their chalices and church jewels to pay the king, made now plain answer that they were not able to help him with any more; unto whom, on the other side, as the report went, the king said again, 'Have you not, I beseech you, coffins of gold and silver full of dead men's bones?'"¹ meaning the shrines wherein the relics of saints were inclosed.

Soon after receiving his £10,000, Robert departed for Palestine, flattering himself with a splendid futurity; and then William, indulging in the less fantastic prospect of near and solid advantages, sailed to the Continent to take immediate possession of Normandy. He had long held many of the fortresses, his partizans among the nobility were numerous, and he was received by the Normans without opposition. But it was far otherwise with the people of Maine, who burst into a universal insurrection, and by rallying round Helie, Lord of La Flèche, a young and gallant adventurer, who had some claim to the country himself, gave Rufus much trouble, and obliged him to carry over an army from England more than once. About three years after Robert's departure, the brave Helie was surprised in a wood with only seven knights in company, and made prisoner by one of the English king's officers. Rufus marched into Maine, soon after, at the head of a large force of cavalry; but the French king and the Count of Anjou interfering, he was induced to negotiate, and Helie obtained his liberty by delivering up the town of Mans. In the following year (1100), as the Red King was hunting in the New Forest, a messenger arrived with intelligence that Helie had surprised the town of Mans, and was besieging the Norman garrison in the castle, being aided therein by the inhabitants. William in-

stantly turned his horse's head, and set off for the nearest sea-port. The nobles who were hunting with him reminded him that it was necessary to call out troops, and wait for them. "Not so," replied Rufus, "I shall see who will follow me; and, if I understand the temper of the youth of this kingdom, I shall have people enough." Without stopping or turning he reached the port, and embarked in the first vessel he found. It was blowing a gale of wind, and the sailors entreated him to have patience till the storm should abate. "Weigh anchor, hoist sail, and begone," cried Rufus; "did you ever hear of a king that was drowned?"² Obeying his orders, the sailors put to sea, and safely landed their royal passenger at Barfleur. The news of his landing sufficed to raise the siege of the castle of Mans; and Helie, thinking he must have come in force, dismissed his troops and took to flight. The Red King then barbarously ravaged the lands of his enemies; but being wounded while laying siege to an insignificant castle, he returned suddenly to England.

William's lavish expenditure continued on the increase; but by his exactions and irregular way of dealing with church property, he still found means for gratifying his extravagance, and enjoyed abroad the reputation of being a rich, as well as a powerful king. But the dread creditor was now at hand, whom even kings cannot escape. Popular superstition had long darkened the shades and solitudes of the New Forest, and peopled its glades with horrid spectres. The fiend himself, it was said and believed, had appeared there to the Normans, announcing the punishment he had in reserve for the Red King and his wicked counsellors. The accidents that happened in that Chase, which had been so barbarously obtained, gave strength to the vulgar belief. In the month of May, Richard, an illegitimate son of Duke Robert, was killed while hunting in the forest by an arrow, reported to have been shot at random. This was the second time the Conqueror's blood had been poured out there, and men said it would not be the last time. On the 1st of August following, William lay at Malwood-keep, a hunting-seat in the forest,³ with a goodly train of knights. A reconciliation had taken place between the two brothers, and the astucious Henry, who had been some time in England, was of the gay party. The circumstances of the

¹ *Holinshed; Speed.* The old authorities are *Eadmer, Orderic, Matt. Paris, and Wm. Malmesb.*

² *Wm. Malmesb.*

³ "The Red King lies in Malwood-keep,

To drive the deer o'er lawn and stoep,

He's bound him with the morn.

His steeds are swift, his hounds are good;

The like in covert or high-wood,

Were never cheer'd with horn.

—*W. Stewart Rose.*

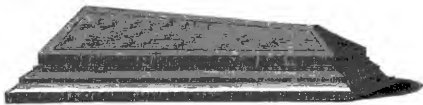
"Malwood Castle or Keep, seated upon an eminence, embosomed in wood, at a small distance from the village of Minstead, in the New Forest, was the residence of this prince, when he met with the accident which terminated his life. No remains of it exist, but the circumference of a building is to be traced; and it yet gives its name to the walk in which it was situated."

—Notes to the *Red King*. This spirited and beautiful poem, illustrative of the age and its events, is published in the same volume with *Partenopeus de Blois*.

story, as told by the monkish chroniclers, are sufficiently remarkable. At the dead of night the king was heard invoking the blessed Virgin, a thing strange in him; and then he called aloud for lights in his chamber. His attendants ran at his call, and found him disturbed by a frightful vision, to prevent the return of which he ordered them to pass the rest of the night by his bedside, and divert him with pleasant talk. As he was dressing in the morning an artisan brought him six new arrows: he examined them, praised the workmanship, and keeping four for himself, gave the other two to Sir Walter Tyrrel, otherwise called, from his estates in France, Sir Walter de Poix, saying, as he presented them—"Good weapons are due to the sportsman that knows how to make a good use of them."¹ The tables were spread with an abundant collation, and the Red King ate more meat and drank even more wine than he was wont to do. His spirits rose to their highest pitch; his companions still passed the wine cup, whilst the grooms and huntsmen prepared their horses and hounds for the chase; and all was boisterously gay in Malwood-keep, when a messenger arrived from Serlon, the Norman abbot of St. Peter's, at Gloucester, to inform the king that one of his monks had dreamed a dream foreboding a sudden and awful death to him. "The man is a right monk," cried Rufus, "and to have a piece of money he dreameth such things. Give him, therefore, an hundred pence, and bid him dream of better fortune to our person." Then turning to Tyrrel, he said—"Do they think I am one of those fools that give up their pleasure or their business because an old woman happens to dream or sneeze? To horse, Walter de Poix!"

The king, with his brother Henry, William de Breteuil, and many other lords and knights, rode into the forest, where the company dispersed here and there, after the manner used in hunting; but Sir Walter, his especial favourite in these sports, remained constantly near the king, and their dogs hunted together. As the sun was sinking low in the west, a hart came bounding by, between Rufus and his comrade, who stood concealed in the thickets. The king drew his bow, but the string broke, and the arrow took no effect. Startled by the sound, the hart paused in his speed and looked on all sides, as if doubtful which way to turn. The king, keeping his attention on the quarry, raised his bridle-hand above his eyes, that he might see clear by shading them from the glare of the sun, which now shone

almost horizontally through the glades of the forest; and at the same time, being unprovided with a second bow, he shouted, "Shoot, Walter!—shoot, in the devil's name!"² Tyrrel drew his bow—the arrow departed—was glanced aside in its flight by an intervening tree, and struck William in the left breast, which was left exposed by his raised arm. The fork-head pierced his heart, and, with one groan, and no word or prayer uttered, the Red King fell, and expired. Sir Walter Tyrrel ran to his master's side, but, finding him dead, he remounted his horse, and, without informing any one of the catastrophe, galloped to the sea-coast, embarked for Normandy, whence he fled for sanctuary into the dominions of the French king, and soon after departed for the Holy Land. According to an old chronicler, the spot where Rufus fell had been the site of an Anglo-Saxon church, which his father, the Conqueror, had pulled down and destroyed for the enlarging of his chase.³ Late in the evening, the royal corpse was found alone, where it fell, by a poor charcoal-burner,⁴ who put it, still bleeding, into his cart, and drove towards Winchester. At the earliest report of his death, his brother Henry flew to seize the royal treasury; and the knights and favourites who had been hunting in the forest dispersed, in several directions, to look after their interest, not one of them caring to render the last sad honours to their master. The next day the body, still in the charcoal-burner's cart, and defiled with blood and dirt, was carried to St. Swithin's, the cathedral church of Winchester. There, however, it was



TOMB OF WILLIAM RUFUS, Winchester Cathedral.—Gough's Sepulchral Monuments.

treated with proper respect, and buried in the centre of the cathedral choir, many persons looking on, but few grieving. A proof of the bad opinion which the people entertained of the deceased monarch is, that they interpreted the fall of a certain tower in the cathedral, which happened the following year, and covered his tomb with its ruins, into a sign of the displeasure of Heaven that he had received Christian burial.⁵

¹ "Trahe, trahe arcum ex parte diaboli."—*Uss. Knyghton*.

² Walter Henyngforde, quoted in Grafton's *Chronicle*.

³ "This man's name was Purkes. He is the ancestor of a very numerous tribe. Of his lineal descendants it is reported that, living on the same spot, they have constantly been proprietors of a horse and cart, but never attained to the possession of a team."—W. S. Rose, notes to the *Red King*.

⁴ Dr. Milner, *Hist. Winchester*.

⁵ *Orderic. Vital.*

The second king of the Norman line reigned thirteen years, all but a few weeks, and was full of health and vigour, and only forty years of age, when he died. That he was shot by an arrow in the New Forest—that his body was abandoned and then hastily interred—are facts perfectly well authenticated; but some doubts may be entertained as to the precise circumstances attending his death, notwithstanding their being minutely related by writers who were living at the time, or who flourished in the course of the following century. Sir Walter Tyrrel afterwards swore, in France, that he did not shoot the arrow; but he was probably anxious to relieve himself from the odium of killing a king, even by accident. It is quite possible, indeed, that the event did not arise from chance, and that Tyrrel had no part in it. The remorseless ambition of Henry might have had recourse to murder, or the avenging shaft might have been sped by the desperate hand of some Englishman, tempted by a favourable opportunity and the traditions of the place. But the most charitable construction is, that the party were intoxicated with the wine they had drunk

at Malwood-keep, and that, in the confusion consequent on drunkenness, the king was hit by a random arrow.

The Red King was never married; and his example is said to have induced all his young courtiers to prefer the licentious liberty of a single life. In describing his libertinism, the least heinous charge of the monkish historians is, that he respected not the virtue of other men's wives, and was "a most especial follower of le-mans." For the honour of human nature we hope the picture is overcharged; but there are proofs enough to convince us that but little order or decorum reigned in the court of Rufus. Indeed, all writers agree in their accounts of the dissolute manners of his household and adherents. His rapacity is equally unquestionable; but this charge may be partially explained, if it cannot be excused, by his taste and magnificence. He did not spend all his money in his wars, his foreign schemes, his pleasures and debaucheries; but devoted large sums to the building of royal palaces, and to several works of great public utility.¹

¹ William of Malmesbury, who was born in the reign of William Rufus, gives this graphic description of him:—"Greatness of soul was pre-eminent in the king, which, in process of time, he obscured by excessive severity—vices, indeed, in place of virtues, so insensibly crept into his bosom that he could not distinguish them. . . . At last, however, in his latter years, the desire after good grew cold, and the crop of evil increased to ripeness; his liberality became prodigality—his magnanimity, pride—his austerity, cruelty. . . . He was, when abroad, and in public assemblies, of supercilious look, darting his threatening eye on the bystander; and with assumed severity and forcible voice, assailing such as conversed with him. From apprehension of poverty and of the treachery of others, as may be conjectured, he was too much given to lure and to cruelty. At home and at table, with his intimate companions, he gave loose to levity and to mirth. He was a most facetious railer at anything he had himself done amiss, in order that he might thus do away obloquy, and make it matter of jest. . . . Military men came to him out of every province on this side of the mountains, whom he rewarded most profusely. In consequence, when he had no longer ought to bestow, poor and exhausted, he turned his thoughts to rapine. The rapacity of his disposition was seconded by Ralph, the inheritor of his covetousness, a clergyman of the lowest origin, but raised to eminence by his wit and subtlety. If, at any time, a royal edict issued that England should pay a certain tribute, it was doubled by this plunderer of the rich—the exterminator of the poor—this confiscator of other men's inheritance. He was an invincible

pleader, as unrestrained in his words as in his actions; and equally furious against the meek or the turbulent. . . . At this person's suggestion, the sacred honours of the church, as the pastors died out, were exposed to sale. . . . These things appeared the more disgraceful, because in his father's time, after the decease of a bishop or abbot, all rents were reserved entire, to be given up to the succeeding pastor; and persons, truly meritorious on account of their religion, were elected. But in the lapse of a very few years, everything was changed. . . . Men of the meanest condition, or guilty of whatever crime, were listened to, if they could suggest anything likely to be advantageous to the king; the halter was loosened from the robber's neck, if he could promise any emolument to the sovereign. All military discipline being relaxed, the courtiers preyed upon the property of the country people, and consumed their substance, taking the very meat from the mouths of these wretched creatures. Then was there flowing hair and extravagant dress; and then was invented the fashion of shoes with curved points; then the model for young men was to rival women in delicacy of person—to mince their gait, to walk with loose gesture, and half naked. Enervated and effeminate, they unwillingly remained what nature had made them—the assails of others' chastity, prodigal of their own. Troops of pathics and droves of harlots followed the court; so that it was said, with justice, by a wise man, 'That England would be fortunate if Henry could reign; led to such an opinion, because he abhorred obscenity from his youth.' Such was the improved morality introduced by the Normans!

CHAPTER III.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.

HENRY I., SURNAMED BEAUCLERK.—A.D. 1100—1135.

Henry, surnamed Beauclerk, seizes the crown—His endeavours to conciliate his English subjects—He marries the Princess Maud, the descendant of Alfred—The marriage opposed, from the report that Maud had taken the veil—Flambard's imprisonment and escape—Return of Robert of Normandy from the Crusade—He demands the crown of England—His claim defeated and relinquished—Rebellion of the Earl of Shrewsbury suppressed—Henry Beauclerk invades the territory of his brother Robert—He defeats Robert, and takes him prisoner—Miserable end of Robert—Henry Beauclerk takes possession of Normandy—Marriage of his daughter Matilda to the Emperor of Germany—Henry's successful wars and negotiations on the Continent—His only son, William, drowned while returning to England—His new plans to settle the succession of the crown—Procures Matilda, his daughter, to be acknowledged his successor—His proceedings to insure her succession—Death of Henry Beauclerk—His character.



ENRY was not unopposed in the first step he took to secure the crown. While he was imperiously demanding the keys of the royal treasury, and the officers, in whose charge they were placed, were hesitating whether they should deliver them or not, William de Breteuil, the royal treasurer, who had also been of the fatal hunting party, arrived with breathless speed from the forest, and opposed his demand. "You and I," said he to Henry, "ought to remember the faith we have pledged to your brother, Duke Robert; he has received our oath of homage, and, absent or present, he has a right to this money." Henry attempted to shake the fidelity of the treasurer with arguments, but William de Breteuil resolutely maintained that Robert was the lawful sovereign of England, to whom, and to no one else, the money in Winchester Castle belonged.¹ The altercation grew violent, and Henry, who felt he had no time to lose, drew his sword, and threatened immediate death to any that should oppose him. He was supported by some powerful barons who happened to be on the spot, or who had followed him from the forest. De Breteuil was left almost single in his honourable opposition, the domestics of the late king taking part against him; and Henry seized the money and crown-jewels before his eyes. Part of the money seems to have been distributed among the barons and churchmen at Winchester. He immediately gave the bishopric of Winchester to Henry Gifford, a most influential adherent, and then proceeded, with all speed, to London, where he made a skilful use of his treasures, and was proclaimed by an assembly of noblemen and prelates, no one challenging his title, but all acknowledging his consummate abilities and fitness for government. On Sun-

day, the 5th of August, only three days after the death of Rufus, standing before the altar in Westminster Abbey, he promised God and all the people to annul all the unrighteous acts that took place in his brother's time; and after this declaration, Maurice, the Bishop of London, consecrated him king.² Anselm, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who, according to ancient rule, should have performed the ceremony of the coronation, had been driven out of the kingdom some three years before; and the archbishopric of York had been left vacant for some time. A popular recommendation was, that Henry was an Englishman, born in the country,³ and after the Conquest; and some of his partizans set up this circumstance as being, in itself, a sufficient title to the crown. But he himself, in a charter of liberties issued on the following day, and diligently promulgated throughout the land, represented himself as being crowned "by the mercy of God, and by the common consent of the barons of the kingdom."

The claims of Duke Robert were not forgotten; but Henry, who "had beforehand trained the people to his humour and vein, in bringing them to think well of him," had also caused to be reported, as a certain fact, that Robert was already created King of Jerusalem by the Crusaders, and would never leave the Holy Land for an ordinary kingdom. Although the law of succession remained almost as loose as under the Saxon dynasty, and the crown of England was still, in form at least, an elective one, Henry, who, moreover, was bound by oaths to his elder brother Robert, seems himself to have been conscious of a want of validity or security in his title, and to have endeavoured to strengthen his throne by reforms of abuses, and by large concessions to the

¹ Sax. Chron.² Henry was born at Selby, in Yorkshire, A.D. 1070, in the fourth year of his father's reign as King of England.³ Malmesb.

nation. The charter of liberties passed by Henry on his accession, forms an important feature in our progressive law and government. He restored all the rights of the church, promised to require only moderate and just reliefs from his vassals, to exercise his powers in wardships and marriages with equity and mildness, to redress all the grievances of the former reign, and to restore the laws of King Edward the Confessor, subject only to the amendments made in them by his father.

Still farther, to conciliate his Anglo-Saxon subjects, Henry, who, on all necessary occasions, boasted of his English birth, determined to espouse an English wife. This marriage is a most important historical event, being a step made towards that intermixture and fusion of the two races which destroyed, at a much earlier period than is generally imagined, the odious distinction between Saxons and Normans. It is also exceedingly interesting in some of its details, and particularly those which have been transmitted by the pen of Eadmer,¹ who was living at the time, and who, as an Englishman himself, entertained a lively sympathy for the fortunes of the young princess. The lady of Henry's choice was, to use the words of the *Saxon Chronicle*, "Maud, daughter of Malcolm, King of Scots, and of Margaret, the good queen, the relation of King Edward, and of the right kingly kin of England." This descendant of the great Alfred had been sent from Scotland at a very early age, and committed to the care of her aunt Christina, Edgar Atheling's second sister, who was abbess of Wilton, or, as others say, of Rumsey, in Hampshire. As she grew up, several of the Norman captains aspired to the honour of her hand. She was asked in marriage by Alan, the Lord of Richmond; but Alan died before he could receive any answer from the king. William de Garenne, Earl of Surrey, was the next suitor, but the marriage was not allowed by Rufus. A cotemporary writer² says, he knows not why the marriage with the Earl of Surrey did not take place; but the policy of forbidding a union between a powerful vassal, and a princess of the ancient royal line, is evident; and the Red King, like his father, held it as part of his prerogative to give or refuse the hands of his fair subjects. When proposals were made on the part of King Henry, the fair Saxon, not being dazzled with the prospect of sharing with a Norman the throne on which her ancestors had sat for centuries, showed a decided aversion to the match. But she was assailed by arguments difficult to resist. "O! most noble and fair

among women," said her Saxon advisers, "if thou wilt, thou canst restore the ancient honour of England, and be a pledge of reconciliation and friendship; but if thou art obstinate in thy refusal, the enmity between the two races will be everlasting, and the shedding of human blood know no end." When her slow consent was obtained, another impediment was raised by a strong Norman party, who neither liked to see an Englishwoman raised to be their queen, nor the power of their king confirmed by means which would endear him to the native race, and render him more and more independent of the Normans. They asserted that Maud, who had been brought up from her infancy in a convent, was a nun, and that she had been seen wearing a veil, which made her for ever the spouse of Christ. Such an obstacle would have been insurmountable; and as there were some seeming grounds for the report, the celebration of the marriage was postponed, to the great joy of those who were opposed to it.⁴

Anselm, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who had returned from Italy at the pressing invitation of the new king, was a zealous promoter of the marriage—for his soul was kind and benevolent, and he was interested in favour of the English people; but, when he heard the reports, he declared that nothing could induce him to unite a nun to a carnal husband. The archbishop, however, determined to question the maiden herself; and Matilda, or Maud, in reply, denied she had ever taken the vows, or even worn the veil of her free will; and she offered to give full proof of this before all the prelates of England. "I must confess," she said, "that I have sometimes appeared veiled; but listen to the cause: in my first youth, when I was living under her care, my aunt, to save me, as she said, from the lust of the Normans, who attacked all females, was accustomed to throw a piece of black stuff over my head; and when I refused to cover myself with it, she treated me very roughly. In her presence I wore that covering, but as soon as she was out of sight, I threw it on the ground, and trampled it under my feet in childish anger." To solve this great difficulty, Anselm called a council of bishops, abbots, and monks. Witnesses summoned before this council confirmed the truth of Matilda's words. Two archdeacons, who had been sent to the convent where the young lady was brought up, deposed that public report, and the testimony of the nuns, agreed with her declaration. The decision, given unanimously, was, "We, the bishops, &c., are of opinion that the young lady is free, and can dispose of herself; and we have a precedent in a

¹ This historian was the scholar and inmate of Archbishop Anselm, who celebrated the marriage, and afterwards crowned the young queen.

² *Ordericus*. This chronicler says she had formerly gone by the more Saxon name of Edith.

³ *Matt. Paris*.

⁴ *Eadmer*.

judgment, rendered, in a similar cause, by the venerable Lanfranc, when the Saxon women, who had taken refuge in the convent out of fear of the soldiers of the great William, reclaimed and obtained their liberty." On Sunday, the 11th of November, the marriage was celebrated, and the queen was crowned with great pomp and solemnity. But so wisely cautious was the prelate, and so anxious to dissipate all suspicions and false reports, that, before pronouncing the nuptial benediction, he mounted on a bench in front of the church door, and showed to the assembled people the debate and decision of the ecclesiastical council. The Normans, who had opposed the union, now vented their spite in bitter raileries. Henry dissembled his rage till a convenient moment, and, in public, laughed heartily at the insolent jests. Matilda, who had given her consent to the marriage with reluctance, and who found a most unfaithful husband, proved a "right loving and obedient wife." She was beautiful in person, and distinguished by a love of learning and great charity to the poor. Her elevation to the throne filled the hearts of the English with a momentary joy.

Another proceeding which greatly increased the new king's popularity with the English, and with all who entertained respect for virtue and decency, was his expulsion of his brother's minions. If half of the detestable vices attributed by the churchmen, their cotemporaries, to these favourites, were really prevalent among them, they must have been a curse and an abomination to the land.

It was scarcely possible that Ralph Flambard, the obnoxious minister of the late king, should escape in this general purgation. The Bishop of Durham—for such was the ecclesiastical promotion Ralph had attained under Rufus—was thrown into the Tower, where he lived most luxuriously, and captivated the affections of his keepers by his conviviality, generosity, and wit. In the February following Henry's coronation, a good rope was conveyed to the bishop, hid in the bottom of a huge wine flagon. His guards drank of the wine until their senses forsook them; and then Ralph, under favour of the night, and by means of the rope, descended from his prison window, and escaped. Some friends in attendance put him on board ship, and the active bishop made sail for Normandy, to see what fortune would offer him as the servant of Robert Courte-hose.

When Henry caused the report to be circulated, that Robert had obtained the crown of Jerusalem, and thought not of returning to England, he knew right well that another than he had been elected sovereign in the Holy Land, and that his brother was actually in Europe, and on his way

back to Normandy, in which country he arrived within a month or six weeks after the death of Rufus. The improvident duke had greatly distinguished himself in the conquest of Palestine, and the taking of Jerusalem, performing prodigies of valour, which were only surpassed, in later times, by Richard Cœur de Lion. Though valued for the good qualities he possessed, the Crusaders never thought seriously of electing so imprudent a prince to the difficult post of securing and governing the conquests they had made; nor does Robert appear ever to have fixed his eye on the throne of Jerusalem, which, by universal consent, fell to Godfrey of Bouillon, a man "born for command," and as wise and prudent as a statesman as he was gallant and fearless as a knight.' Soon after the capture of Jerusalem, which happened on the 15th of July, 1099, somewhat more than a year before the death of the English king in the New Forest, Duke Robert left the Holy Land covered with holy laurels, and crossed the Mediterranean to Brundisium, the nearest port of Italy, intending to travel homeward, by land, through that beautiful and luxurious country. The Norman lance, as we have already mentioned, had won the fairest portion of Southern Italy some years before the conquest of England; and as Duke Robert advanced into the land, he was everywhere met by Norman barons, and nobles of Norman descent. At every feudal castle the duke was hailed and welcomed as a countryman, a friend, a hero, a Crusader returning with victory, whom it was honourable to honour; and so much was their hospitality to the taste of the thoughtless prince that he lingered long and well pleased on his way. Of all these noble hosts was none more noble or more powerful than William, Count of Conversano; he was the son of Geoffrey, who was nephew of Robert Guiscard, the founder of the Norman dynasty in Naples; his vast possessions lay along the shores of the Adriatic, from Otranto to Bari, and extended far inland in the direction of Lucania and the other sea. He was, in short, the most powerful lord in Lower Apulia. His castle, which stood on an eminence surrounded by olive groves, at a short distance from the Adriatic, had many attractions for the pleasure-loving and susceptible son of the Conqueror. There were minstrels and jongleurs; there were fine horses and hounds, and hawks, in almost

1 "Veramente è costui nato all' impero,
Sì del regnar, del comandar sa l'arti:
E non minor che duce e cavaliere;
Ma del doppio valor tutte ha le parti."

—Tasso, *Gerusalemme*.

"Well seems he born to be with honour crown'd,
So well the lore he knows of regiment;
Peerless in fight, in counsel grave and sound—
The double gift of glory excellent."—Fairfax.

royal abundance; and the vast plains of Apulia, with the forests and mountains that encompass them, offered a variety of the finest sport. But there was an attraction, even greater than all these, in the person of a beautiful maiden, the young Sibylla, the daughter of his host, the Count of Conversano. Robert became enamoured, and such a suitor was not likely to be rejected. Robert received the hand of Sibylla, who is painted as being as good as she was fair, together with a large sum of money as her dowry. Happy in the present, careless of the future, and little thinking that a man so young as his brother, the Red King, would die, he lingered several months in Apulia, and finally travelled thence without any eagerness or speed; and at the critical moment when the English throne fell vacant, his friends hardly knew when they might expect him. On his arrival, however, in Normandy, he appears to have been received with great joy by the people, and to have obtained peaceful possession of the whole of the country with the exception of the fortresses surrendered to Rufus, and which were now held for Henry. He made no secret of his intention of prosecuting his claim on England; but here again he lost time and threw away his last remaining chance. He was proud of showing his beautiful bride to the Normans, and, with his usual imprudence, he spent her fortune in feasting and pageantry. Ralph Flambard was the first to wake him from this splendid but evanescent dream, and at the earnest suggestion of the fugitive bishop-minister he prepared for immediate war, knowing it was vain to plead to Henry his priority of birth, his treaty with Rufus, or the oaths which Henry himself had taken to him.

When his ban of war was proclaimed, Robert's Norman vassals showed the utmost readiness to fight under a prince who had won laurels in the Holy Land; and the Norman barons expressed the same discontent at the separation of the duchy and kingdom which had appeared on the accession of William Rufus. If the nobles had been unanimous in their preference to Robert as sovereign of the country, on either side the Channel where they had domains, the dispute about the English throne must have been settled in his favour; but they were divided, and many preferred Henry (as they had formerly done Rufus) to Robert. The friends of the latter, however, were neither few nor powerless: several of high rank crossed the Channel from England, to urge him to recover the title which belonged to him in virtue of the agreement formerly concluded between him and the Red King; and Robert de Belesme, Earl of Shrewsbury and Arundel, William de la Warrenne, Earl of Surrey, Arnulf de Montgomery, Walter Gifford, Robert de Ponte

fract, Robert de Mallet, Yvo de Grantmesnil, and many others of the principal nobility, promised, on his landing, to join him with all their forces. Henry began to tremble on the throne he had so recently acquired. His fears of the Normans threw him more than ever on the support of the English people, whom he now called his friends, his faithful vassals, his countrymen—the best and bravest of men—though his brother, he insidiously added, treated them with scorn, and called them cowards and gluttons.¹ At the same time he paid diligent court to Archbishop Anselm, who, by the sanctity of his character and his undeniable virtues and abilities, exercised a great influence in the nation.

The effect of all this was, that the bishops, the common soldiers, and the native English, with a curious exception, stood firmly on the side of Henry, who could also count, among the Norman nobility, Robert de Mellent, his chief minister, the Earl of Warwick, Roger Bigod, Richard de Redvers, and Robert Fitz-Hamon, all powerful barons, as his unchangeable adherents. The exception against him, on the part of the native English, was among the sailors, who, affected by Robert's fame, and partly won over by the fugitive Bishop of Durham, deserted with the greater part of a fleet, which had been hastily equipped, to intercept the duke on his passage, or oppose his landing. Robert sailed from Normandy in these very ships, and while Henry was expecting him at Pevensey, on the Sussex coast, he reached Portsmouth, and there landed. Before the two armies could meet, some of the less violent of the Normans from both parties had interviews, and agreed pretty well on the necessity of putting an end to a quarrel among countrymen and friends. When the hostile forces fronted each other, there was a wavering among his Normans; but the English continued faithful to Henry, and Anselm threatened the invaders with excommunication. To the surprise of most men, the duke's great expedition ended in a hurried peace and a seemingly affectionate reconciliation; after which the credulous Robert returned to the Continent, renouncing all claim to England, and having obtained a yearly payment of 3000 marks, and the cession to him of all the castles which Henry possessed in Normandy. It was also stipulated, that the adherents of each should be fully pardoned, and restored to all their possessions, whether in Normandy or in England; and that neither Robert nor Henry should thenceforward encourage, receive, or protect the enemies of the other. There was another clause added, which, even without counting how much older he was than Henry, was not worth, to

¹ *Matt. Paris.*

Robert, the piece of parchment it was written upon; it imported that, if either of the brothers died without legitimate issue, the survivor should be heir to his dominions.

Robert was scarcely returned to Normandy when Henry began to take measures against the barons, his partizans, whom he had promised to pardon. He appointed spies to watch them in their castles, and, artfully sowing dissensions among them, and provoking them to breaches of the law, he easily obtained, from the habitual violence of these unpopular chiefs, a plausible pretence for his prosecutions. He summoned Robert de Belesme, Earl of Shrewsbury, to answer to an indictment containing forty-five serious charges.¹ De Belesme appeared, and, according to custom, demanded that he might go freely to consult with his friends and arrange his defence; but he was no sooner out of the court than he mounted his horse and galloped off to one of his strong castles. The king summoned him to appear within a given time, under pain of outlawry. The earl responded to the summons by calling his vassals around him, and preparing for open war. This was meeting the wishes of the king, who took the field with an army, consisting in good part of English infantry, well disposed to do his will, and delighted at the prospect of punishing one of their many oppressors. He was detained several weeks by the siege of the castle of Arundel, the garrison of which finally capitulated, and then, in part, escaped to join their Earl de Belesme, who, in the mean time, had strongly fortified Bridgenorth, near the Welsh frontiers, and strengthened himself in the citadel of Shrewsbury. During the siege of Bridgenorth the Normans in the king's service showed that they were averse to proceeding to extremities against one of the noblest of their countrymen, and some of the earls and barons endeavoured to put an end to the war by effecting a reconciliation between Robert de Belesme and the sovereign. They demanded a conference, and an assembly was held, in a plain near the royal camp. A body of English infantry, posted on a hill close by, who knew what was in agitation among the Norman chiefs, cried out, "Do not trust in them, King Henry; they want to lay a snare for you. We are here; we will assist you and make the

assault. Grant no peace to the traitor until you have him in your hands, alive or dead!"² The attempt at reconciliation failed; the siege was pressed, and Bridgenorth fell. The country between Bridgenorth and Shrewsbury, where the earl made his last stand, was covered with thick wood, and infested by his scouts and archers. The English infantry cleared the wood of the enemy, and cut a road for the king to the very walls of Shrewsbury, where De Belesme, reduced to despair, soon capitulated. He lost all his vast estates in England, but was permitted to retire into Normandy, on taking an oath he would never return to the kingdom without Henry's permission. His ruin involved that of his two brothers, Arnulf, Earl of Montgomery, and Roger, Earl of Lancaster; and the prosecution and condemnation of all the barons who had been favourable to Robert followed. One by one, nearly all the great nobles, the sons of the men who had achieved the conquest of England, were driven out of the land as traitors and outlaws, and their estates and honours were given to "new men."³

So scrupulous was Duke Robert in observing the treaty, that, on the first notice of De Belesme's rebellion, he ravaged the Norman estates of that nobleman; considering himself, in spite of former ties of friendship, as bound so to do by the clause which stipulated that neither brother should encourage the enemies of the other. He was soon, however, made sensible that the real crime of all the outlaws, in Henry's eyes, was the preference they had given to him; and following one of those generous impulses to which his romantic nature was prone, he came suddenly over to England and put himself completely in the power of Henry, to intercede in favour of the unfortunate barons. The crafty king received him with smiles and brotherly embraces, and then placed spies over him to watch all his motions. Robert, who had demanded no hostages, soon found he was a prisoner, and was glad to purchase his liberty by renouncing his annuity of 3000 marks. He then returned to Normandy, and, in self-defence, renewed his friendship with the barons exiled from England. Henry now pretended that Robert was the aggressor, and declared the peace between them to be for ever at an end. The simple truth was, that he had resolved to

¹ "Robert de Belesme, Earl of Shrewsbury, son of the great Montgomery, deserves some notice. He was the most powerful subject in England, haughty, rapacious, and deceitful. In these vices he might have many equals; in cruelty he rose pre-eminent among the savages of the age. He preferred the death to the ransom of his captives; it was his delight to feast his eyes with the contortions of the victim, men and women, whom he had ordered to be impaled; he is even said to have torn out the eyes of his godson with his own hands, because the father of the boy had committed some trivial offence, and had escaped from his vengeance. Against this monster, not from motives of humanity, but from policy, Henry had conceived the most violent

hatred. He was cited before the king's court; the conduct of his officers in Normandy, as well as in England—his words, no less than his actions, were severely scrutinized; and a long list of five and forty offences was objected to him by his accusers. The earl, according to custom, obtained permission to retire, that he might consult his friends; but instantly mounted his horse, fled to his earldom, summoned his retainers, and boldly bade defiance to the power of his prosecutor. Henry cheerfully accepted the challenge,"—*Lingard*. Compelled in the end to surrender, this monster of cruelty had his life spared, on condition of his quitting the kingdom.

² *Orderic*.

³ Thierry, *Histoire de la Conquête*.

unite the duchy to his kingdom. Normandy, indeed, was in a deplorable state, and Robert, it must be said, had given, and continued to give, manifold proofs of his inability to manage a factious and intriguing nobility, or to govern any state, as states were then constituted. He was indeed "too trusting and merciful for his age."¹ He had, however, relapsed into his old irregularities after losing the beautiful Sibylla, who died in 1102, leaving an infant son, the only issue of their brief marriage. His court was again thronged with vagabond jongleurs, loose women, and rapacious favourites, who plundered him of his very attire—at least this sovereign prince is represented as lying in bed, at times, from want of proper clothes to put on when he should rise. A much more serious evil for the country was, that his pettiest barons were suffered to wage war on each other, and inflict all kinds of wrong on the people. When Henry first raised the mask, he declared himself the protector of Normandy against the bad government of his brother. He called on Robert to cede the duchy for a sum of money, or an annual pension. "You have the title of chief," said he, "but in reality you are no longer a chief, seeing that the vassals who ought to obey you set you at nought."² The duke indignantly rejected the proposal, on which the king crossed the seas with an army, and, "by large distributions of money carried out of England," won many new partizans, and got possession of many of the fortresses of Normandy. The duke, on the other hand, had now nothing to give to any one, yet still some brave men rallied around him, out of affection to his person, or in dread and hatred of his brother; and Henry found it impossible to complete his ruin in this campaign.

In the following year (1106) the king reappeared in Normandy with a more formidable army, and with still more money, to raise which he had cruelly distressed his English subjects. About the end of July he laid siege to Tenchebray, an important place, the garrison of which, incorruptible by his gold, made a faithful and gallant resistance. Robert, when informed that his friends were hard pressed, promised to march to their relief, ensue what might; and on the appointed day, most true to his word, as was usual with him in such matters, he appeared before the walls of Tenchebray, where Henry had concentrated his whole army. As a soldier, Robert was far superior to his brother, but his forces were numerically inferior, and there was treachery in his camp. As brave, however, as when he fought the Paynim and mounted the breach in the Holy City, he fell upon the king's

army, threw the English infantry into disorder, and had nearly won the victory, when De Belesme most basely fled with a strong division of his forces, and left him to inevitable defeat. After a last and most brilliant display of his valour as a soldier, the duke was taken prisoner, with 400 of his knights. "This battle," observes old John Speed, "was fought, and Normandy won, upon Saturday, being the vigil of St. Michael, even the same day, forty years, that William the Bastard set foot on England's shore for his conquest; God so disposing it (saith Malmesbury) that Normandy should be subjected to England that very day wherein England was subdued to Normandy."

The fate of the captives made at Tenchebray, or taken after that battle, or who voluntarily surrendered, was various; some received a free pardon, some were allowed to be ransomed, and a few were condemned to perpetual imprisonment. The ex-Earl of Shrewsbury, De Belesme, was gratified with a new grant of most of his estates in Normandy; and the ex-bishop-minister, Ralph Flambard, who had been moving in all these contentions, obtained the restoration of his English see, by delivering up the town and castle of Lisieux to King Henry. A remarkable incident in the victory of Tenchebray is, that the royal Saxon, Edgar Atheling, was among the prisoners. Duke Robert had on many occasions treated him with great kindness and liberality. According to some accounts Edgar had followed Robert to the Holy Land;³ but this is, at the least, doubtful; and the *Saxon Chronicle* represents him as having joined the duke only a short time before the battle of Tenchebray, where he charged with the Norman chivalry. This was his last public appearance. He was sent over to England, where, to show the Norman king's contempt of him, he was allowed to go at large. At the intercession of his niece, the Queen Maud, Henry granted him a trifling pension; and this survivor of so many changes and sanguinary revolutions passed the rest of his life in an obscure but tranquil solitude in the country. So perfect was the oblivion into which he fell, that not one of the chroniclers mentions the place of his residence, or records when or how he died. The fate of his friend Duke Robert, who had much less apathy, was infinitely more galling from the beginning, and his captivity was soon accompanied with other atrocities. He was committed a prisoner for life to one of his brother's castles. At first his keepers, appointing a proper guard, allowed him to take

¹ William of Malmesbury says, "He forgot and forgave too much."

² *Orderic.*

³ In 1056, the last year of the Conqueror's reign, Edgar Atheling obtained permission to conduct 200 knights to Apulia, and thence to Palestine; but we are not informed what progress he made in this journey, and Duke Robert did not set out for the Holy Land until 1096, or ten years after.

air and exercise in the neighbouring woods and fields. One day he seized a horse, and, breaking from his guard, did his best to escape; but he was presently pursued, and taken in a morass, wherein his horse had stuck fast. Upon hearing of this attempt the king not only prescribed "a greater restraint and harder durance," but commanded that his sight should be destroyed, in order to render him incapable of such enterprises, and unapt to all royal or martial duties for the future. This detestable order was executed by a method which had become horribly common in Italy¹ during these ages, and which was not unknown in other countries on the Continent. A basin of copper or iron, made red-hot, was held close over the victim's eyes till the organs of sight were seared and destroyed. The wretched prince lived twenty-eight years after this, and died in Cardiff Castle in 1135, a few

In getting possession of Robert's person Henry became master of Normandy. Rouen, the capital, submitted, and Falaise surrendered after a short resistance. At the latter place William, the only son of Sibylla and Duke Robert, fell into his hands. When the child, who was then only five years old, was brought into the presence of his uncle, he sobbed and cried for mercy. It could not escape the king's far-reaching calculations that this boy's legitimate claims might cause him future trouble; but Henry, as if making a violent effort to rid himself of evil thoughts, suddenly commanded that he should be removed from him, and given in custody to Helie de St. Saen, a Norman noble, on whom (though he had married an illegitimate daughter of Duke Robert) he thought he could rely. He soon, however, repented of this arrangement, and sent a force to surprise the castle of St. Saen, and secure the person of young William. Helie fled with his pupil, and they were both honourably received at all the neighbouring courts, where the beauty, the innocence, the early misfortunes, and claims of the boy, gained him many protectors. The most powerful of these friends were Louis VI. of France, commonly called *Le Gros*, and Fulk, Earl of Anjou. As William Fitz-Robert, as he was called, grew up, and gave good promise of being a valiant prince, they espoused his cause more decidedly, Louis engaging to grant him the investiture of Normandy, and Fulk to give him his daughter Sibylla in marriage, as soon as he should be of proper age. Before that period arrived, circumstances occurred (A. D. 1113) that hurried them into hostilities, and the Earl of Flanders having been induced to sanction, if not to join their league, Henry was attacked all along the frontiers of Normandy. He lost towns and castles, and was alarmed, at the same time, by a report, true or false, that some friends of Duke Robert had formed a plot against his life. When the war had lasted two years, Henry put an end to it by a skilful treaty, in which he regained whatever he had lost in Normandy, and in which the interests of William Fitz-Robert were overlooked. These advantages were obtained by giving the estates and honours of the faithful Helie de St. Saen to his quondam ally, Fulk, Earl of Anjou, and by stipulating a marriage between his only son, Prince William of



DUKE ROBERT'S TOWER, Cardiff Castle.—J. S. Prout, from his sketch on the spot.

months before his brother Henry. He was nearly eighty years old, and had survived all the chiefs of name who rescued Jerusalem from the Saracens.

¹ The punishment was usually applied to captive princes, fallen ministers, and personages of the highest rank and political influence. The Italians had even a verb to express it—*Abbacinare*, from *bacino*, a basin. "L'abbacinare è il medesimo che l'accecicare; e perchè si faceva con un bacino rovente, che avvicinato agli occhi tenuti aperti per forza, concentrandosi il calore struggeva que' paucicelli, e riscuoteva l'umidità, che, come un' uva e intorno alla pupilla, e la ricopriva di una cotul nuvola, che gli toglieva la vista, si aveva preso questo nome d'abbacinare." Such is the formal explanation of the horrid verb in the *Dictionary Della Crusca*.

² This castle, situated on the river Taff, which washes its walls, was built, A. D. 1110, by Robert Fitz-Hamon, one of the most renowned of William the Conqueror's captains, who, in 1091, conquered Glamorganshire. The tower represented in the engraving is that in which tradition says Robert, Duke of Normandy, was confined for upwards of twenty-six years. According to Orto Vitatis and William of Malmesbury, Henry made his imprisonment as easy as possible, furnishing him with an elegant table, and buffoons to divert him. "pleasures which, for some years, he had preferred to all the duties of sovereign power."—*Lord Lyttleton*.—*Grose's Antiquities*.

England, and Matilda, another daughter of that earl. The previous contract between Fitz-Robert and Sibylla was broken off, and the Earl of Anjou agreed to give no more aid or countenance to that young prince.

These arrangements were not made without great sacrifices of money on the part of the English people; and some years before they were concluded, the nation was made to bear another burden.¹ By the feudal customs the king was entitled to levy a tax for the marrying of his eldest daughter; and (A.D. 1110) Henry affianced the Princess Matilda, a child only eight years old, to Henry V., Emperor of Germany. The high nominal rank of the party, and the general poverty of the German emperors in those days, would alike call for a large dowry; and Henry V. drove a hard bargain with his brother (and to-be-father-in-law), of England. The marriage portion seems to have been principally raised by a tax laid upon land. The stipulated sum was at length placed in the hands of the emperor's ambassadors, who conducted the young lady into Germany.

About this time Henry checked some incursions of the Welsh, the only wars waged in the interior of England during his reign. He despaired, however, of reducing them, and was fain to content himself with building a few castles, a little in advance of those erected by the Conqueror and the Red King. He also collected a number of Flemings, who had been driven into England by the misfortunes of their own country, and gave them the town of Haverfordwest, with the district of Ross, in Pembrokeshire. They were a brave and industrious people, skilled in manufacturing woollen cloths; and, increasing in wealth and numbers, they maintained themselves in their advanced post, in spite of the long efforts of the Welsh to drive them from it. But a subject which occupied the mind of the English king much more than the conquest of Wales, was the securing the succession of all his dominions to

his only legitimate son William, to whom he confidently and proudly looked, as to one who was to perpetuate his lineage and power. Having already made all the barons and prelates of Normandy swear fealty and do homage to the boy, he exacted the same oaths in England, at a great council of all the bishops, earls, and barons of the kingdom; and being still pursued by the dread of the growing popularity, on the Continent, of his nephew Fitz-Robert, he artfully laboured to get him into his power, making use, among other means, of the most enticing promises—such as the immediate possession of three great earldoms in England. But that young prince would never trust the jailer of his father.

At a moment when the most formidable confederacy that ever threatened him was forming on the Continent, Henry lost his excellent consort, Maud the Good; and in about a month after he suffered a loss, which he probably felt much more, in the death of the Earl of Mellent, the ablest instrument of his ambition, the most skilful of all his ministers, who had so managed his foreign politics as to obtain the reputation of being the greatest statesman in Europe.

Henry's want of good faith had hurried on the storm which now burst upon him. He had secretly assisted his nephew Theobald,² Earl of Blois, in a revolt against his feudal superior and liege lord, the French king—he had broken of the match agreed upon between his son William and the Earl of Anjou's daughter, Matilda—and he had belied many of the promises made to the Norman barons in his hour of need. The league that was formed against him, therefore, included many of his own disaffected Norman subjects, Louis of France, Fulk of Anjou, and Baldwin, Earl of Flanders—the last-mentioned having fewer interested motives, and a purer affection for the gallant son of Duke Robert, than any of the others. The beginning of the war was altogether unfavourable to the allies, and King

¹ While public exactions were thus pressing on people of all ranks, the churchmen found ingenious methods of raising money for building purposes. As an illustration of this, we may take the following passage from the pages of Camden. Speaking of the monastery of Crowland, or Croyland, he says:—

"It is not necessary to write the private history of this monastery, for it is extant in Ingulphus, which is now printed; yet I am willing to make a short report of that which Petrus Blesensis, vice-chancellor to King Henry II., has related at large concerning the first building of this monastery, in the year 1112, to the end that from one single precedent we may learn by what means and by what assistances so many stately religious houses were built in all parts of this kingdom. Joffrid, the abbot, obtained of the archbishops of England, 'to every one that helped forward so religious a work, an indulgence of the third part of the penance enjoined for the sins he had committed.' With this he sent our monks everywhere to make collections, and having enough, he appointed St. Perpetua's and Felicity's day to be that on which he would lay the foundation, that the work, from those fortunate names, might be auspiciously begun.

At this time the nobles and prelates, with the common people, met there in great numbers. Prayers being said and anthems sung, the abbot himself laid the first corner-stone on the east side; after him, every nobleman, according to his degree, laid his stone, and upon it some laid money, and others writings, by which they offered lands, advowsons of churches, tithes of their sheep, and other tithes of their several churches, certain measures of wheat, or a certain number of workmen or masons. On the other side, the common people, no less generous, offered, with great devotion, some of their money, and some one day's work every month, till it should be finished; some to build whole pillars, and others pedestals, and others certain parts of the walls. The abbot afterwards made a speech, commending their great zeal and bounty in contributing to so pious a work; and by way of requital, he made every one of them a member of that monastery, and gave them a right to partake in all the spiritual blessings of that church. At last, having entertained them with a plentiful feast, he dismissed them in great joy."

² Elder brother of Stephen, who seized the English crown on Henry's death.

Louis, at one time, was forced to beg a suspension of hostilities. Then fortune veered, and King Henry lost ground; but after a succession of reverses, his better star prevailed, and he was made happy by the death of Baldwin, Earl of Flanders, the soul of the confederacy, who died of a wound received at the siege of Eu. Being thus relieved from one of his formidable enemies, he proceeded to detach another by means as prevalent as sword, or lance, or arrow-shot. He sent a large sum of money to the venal Earl of Anjou, and agreed that the marriage between his son and the earl's daughter should be solemnized forthwith. Fulk took the bribe, and abandoning his allies, went to prepare for the wedding. At the same time, Henry gained over most of the disaffected Norman barons; and, after two more years of a war of petty sieges, and of skirmishes scarcely deserving the name of battles, the French king saw himself deserted by all his allies.

An end was put to the war, now only maintained on one side by Louis, through the praiseworthy mediation of the pope,¹ who, however, laboured in vain to procure a mitigation of the severity exercised on Duke Robert, and a proper settlement for his son William. By this treaty of peace, Henry was to preserve undisturbed possession of Normandy; and his pride was saved by Louis consenting to receive the homage due to him for the duchy from the son instead of the father. This son, who was in his eighteenth year, had received the oaths of the Norman nobles, as also the hand of his bride, a child only twelve years old, whose father, Fulk of Anjou, had given her a considerable dowry. King Henry now resolved to return triumphantly to England. The place of embarkation was Barfleur, where Rufus had landed after his stormy passage and impious daring of the elements.² The double retinue of the king and prince-royal was most numerous; and some delay was caused by the providing of accommodation and means of transport for so many noble personages, among whom were counted, we scarcely know how many, illegitimate children and mistresses of the king. On the 25th of November (A.D. 1120), however, all was ready, and the sails were joyously bent, as for a short and pleasant voyage. Thomas Fitz-Stephen, a mariner of some repute, presented himself to the king, and tendering a golden mark, said—"Stephen, son of Evrard, my father, served yours all his life by sea,

and he it was who steered the ship in which your father sailed for the conquest of England. Sire king, I beg you to grant me the same office in lieu: I have a vessel called the *Blanche-Nef*, well equipped and manned with fifty skilful mariners." The king replied that he had already chosen a vessel for himself, but that, in order to accede to the prayer of Fitz-Stephen, he would confide to his care the prince, with his companions and attendants. Henry then embarked, and setting sail in the afternoon with a favourable and gentle wind from the south, reached the English coast in safety on the following morning. The prince was accompanied in the *Blanche-Nef*, or "White Ship," by his half-brother Richard; his half-sister the Lady Marie;³ Countess of Perche; Richard, Earl of Chester, with his wife, who was the king's niece; her brother, the prince's governor, with a host of gay young nobles, both of Normandy and of England, 140 in number, eighteen being ladies of the first rank—all these and their retinues amounting, with the crew, to about 300 persons. On such occasions it was usual to regale the mariners with a little wine, but the prince, and the young men with him, imprudently ordered three whole casks of wine to be distributed among the men, who "drank out their wits and reason." The captain had a sailor's pride in the speed of his craft and the qualities of his crew, and, though hours passed away, he promised to overtake every ship that had sailed before him. The prince certainly did not press his departure, for he spent some hours on deck in feasting and dancing with his company. A few prudent persons quitted the disorderly vessel, and went on shore. Night had set in before the *Blanche-Nef* started from her moorings, but it was a bright moonlight, and the wind, though it had freshened somewhat, was still fair and gentle. Fitz-Stephen, proud of his charge, held the helm; every sail was set, and, still to increase the speed, the fifty sturdy mariners, encouraged by their boyish passengers, plied the oar with all their vigour. As they proceeded coastwise they got engaged among some rocks at a spot called *Ras de Catte* (now *Ras de Catteville*), and the White Ship struck on one of these with such violence on her larboard side, that several planks were started, and she instantly began to fill. A cry of alarm and horror was raised at once by 300 voices, and was heard on board some of the king's ships that had gained the high sea, but nobody there suspected the cause. Fitz-Stephen lowered a boat, and putting the prince with some of his companions in it, advised

¹ Calixtus II. He was related by marriage to King Henry, and personally visited that sovereign, who, among other signal falsehoods, assured him that his brother Robert was not a prisoner, but entertained in a sumptuous manner in one of the royal castles, where he enjoyed as much liberty and amusement as he desired.

² See vol. i. p. 216. Most of the old historians are of opinion that the drowning of the nephew was a judgment provoked by the presumption of the uncle.

³ By some writers this lady is called Maud, and by others Adele or Adela. The name of her mother is not mentioned. Richard was the son of an English mistress, who is called "the widow of Ankill, a nobleman that lived near the monastery of Abingdon."

them to row for the shore, and save themselves. This would not have been difficult, for the sea was smooth, and the coast at no great distance; but his sister, Marie, had been left behind in the ship, and her shrieks touched the heart of the prince—the best or most generous deed of whose life seems to have been his last. He ordered the boat to be put back to take her in; but such numbers leaped into it at the same time as the lady, that it was upset or swamped, and all in it perished. The ship also went down with all on board. Only two men escaped by rising and clinging to the main-yard, which floated, and was probably detached from the wreck: one of these was a butcher of Rouen, named Berold, the other a young man of higher condition, named Godfrey, the son of Gilbert de l'Aigle. Fitz-Stephen, the unfortunate captain, seeing the heads of two men clinging to the yard, swam to them. "And the king's son," said he, "what has happened to him?" "He is gone! neither he, nor his brother, nor his sister, nor any person of his company, has appeared above water." "Woe to me!" cried Fitz-Stephen; and then plunged to the bottom. The night was cold, and the young nobleman, the more delicate of the two survivors, became exhausted; and after holding on for some hours let go the yard, and, recommending his poor companion to God's mercy, sunk to the bottom of the sea. The butcher of Rouen, the poorest of all those who had embarked in the White Ship, wrapped in his sheep-skin coat,¹ held on till morning, when he was seen from the shore, and saved by some fishermen; and from him, being the sole survivor, the circumstances of the fearful event were learned. The tidings reached England in the course of the following day, but no one would venture on communicating them to the king. For three days the courtiers concealed the fact, and at last they sent in a little boy, who, weeping bitterly with "no counterfeit passion," fell at his feet, and told him that the White Ship was lost, and that all on board had perished. The hard heart of Henry was not proof to this shock—he sunk to the ground in a swoon; and though he survived it many years, and indulged again in his habitual ambition, he was never afterwards seen to smile.² By the people at large, the death of the young prince was regarded with satisfaction; for independently of his hateful vices, by which he had utterly forfeited their sympathy, he had been often heard to threaten that he would yoke the English natives to the plough, and treat them like beasts of burden, when he became king.

As Henry was now deprived of his only legiti-

mate son, he was cast upon new plans for the securing of his various states in his family. At the same time, the same event seemed to brighten the prospects of his nephew, William of Normandy, whose friends certainly increased soon after the demise of the heir apparent. A circumstance connected with the marriage of the drowned prince hastened and gave a colour of just resentment to one declaration in favour of Fitz-Robert. His former friend Fulk, Earl of Anjou, demanded back from Henry his daughter Matilda, together with the dower he had given to Prince William. King Henry willingly gave up the young lady,³ but refused to part with the money; and upon this, Fulk, who was an adept in these matters, renewed his matrimonial negotiations with the son of Duke Robert, and finally affianced to him his younger daughter Sibylla, putting him, meanwhile, in possession of the earldom of Mons. Louis of France continued to favour the young prince, and some of the most powerful of the Norman barons entered into a conspiracy in his favour against his unkind uncle, Henry. But no art—no precaution—could conceal these manœuvres from the English king, who had spies everywhere, and who fell like a thunderbolt among the Norman lords before they were prepared. It cost him, however, more than a year to subdue this revolt; but then he made the Norman leaders of it prisoners, and induced the Earl of Anjou once more to abandon the cause of his intended son-in-law.

Some time before effecting this peace, Henry, in the vain hope of offspring, which he thought must destroy the expectations of his nephew, espoused Adelais, or Alice, daughter of Geoffrey, Duke of Louvain, and niece to the reigning pope, Calixtus II. This new queen was young, and very beautiful, but the marriage was not productive of any issue; and after three or four years had passed, the king formed the bold design of settling the crown of England and the ducal coronet of Normandy on his daughter Matilda, who had become a widow in 1124, by the death of her husband, the Emperor Henry V.

On the solemn day of Christmas (A.D. 1126) there was a general assembly in Windsor Castle, of the bishops, abbots, barons, and all the great tenants of the crown, who, for the most part acting against their inward conviction, *unanimously* declared the ex-empress Matilda to be the next heir to the throne, in the case (now not problematical) of her father's dying without legitimate male issue. They then swore to maintain her succession—the clergy swearing first, in the order of their rank, and after them the laity, among whom there seems to have been more than

¹ Qui pauperior erat omnibus, renone amictus ex arietinis pel-
libus. Orderic.

² Orderic. *Malmeb.*: Hen. Hunt.: R. Hoveden; W. Gemet.

³ Ten years after, Matilda became a nun in the celebrated convent of Pontevraud.

one dispute touching precedence.¹ The most remarkable of these disputes, as being an index to hidden aspirations, was that for priority between Stephen, Earl of Boulogne, and Robert, Earl of Gloucester. Stephen was the king's nephew, by the daughter of the Conqueror, Henry's sister, Adela; Robert, on the other side, was the king's own son, but was of illegitimate birth; and the delicate point to be decided was, whether precedence was due to legitimacy of birth or to nearness of blood; or, in other words, which of the two—the lawfully begotten nephew of a king, or the unlawfully begotten son of a king—was the greater personage. The shade of the great Conqueror might have been vexed at such a discussion; but though the reigning family derived its claim from a bastard, the question was decided by the assembly in favour of the nephew, Stephen, who accordingly swore first. The question had not arisen out of the small spirit of courtly form and etiquette; the disputants had higher objects. They contemplated perjury in the very preliminary of their oaths. Feeling, in common with every baron present at that wholesale swearing, that the succession of Matilda was insecure, they both looked forward to the crown; and on that account each was anxious to be declared the first prince of the blood.

The same year that brought Matilda to England, saw Fulk, the Earl of Anjou, depart for the Holy Land, it being his destiny to become a very indifferent king of Jerusalem. He renounced the government of the province of Anjou to his son, Geoffrey, surnamed *Plantagenet*, on account of a custom he had of wearing a sprig of flowering broom² in his cap like a feather. Henry had many times felt the hostile power of the earls of Anjou, and various political considerations induced him to conclude a marriage between his daughter Matilda and this Geoffrey, the son of Fulk. The ex-empress, though partly against her liking, consented to the match, which was negotiated and concluded with great secrecy. The barons of England and Normandy pretended that the king had no right thus to dispose of their future sovereign without previously consulting

them; they were generally dissatisfied with the proceeding, and some of them openly declared that it released them from the obligations of the



GEOFFREY PLANTAGENET.³
From his monumental tablet.

oath they had taken to Matilda; but Henry disregarded their murmurs, and congratulated himself on his policy, which united the interests of the house of Anjou with those of his own. The marriage was celebrated at Rouen, in the octaves of the feast of Whitsuntide, 1127, and the festival was prolonged during three weeks. Henry somewhat despotically ordered, by proclamation, everybody to be merry, and all who refused, to be deemed as offenders,

and guilty of disloyalty.

But, rejoice as he might, Henry felt that the succession of his daughter could never be secure, if his nephew, William Fitz-Robert, survived him; and he applied himself with all his craft to effect the ruin of that young man, who, at the moment, occupied a position that made him truly formidable. At the late peace, the French king had not abandoned his interests, like Fulk, the Earl of Anjou; on the contrary, Louis invited him again to his court, and soon after, in lieu of Sibylla of Anjou, gave him the hand of his queen's sister, and with her, as a portion, the countries of Pontoise, Chaumont, and the Vexin, on the borders of Normandy. Soon after this advantageous settlement, Charles the Good, Earl of Flanders, successor to Baldwin, the steady friend of the son of Duke Robert, was murdered in a church at the very foot of the altar. The king of France entered Flanders, as liege lord, and with the consent of the people, to punish the sacrilegious murderers; and having done this, he, in virtue of his feudal suzerainty, conferred the earldom upon young William of Normandy, who

¹ David, King of Scotland, in his quality of English earl, or holder of lands in England, swore first of all to support Matilda, who was his own niece.

² In old French *genet* (now *genêt*), from the Latin *genista*.

³ The beautiful enamelled tablet from which this representation is derived was formerly in the church of St. Julien, and is now preserved in the museum at Mans. The earl appears at full length under an arch decorated with semicircular ornaments, and supported on either side by a pillar with a capital of foliage. He wears a steel cap in form like the Phrygian, enamelled with a leopard of gold. In his right hand is a sword, his left supports a shield, which is adorned with golden leopards on a blue field, similar to the cap. This shield is of the long kite shape, and reaches from the shoulders to the feet; it bears a striking resemblance to those represented on the Bayeux Tape-

stry, save that the upper part is not curved, though the angles are rounded. He wears an under tunic of light blue, ornamented with borders of gold, an upper one of green; his mantle is of light blue, and is lined with vair; above the mantle and over the right shoulder is his belt. The whole groundwork of the tablet is curiously filled up with small trefoil, scroll, and other ornaments. Over the head of the figure is this inscription:—

ENSE TVO, PRINCIPS, PREDONVM TYBRA FVGATVR,
ECLIE' HS' QVIES PACE VIOENTE DATVR.

The heraldic bearings on this tablet—by some thought to be griffins (though they are in all probability leopards or lions)—have excited much attention from being perhaps the earliest specimen extant of armorial bearings. The style in which the tablet is executed leaves little doubt but that this memorial of Geoffrey Plantagenet was made about the time when he died.

had accompanied him in the expedition, and who, had such claims been allowed, had a good hereditary right to it as the representative of his grandmother, Matilda, who was daughter of Earl Baldwin of the old legitimate line. The Flemish people offered no opposition to their new earl; and King Louis, with his army, departed, in the gratifying conviction that he had secured a stable dominion to his gallant young brother-in-law, and placed him in a situation the most favourable for the conquest of Normandy, or at least for the curbing of that ambition in the English king, which continued to give uneasiness to Louis. This uneasiness could not fail of being increased by the union between the Norman line and the house of Anjou, which took place at this very time. But the French army had scarcely left the country, when the Flemish people broke out into revolt against their new earl, and asked and received assistance from King Henry. A respectable party, however, adhered to William, who had many qualities to insure respect and love. In the field he had a manifest advantage over the ill-directed insurgents, who then invited Thiedrik or Thierry, Landgrave of Alsace, to put himself at their head. Thierry gladly accepted their invitation. He advanced a claim to the succession on the ground of his descent from some old chief of the country; and Henry, who found in him the instrument he wanted, sent him money, and engaged to support him with all his might. The treacherous surrender of Lisle, Ghent, and other important places in Flanders, immediately followed; but William, who had the courage and military skill of his unfortunate father, without any of his indolence, completely defeated his antagonist, Thierry, under the walls of Alost. Most unfortunately, however, in the moment of victory, he received a pike wound in the hand, and this being neglected, or improperly treated by ignorant surgeons, brought on a mortification. He was conveyed to the monastery of St. Omer, where he died on the 27th of July, 1128, in his twenty-sixth year. In his last moments, he wrote to his unnatural uncle, to implore mercy for the Norman barons who had followed his fortunes. Henry, in the joy of his heart, granted the request of his deceased nephew, who left no children to prolong the king's inquietude, or serve as a rallying point to the disaffected nobles. We are not informed whether the tidings of William's brief greatness were conveyed into the dungeon of Cardiff Castle, to solace the heart of his suffering father, or whether the news of his early death, which so soon followed it, was in mercy concealed from the blind old man.

To work out his purposes, Henry had hesitated at no treachery, no bloodshed, no crime, and yet

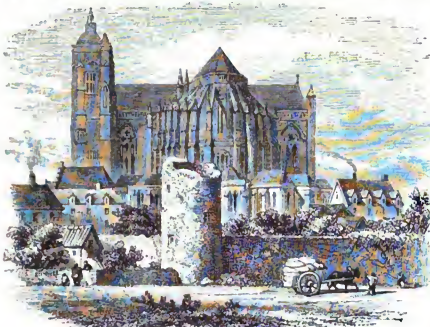


CHAPTER HOUSE AND PART OF THE CATHEDRAL, ST. OMER.¹—Wool's Architectural Papers.

he fondly hoped to end his days in tranquillity. The winding up of his story is little more than a succession of petty family jars and discords—the very bathos of ambition and worldly grandeur. His daughter, Matilda, presuming on the imperial rank she had held, and being naturally of a proud, imperious temper, soon quarrelled with her husband: a separation took place; Matilda returned to England, and her father was occupied during many months with these family disputes, and in negotiating a peace between man and wife. At length a reconciliation was patched up, and Matilda returned to her husband. The oath-breaker, her father, thought he could never exact oaths enough from others; and before his daughter left England, he made the prelates and barons again swear fealty to her. Henry, who, in spite of these precautions, well knew the chances to which Matilda would be exposed, ardently longed for a grandson, whom he hoped to see grow up; but for six years he was kept uneasy and unhappy by the unfruitfulness of the marriage. In March, 1133, however, Matilda was delivered, at Mans, of her first child, Henry, styled Fitz-Empress, who was afterwards Henry II. of England. At the birth of this grandson the king again convoked the barons of England and Normandy, and made them recognize as his successors the children of his daughter, after him and *after her*. The nobles, being accustomed to the taking of oaths which they meant to break, swore fealty afresh, not only to Matilda, but to her infant son, and the rest of her progeny as yet unborn. The ex-empress gave birth to two more princes, Geoffrey and William, in the course of the two

¹ This fine cathedral is of the style of transition from the round to the pointed style of the twelfth century.

following years; but even a growing family failed to endear her husband to her: she quarrelled



MANS.¹—From a modern French print.

with him on all possible occasions; and as her father took her part, she kept his mind almost constantly occupied with their dissensions. Under these circumstances, it was not natural that Geoffrey Plantagenet should prove a loving and dutiful son-in-law. He demanded immediate possession of Normandy, which he said Henry had promised him; and when the king refused, he broke out into threats and insults. Matilda, it is said, exerted her malignant and ingenious spirit in widening the breach between her own husband and father. The four last years of Henry's reign, which were spent wholly abroad, were troubled with these domestic broils. At length an incursion of the Welsh demanded his presence in England; and he was preparing for that journey, when death despatched him on a longer one. His health and spirits had been for some time visibly on the decline. On the 25th of November, "to drive his grief away, he went abroad to hunt." Having pursued his sport dur-

ing the day, in the woods of Lions-la-Forêt, in Normandy;² he returned home in the evening, "somewhat amended," and being hungry, "would needs eat of a lamprey, though his physician ever counselled him to the contrary." The lamprey or lampreys he ate brought on an indigestion; and the indigestion a fever. On the third day, despairing of his recovery, he sent for the Archbishop of Rouen, who administered the sacrament and extreme unction; and, on the seventh day of his illness, which was Sunday, December 1, A.D. 1135, he expired at the midnight hour. He was in his sixty-seventh year, and had reigned thirty-five years and four months, wanting four days. By his will he left to his daughter, Matilda, and her heirs for ever, all his territories on either side

the sea; and he desired that when his lawful debts were discharged, and the liveries and wages of his retainers paid, the residue of his effects should be distributed among the poor. They kept the royal bowels in Normandy, and deposited them in the church of St. Mary, at Rouen, which his mother had founded; but the body was conveyed to England, and interred in Reading Abbey, which Henry had built himself.

The best circumstances attending his long reign were, the peace he maintained in England, and a partial respect to the laws which his vigorous government imposed on his haughty and ferocious barons.³ Considering the times, extraordinary care had been taken of his education. His natural abilities were excellent; and so great was his progress in the philosophy and literature of the age, that his contemporaries honoured him with the name of Beauclerk, or the fine scholar. He was proud of his learning, and in the habit of saying that he considered an unlearned king as

¹ The view includes the cathedral and part of the fortifications of the town. The cathedral is built upon the foundations of an ancient temple. The most ancient part of the edifice is the nave, which is by different authorities ascribed to the ninth and the eleventh centuries. The choir and transepts are of the fifteenth century. The choir is remarkably bold in style, and has a lofty roof; it contains a quantity of fine stained glass. A tower at the end of one of the transepts rises upwards of 200 ft. from the ground. The cathedral is surrounded by thirteen small chapels. The town contains several other churches, and an abbey of St. Vincent, now occupied as a seminary for priests. Mans contains several vestiges of Roman edifices, among which are those of an amphitheatre.

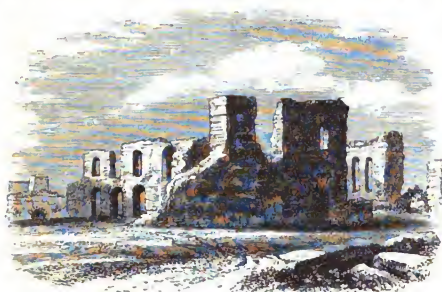
² Lions-la-Forêt, now a town, is at a short distance from Rouen, and is approached through the remains of a forest, to which it owes its surname. To this forest, once of great extent, the Norman princes eagerly resorted for the diversion of the chase. So early as 929, William I., Duke of Normandy, built a hunting-box there, which afterwards became a castle important

from its strength. This forest was the scene in which, as congenial ground, were laid many of the adventures recorded in the old chronicles and romances.—*Tour in Normandy*, by H. Gally Knight.

³ "During the tyrannical reign of Rufus, the arbitrary will of the monarch constituted the only code by which the subject was ruled; but the charter of Henry I. 'restored the law of Edward,' or, in other words, re-established or intended to re-establish the Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence as it existed before the invasion. To what extent the alterations, consequent upon the change of property amongst the higher orders, had modified the older institutions, we cannot entirely ascertain; and some of the doctrines introduced by the Conqueror were silently preparing the way for future revolutions. But, in theory, the customs of the ancient national monarchs still prevailed, and the administration of the law, though severe, was neither discreditable to the government nor ungrateful to a people, then advancing in good order and civilization."—*Palgrave's Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth*, part i. p. 240.

nothing better than a crowned ass. He was very fond of men of letters, and of wild beasts; and, to enjoy both, he often fixed his residence between them; or, in the words of one of the chroniclers, "He took chief pleasure to reside in his new palace, which himself built at Oxford, both for the delight he had in learned men—himself being very learned—and for the vicinity of his new park at Woodstock, which he had fraught with all kinds of strange beasts, wherein he much delighted, as lions, leopards, lynxes, camels, porcupines, and the like."¹ His love of

battle in the service of their immediate superior. Henry replied, "This is not the first time that Luke de Barré has borne arms against me: but he has been guilty of still worse things; for he has satirized me in his poems, and made me a laughing-stock to mine enemies. From his example, let other verse-makers learn what they have to expect when they offend the King of England." The cruel sentence was wholly or partly executed, and the poet, in a paroxysm of agony, burst from the savage hands of the executioners, and dashed out his brains against the



REMAINS OF READING ABBEY.²—Gosse's Antiquities.

letters, however, did not interfere with his revenge. In the last war in which he was personally engaged on the Continent, Luke de Barré, a knightly poet, who had fought against him, was made prisoner, and barbarously sentenced to lose his eyes. Charles the Good, Earl of Flanders, who was present, remonstrated against the punishment, urging, among other things, that it was not the custom to inflict bodily punishment on men of the rank of knights, who had done

well. Early in life, he chose his chaplain by the rapidity with which he got through a mass, saying, that no man could be so fit a mass-priest for soldiers as one who did his work with such despatch. While making war in Normandy, Henry chanced to enter this priest's church, as it lay on his road, near Caen. And when the royal youth," says William of Newbury, "said, 'Follow me!' he adhered as closely to him as Peter did to his heavenly Lord, uttering a similar command; for Peter, leaving his vessel, followed the King of kings—he, leaving his

church, followed the prince, and, being appointed chaplain to him and his troops, became a blind leader of the blind." In some worldly respects, at least, the censure was too severe. The speedy chaplain, who will re-appear under the reign of Stephen, was Roger, afterwards the famous Bishop of Sarum, and treasurer and favourite minister to Henry, who invariably made such elections from among the most able and quick-sighted of men.⁴

¹ *Rossus*, quoted in Speed's *Chronicle*.

² Reading Abbey was built by Henry I., who was buried within its walls. It was subsequently converted into a royal palace, but it has long since fallen into total ruin.

³ *Ordericus Vitalis*.

⁴ During Henry's frequent and long absences from England, Roger seems almost without exception to have been lord-lieutenant, or regent of the kingdom.

CHAPTER IV.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.

STEPHEN.—A.D. 1135—1154.

Opposition made to the succession of Matilda—Stephen is crowned in her stead—His unwise concessions to the barons—The Earl of Gloucester intrigues against him in favour of Matilda—The Scots invade England—Battle of the Standard, and defeat of the Scots—The Bishop of Sarum's rebellion against Stephen—Its suppression—Matilda lands in England and claims the crown—Wars between her and Stephen—Stephen taken prisoner—Matilda driven from London by the adherents of Stephen—She is defeated, and Stephen restored—Troubles of the land from the contest—Matilda's singular escape from Oxford—She retires to Normandy—Quarrels of Stephen with his prelates and barons—Prince Henry, son of Matilda, asserts his right to the crown—He invades England—Treaty by which Stephen retains the crown for life, with Henry for his successor—Death of Stephen.



SCARCELY was Henry Beauclerk dead when events proved how fruitless were all his pains and precautions to secure the succession to his daughter, and how utterly valueless were unanimous oaths which were rather the offspring of fear than of inward conviction and good-will. Passing over the always questionable obligation of oaths of this nature, there were several capital obstacles to bar the avenues of the throne to Matilda. The first among these was her sex. Since the time of the ancient Britons, England had never obeyed a female sovereign; and the Saxons for a long time had even a marked aversion to the name and dignity of queen when applied only to the reigning king's wife.¹ In the same manner, the Normans had never known a female reign, the notion of which was most repugnant to the whole course of their habits and feelings. To hold their fiefs "under the distaff" (as it was called) was considered humiliating to a nobility whose business was war, and whose king, according to the feudal system, was little else than the first of many warriors—a chief expected to be in the saddle, and at the head of his chivalry whenever occasion demanded. We accordingly find that a loud and general cry was raised by the Anglo-Norman and Norman barons, that it would be most disgraceful for so many noble knights to obey the orders of a woman. In certain stages of society, and in all the earliest, the Salic law, or that portion of it excluding females from the throne, to which we have limited its name and meaning, is a natural law. These all but insurmountable objections would not hold good against her son Henry; but that prince was an infant not yet four years old, and regencies under a long minority were as incompatible with the spirit and condition of the times, as a female reign. Queens

governing in their own right and by themselves, and faithfully guarded minorities, are both the product of an age much more civilized and settled than the twelfth century, and the approach to them was slow and gradual. It was something, however, to have confined the right of succession to the legitimately born; for if the case had occurred a little earlier in England, the grown-up and experienced natural son of the king, standing in the position of Robert, Earl of Gloucester, might possibly have been elected without scruple, as had happened to Edmund Ironside, Athelstane, and others of the Saxon line.

No one was better acquainted with the spirit of the times, and the obstacles raised against Matilda and Earl Robert, than the ambitious Stephen, nephew of the late king, who had taken many measures beforehand, who was encouraged by the irregularity of the succession ever since the Conquest, and who would no doubt give the widest interpretation to whatever of elective character was held to belong to the English crown. Henry had been unusually bountiful to this nephew. He married him to Maud, daughter and heir of Eustace, Count of Boulogne, who brought him, in addition to the feudal sovereignty of Boulogne, immense estates in England, which had been conferred by the Conqueror on the family of the count. By this marriage Stephen also acquired another close connection with the royal family of England, and a new hold upon the sympathies of the English, as his wife Maud was of the old Saxon stock, being the only child of Mary of Scotland, sister to David, the reigning king, as also to the good Queen Maud, the first wife of Henry, and mother of the Empress Matilda. Still further to aggrandize this favourite nephew, Henry conferred upon him the great estate forfeited by Robert Mallet in England, and that forfeited by the Earl of Mortaigne in Normandy. He also brought over Stephen's younger brother, Henry, who, being a church-

¹ See vol. i. Saxon Period.

man, was created abbot of Glastonbury and Bishop of Winchester. Stephen had resided much in England, and had rendered himself exceedingly popular both to the Normans and the people of Saxon race. The barons and knights admired him for his undoubted bravery and activity—the people for his generosity, the beauty of his person, and his affable, familiar manners. The king might not know it, but he was the popular favourite in the already important and fast-rising city of London before Henry's death. When that event happened, he was nearer England than Matilda, whose rights he had long determined to dispute. Taking advantage of his situation, he crossed the Channel immediately, and though the gates of Dover and Canterbury were shut against him, he was received in London with enthusiastic joy, the populace saluting him as king without waiting for the formalities of the election and consecration. The first step to the English throne in those days, as we have seen in the cases of Rufus and Henry, was to get possession of the royal treasury at Winchester. Stephen's own brother was Bishop of Winchester, and by his assistance he got the keys into his hands. The treasure consisted of £100,000 in money, besides plate and jewels of great value. His episcopal brother was otherwise of the greatest use, being mainly instrumental in winning over Roger, Bishop of Sarum, then chief justiciary and regent of the kingdom, and William Corboil, Archbishop of Canterbury. Bishop Roger, he who had been the speedy mass-priest of King Henry, was easily gained through his constant craving after money; but the primate was not assailable on that side, being a very conscientious though weak man; it was therefore thought necessary to practise a deception upon him, and Hugh Bigod, steward of the late household, made oath before him and other lords of the land, that the king on his death-bed had adopted and chosen his nephew, Stephen, to be his heir and successor, *because* his daughter the empress had grievously offended him by her recent conduct. This was a most disgraceful measure; and those men were more honest, and in every sense occupied better ground, who maintained that the great kingdom of England was not a heritable property, or a thing to be willed away by a dying king, without the consent and against the customs of the people. After hearing Bigod's oath, the archbishop seems to have floated quietly with the current, without offering either resistance or remonstrance. But there were other oaths to be considered, for the whole body of the clergy and nobility had repeatedly sworn fealty to Matilda. We have already shown how the oaths were considered by the mass; and now the all-prevalent Roger, Bishop of Sarum,

openly declared that those vows of allegiance were null and void, because, without the consent of the lords of the land, the empress was married out of the realm; whereas they took their oath to receive her as their queen upon the express condition that she should never be so married without their concurrence.¹ Some scruples may have remained, but no opposition was offered to his election, and on the 26th of December, being St. Stephen's Day, Stephen was hallowed and crowned at Westminster by the primate, William Corboil. Immediately after his coronation, he went to Reading, to attend the burial of the body of his uncle, King Henry, and from Reading Abbey he proceeded to Oxford, where he summoned a great council of the prelates, abbots, and lay-barons of the kingdom, that he might receive their oaths of allegiance, and consult with them on the affairs of the state. When the assembly met, he allowed the clergy to annex a condition, which, as they were sure to assume the right of interpretation, rendered their oaths less binding even than usual. They swore to obey him as their king so long as he should preserve their church liberties, and the vigour of discipline, and no longer. This large concession, however, had the effect of conciliating the bishops and abbots, and the confirmation of the pope soon followed. The letter of Innocent II., which ratified Stephen's title, was brief and clear.²

Stephen weakened his right instead of strengthening it, by introducing a variety of titles into his charter, which, in imitation of his predecessor Henry, he issued at this time; but particular stress seems to have been laid on his election as king, "with the consent of the clergy and people," and on the confirmation granted him by the pope. In this same charter he promised to redress all grievances, and grant to the people all the good laws and good customs of Edward the Confessor. Whatever were his natural inclinations (and we are inclined to believe they were not bad or ungenerous), the circumstances in which he was placed, and the villainous instruments with which he had to work, from the beginning to the end of his troubled reign, put it wholly out of his power to keep the promises he had made, and the condition of the English people became infinitely worse under him than it had been under Henry, or even under Rufus. A concession which he made to the lay barons contributed largely to the frightful anarchy which ensued. To secure their affections and to strengthen himself, as he thought, against the empress, he granted them all permission to

¹ *Matt. Paris.*; *Gesta Steph.*

² *Scrip. Rer. Franc.* The letter of the pope has been preserved by Richard of Hexham. It may be possible, though it appears scarcely probable, that the pope knew nothing of the oaths previously taken to Matilda and her children.

fortify their castles and build new ones; and these, almost without an exception, became dens of thieves and cut-throats. At the same time he made large promises to the venal and rapacious nobles, to engage them the more in support of his title to the crown, and gave them strong assurances that they should enjoy more *privileges* and offices under him than they had possessed in the reigns of his Norman predecessors. The keeping of these engagements with the barons would of itself render nugatory his promises to the English people; and the non-performance of them was sure to bring down on Stephen's head the vengeance of a warlike body of men, who were almost everything in the nation, and far too much, when united, for any royal authority, however legitimately founded. At first, and probably on account of the large sum of money he had in hand to meet demands, all went on in great peace and harmony; and the court which the new king held in London during the festival of Easter, in the first year of his reign, was more splendid, and better attended in every respect, than any that had yet been seen in England.¹

Nor were the prelates and barons in Normandy more averse to the succession of Stephen than their brethren in England. The old reasons for desiring a continuance of their union with our island were still in force with many of them; and there was an hereditary animosity between the nobles and people of Normandy and those of Anjou, so that when Geoffrey Plantagenet, Earl of Anjou, marched into the duchy to assert the rights of his wife Matilda, he and his Angevins met with a determined opposition, and he was, soon after, glad to conclude a peace or truce for two years with Stephen, on condition of receiving during that time an annual pension of 5000 marks. When Stephen appeared on the Continent he met with nothing to indicate that he was considered as an unlawful usurper: the Normans swore allegiance, and the French king (Louis VII.), with whom he had an interview, formed an alliance by contracting his young sister Constance with Eustace, Stephen's son, and, as suzerain, granted the investiture of Normandy to Eustace, who was then a mere child.

During the first year of Stephen's reign England was disturbed only by the revolt of the Earl of Exeter, who was discontented with his share in the new king's liberalities; and by a Scottish incursion made into the northern counties in support of Matilda by her uncle King David,² who, however, was bought off for the present, by the grant of the lordship of Huntingdon

and the castle of Carlisle, with a few other concessions.

Robert, Earl of Gloucester, the late king's natural son, who had so vehemently disputed the question of precedence with Stephen, merged his own pretensions to the crown in those of his half-sister Matilda, whose cause he resolved to promote in England conjointly with his own immediate advantages. Pretending to be reconciled to his rule, he came over from the Continent (A.D. 1137) and took the oaths of fealty and homage to Stephen, by the performance of which ceremony he obtained instant possession of his vast estates in England; and the first use he made of the advantages the oaths procured him, was to intrigue with the nobles in favour of his half-sister. The happy calm in which England lay did not last long after the Earl of Gloucester's arrival. Several of the barons, alleging their services had not met with due reward, began to seize, by force of arms, different parts of the royal demesne, which they said Stephen had promised them in fief. Hugh Bigod, who had sworn that King Henry had appointed Stephen his successor, and who probably put a high price on his perjury, was foremost among the disaffected, and seized Norwich Castle. Other royal castles were besieged and taken, or were treacherously surrendered. They were nearly all soon retaken by the king, but the spirit of revolt was rife among the nobles, and the sedition, suppressed on one spot, burst forth on others. Stephen, however, was lenient and merciful beyond all precedent to the vanquished.

The Earl of Gloucester, having settled with his friends the plan of a most extensive insurrection, and induced the Scottish king to promise another invasion of England, withdrew beyond sea, and sent a letter of defiance to Stephen, in which he formally renounced his homage. Other great barons—all pleading that Stephen had not given them enough, nor extended their privileges as he had promised—fell from his side, and withdrew to their castles, which by his permission they had already strongly fortified. He was abandoned, like Shakspeare's Macbeth, but his soul was as high as that usurper's. "The traitors!" he cried, "they themselves made me a king, and now they fall from me; but by God's birth, they shall never call me a deposed king!"³ At this crisis of his fortunes, he displayed extraordinary activity and valour; but having no other politic means of any efficacy with such men, who were all grasping for estates, honours, and employments, he trenchanted on the domains of the crown, and had again recourse to his old system of promising more than he could possibly perform. The history of those

¹ Henry Hunting.

² The Scottish king was equally uncle to Stephen's wife, but he probably remembered the oaths he had taken to the mother of Henry.

³ William of Malmesbury.

petty sieges of baronial castles, wherein Stephen was almost invariably successful, is singularly uninteresting; but the campaign against the Scots has some remarkable features. While he was engaged with the revolted barons in the south, King David, true to his promise, but badly supported by the Earl of Gloucester and Matilda, who did not arrive in England to put themselves at the head of their party till a year later, gathered his forces together from every part of his dominions—from the Lowlands, the Highlands, and the Isles—from the great promontory of Galloway, the Cheviot Hills, and from that nursing-place of hardy, lawless men, the Border-land between the two kingdoms—and crossing the Tweed (March, 1138), advanced boldly into Northumberland, riding with Prince Henry, his son and heir, at the head of as numerous, as mixed, and, in the main, as wild a host as ever trode this ground. These "Scottish ants," as an old writer calls them,¹ overran the whole of the country that lies between the Tweed and the Tees. "As for the King of Scots himself," says the anonymous author of *Gesta Stephani*, "he was a prince of a mild and merciful disposition; but the Scots were a barbarous and impure nation, and their king, leading hordes of them from the remotest parts of that land, was unable to restrain their wickedness." The Normans of the time purposely exaggerated the barbarous excesses—committed chiefly by the Gallowegians, the Highlanders, and the men of the Isles—in order to make the English fight more desperately on their side; for had they relied solely on their chivalry, and the men-at-arms and mercenaries in the service of their northern barons, their case would have been hopeless. At the same time they conciliated the English people of the north by a strong appeal to the local superstitions—they invoked the names of the saints of Saxon race whom they had been wont to treat with little respect; and the popular banners of St. Cuthbert of Durham (or, according to some, of St. Peter of York), St. John of Beverley, and St. Wilfrid of Ripon, which had long lain dust-covered in the churches, were reproduced in the army, as the pledges and means of victory. So rapid was the advance of King David, that Stephen had not time to reach the scene of hostilities; and the defence of the north was, in a great measure, left to Toustain or Thurstan, Archbishop of York, an infirm, decrepid old man, but whose warlike energies, address, and

cunning were not affected by age and disease. It was mainly he who organized the army of defence which was got together in a hurry. He eloquently exhorted the men to fight to the last, for God and their country, telling them victory was certain, and paradise the meed of all who should fall in battle against the Scots; he made them swear never to desert each other; he gave them his blessing and the remission of their sins; he sent forth all his clergy, bishops, and chaplains, and the curates, who led their parishioners, "the bravest men of Yorkshire;" and though sickness prevented him from putting on his own coat of mail, he sent Raoul or Ranulf, the Bishop of Durham, to represent him on the field of battle. Each lay baron of the north headed his own vassals; but a more extensive command of divisions was intrusted by the archbishop to William Pipher or Peverel, and Walter Espec, of Nottinghamshire, and Gilbert de Lacy and his brother Walter, of Yorkshire. As the Scots were already upon the Tees, the Anglo-Norman army drew up between that river and the Humber, choosing their own battle-field at Elfer-tun, now Northalerton, about equidistant from York and Durham. Here they erected a remarkable standard, from which the battle has taken its name. A car upon four wheels, which will remind the reader of Italian history of the *carroccio* of the people of Lombardy,² was drawn to the centre of the position; the mast of a vessel was strongly fastened in the car; at the top of the mast a large crucifix was displayed, having in its centre a silver box containing the consecrated wafer, or sacrament; and, lower down, the mast was decorated with the banners of the three English saints. Around this sacred standard many of the English yeomanry and peasants from the plains, wolds, and woodlands of Yorkshire, Nottingham, and Lincolnshire, gathered of their own accord. These men were all armed with large bows and arrows two cubits long; they had the fame of being excellent archers, and the Normans gladly assigned them posts in the foremost and most exposed ranks of the army.

The Scots, whose standard was a simple lance, with a sprig of the "blooming heather" wreathed round it, crossed the Tees in several divisions. Prince Henry commanded the first corps, which consisted of men from the Lowlands of Scotland, armed with cuirasses and long pikes; of archers from Teviotdale, and Liddesdale, and all the

¹ Matthew Paris.

² The *carroccio*, or great standard car, is said to have been invented or first used by Eribert, Archbishop of Milan, in the year 1035. It was a car upon four wheels, painted red, and so heavy that it was drawn by four pair of oxen. In the centre of the car was fixed a mast, which supported a golden ball, an image of our Saviour, and the banner of the republic. In front of the mast were placed a few of the most valiant warriors: in the

rear of it a band of warlike music. Feelings of religion, of military glory, of local attachment, of patriotism, were all associated with the *carroccio*, the idea of which is supposed to have been derived from the Jewish ark of the covenant. It was from the platform of the car that the priest administered the offices of religion to the army. No disgrace was so intolerable among the free citizens of Lombardy as that entailed by the suffering an enemy to take the *carroccio*.

valleys of the rivers that empty their waters into the Tweed or the Solway Frith; of troopers from the mountains of Cumberland and Westmoreland, mounted on small but strong and active horses; and of the fierce men of Galloway, who wore no defensive armour, and carried long thin pikes as



ARMOUR of the time of Stephen.—Cotton MS. Nero C. 4.

their chief, if not sole weapon of war. A body-guard of knights and men-at-arms under the command of Eustace Fitz-John, a nobleman of Norman descent, rode round the prince. The Highland clans and men of the Isles came next, carrying a small round shield made of light wood covered with leather, as their only defensive armour, and the claymore or broad-sword as their only weapon: some of the island tribes, however, wielded the old Danish battle-axe instead of the claymore. After these marched the king with a strong body of knights, who were all either



KNIIGHT, in tegulated armour.—Seal of Richard, constable of Chester in the time of Stephen.

of English or Norman extraction; and a mixed corps of men from the Moray Frith, and various other parts of the land, brought up the rear. With the exception of the knights and men-at-arms, who were clad in complete mail, and armed

uniformly, the host of the Scottish king presented a disordered variety of weapons and dresses. The half-naked clans were, however, as forward to fight as the warriors clad in steel. The rapid advance of the Scottish forces was covered and concealed by a dense fog; and they would have taken the Anglo-Norman army by surprise, had it not been for Robert de Bruce and Bernard de Baliol, two barons of Norman descent, who held lands both in Scotland and England, and who were anxious for the conclusion of an immediate peace. Having in vain argued with David, and hearing themselves called traitors by William, the king's nephew, they renounced the Scottish part of their allegiance, bade defiance to the king, and putting spurs to their horses, galloped off to the camp at Northallerton, which they reached in good time to tell that the Scots were coming. At the sight and sound of their headlong and tumultuous approach, the Bishop of Durham read the prayer of absolution from the standard-car, the Normans and the English kneeling on the ground the while, and rising to their feet and shouting "Amen," when it was finished. The representative of the energetic old Thurstain then delivered a speech for the further encouragement of the army: it was long, and seems to have been interrupted by the onslaught of the Scots.

The Scots came on with the simple war-cry of "Alban! Alban!" which was shouted at once by all the Celtic tribes. The desperate charge of the men of Galloway drove in the English infantry, and broke for a moment the Norman centre. "They burst the enemy's ranks," says old Brompton, "as if they had been but spiders' webs." Almost immediately after, both flanks of the Anglo-Normans were assailed by the mountaineers and the men of Teviotdale and Liddesdale; but these charges were not supported in time, and the Norman horse formed an impenetrable mass round the standard-car, and repulsed the Scots in a fierce charge they made to penetrate there. During this fruitless effort of the enemy, the English bowmen rallied, and took up good positions on the two wings of the Anglo-Norman army; and when the Scots renewed their attack on the centre, they harassed them with a double flank flight of arrows, while the Norman knights and men-at-arms received them in front on the points of their couched lances. The long thin pikes of the men of Galloway were shivered against the armour of the Normans, or broken by their heavy swords and battle-axes. The Highland clans still shouting "Alban! Alban!" wielded their claymores, and fighting hand to hand, tried to cut their way through the mass of iron-cased chivalry. For full two hours did the

Scots maintain the fight in front of the Norman host; and at one moment the gallant Prince Henry had nearly penetrated to the elevated standard; but, at last, with broken spears and swords, they ceased to attack—paused, retreated, and then fled in confusion. The king, however, retained near his person, and in good order, his guards and some other troops, which covered the retreat, and gave several bloody checks to the Anglo-Normans who pursued. Three days after he rallied within the walls of Carlisle, and employed himself in collecting his scattered troops, and organizing a new army. He is said to have lost 12,000 men at Northallerton. The Normans were not in a situation to pursue their advantages to any extent; and the Scots soon re-assumed the offensive, by laying siege to Wark Castle, which they reduced by famine. The famous battle of the Standard, which was fought on the 22d of August, A.D. 1138, was, however, the great event of the Scottish war, which was concluded in the following year by a treaty of peace, brought about by the intercessions and prayers of Alberic, Bishop of Ostia, the pope's legate in England, and Stephen's wife, Maud, who had an interview with her uncle, King David, at Durham. Though the Scots were left in possession of Cumberland and Westmoreland, and Prince Henry invested with the earldom of Northumberland, the issue of the war dispirited the malcontents all over England, and might have given some stability to Stephen's throne, had he not, in an evil moment, roused the powerful hostility of the church.

Roger, Bishop of Sarum, though no longer treasurer and justiciary, as in the former and at the beginning of the present reign, still possessed great influence in the nation, among laity as well as clergy—an influence not wholly arising out of his great wealth and political abilities, but in part owing to the noble use he made of his money, to his taste and munificence, and the superior learning of his family and adherents. Among other works of the same kind he rebuilt the cathedral at Sarum, which had been injured by fire, and the storms to which its elevated position exposed it, and he beautified it so greatly that it yielded to none in England at that time; and some respect is still due to the memory of a man who greatly raised the architectural taste of this country, and whose genius affected the age in which he lived. "He erected splendid mansions on all his estates," says William of Malmesbury, "with unrivalled magnificence, in merely maintaining which his successors will toil in vain. His cathedral he dignified to the utmost with matchless adornments, and buildings in which no expense was spared. It was wonderful to behold in this man what abundant authority attended, and flowed, as it were, to his hand. He was

sensible of his power, and somewhat more harshly than be seemed such a character, abused the favour of Heaven. Was there anything adjacent to his possessions which he desired, he would obtain it either by treaty or purchase; and if that failed, by force." But other powerful barons, both ecclesiastical and lay, equalled his rapacity without having any of his taste and elevation of spirit; for he was in all things a most magnificent person, and one who extended his patronage to men of learning as well as to architects and other artists. He obtained the sees of Lincoln and Ely for his two nephews, Alexander and Nigel, who were men of noted learning and industry, and were said at the time to merit their promotion by virtue of the education which he had given them. Alexander, the Bishop of Lincoln, who, though called his nephew, is significantly said to have been something nearer and dearer, had the same taste for raising splendid buildings; he nearly rebuilt the cathedral of Lincoln, and built the castle of Newark: but Nigel, on the contrary, is said to have wasted his wealth on hawks and hounds. Bishop Roger, next to his own brother, the Bishop of Winchester, had contributed more than any churchman to his elevation, and Stephen's consequent liberality for a long time knew no stint. It should appear, however, that his gifts were not the free offerings of gratitude, and that he treated the bishop as one does a sponge which is permitted to fill before it is squeezed. He is reported to have said more than once to his familiar companions—"By God's birth, I would give him half England if he asked for it: till the time be ripe he shall tire of asking before I tire of giving." Roger was one of the castle-builders of that turbulent period, being, as he thought, licensed therein, by the permission granted by Stephen at his coronation: all his stately mansions were, in fact, strongly fortified places, well garrisoned, and provided with warlike stores. Besides Newark Castle, Alexander had built other houses, which were also fortified; and, when abroad, uncle and nephews were accustomed to make a great display of military force. The pomp and power of this family had long excited the envy of Stephen's favourites, who had no great difficulty in persuading their master that Bishop Roger was on the point of betraying him, and espousing the interests of Matilda. Stephen was threatened by an invasion from without, and no longer knew how to distinguish his friends from his foes within: his want of money to pay the foreign mercenary troops he had engaged, and to satisfy his selfish nobles, now drove him into irregular courses, and he probably considered that the bishop's time was ripe. The king was holding his court at Oxford: the town was crowded with prelates and barons, with their numerous

and disorderly attendants; a quarrel, either accidental or preconceived, arose between the bishop's retainers and those of the Earl of Brittany concerning quarters, and swords being drawn on both sides, many men were wounded and one knight was killed.¹ Stephen took advantage of the circumstance and ordered the arrest of the bishop and his nephews. Roger was seized in the king's own hall, and Alexander, the Bishop of Lincoln, at his lodging in the town; but Nigel, the Bishop of Ely, who had taken up his quarters in a house outside the town, escaped, and threw himself into Devizes, the strongest of all his uncle's castles. The two captives were confined in separate dungeons. The first charge laid against them was a flagrant violation of the king's peace within the precincts of his court; and for this they were assured that Stephen would accept of no atonement less than the unconditional surrender to him of all their castles. They at first refused to part with their houses, and offered "a reasonable compensation" in money; but, moved by the dreadful threats of their enemies and the entreaties of their friends, they at length surrendered the castles which Roger had built at Malmesbury and Sherborne, and that which he had enlarged and strengthened at Sarum. Newark Castle, the work of the Bishop of Lincoln, seems also to have been given up. But the castle of Devizes, the most important of them all, remained; and relying on its strength, the warlike Bishop of Ely was prepared to bid defiance to the king. To overcome this opposition, Stephen ordered Roger and the Bishop of Lincoln to be kept without food till the castle should be given up. In case of a less direct appeal, the defenders of Devizes might have been obstinate or incredulous of the fact that Stephen was starving two bishops; but Roger himself, already pale and emaciated, was made to state his own hard fate, in front of his own castle, to his own nephew, whom he implored to surrender, as the king had sworn to keep his purpose of famishing him and the Bishop of Lincoln to death unless he submitted. Stephen, though far less cruel by nature than most of his contemporaries, was yet thought to be a man to keep his word in such a case as the present; this was felt by the Bishop of Ely, who, overcoming his own haughty spirit out of affection to his uncle, surrendered to save the lives of the captives after they had been three whole days in a fearful fast.²

At these violent proceedings the whole body of

the dignified clergy, including even his own brother Henry, the Bishop of Winchester, who was now armed with the high powers of Papal legate for all England, turned against Stephen, accusing him of sacrilege in laying violent hands on prelates. The legate Henry summoned his brother, the king, to appear before a synod of bishops assembled at Winchester. Stephen would not attend in person, but sent Alberic de Vere as his counsel to plead for him. Alberic exaggerated the circumstances of the riot at Oxford, and laid all the blame of that blood-shedding upon Roger and his nephews, whom, moreover, he charged with a treasonable correspondence with the empress. The legate answered that the three bishops, uncle and nephews, were ready to abide their trial before a *proper* tribunal, but demanded, as of right, that their houses and property should be previously restored to them. Alberic said that they had voluntarily surrendered their castles and treasures as an atonement for their offences; and it was insisted, moreover, on the same side, that the king had a right to take possession of all *fortified* places in his dominions whenever he considered, as circumstances now obliged him to do, that his throne was in danger. On the second day of the debate the Archbishop of Rouen, the only prelate that still adhered to the king, took a more apostolic and simple view of the case, and boldly affirmed that the three bishops were bound by their vows to live humbly and quietly according to the canons of the church, which prohibited them from all kinds of military pursuits whatsoever—that they could not claim the restitution of castles and places of war, which it was most unlawful for them, as churchmen, to build or to hold—and that, consequently, they had merited the greatest part of the punishment they had suffered. The points of canonical law thus laid down were undeniable; but the bishops there assembled were not accustomed to their practice, and every one of them *might* have said that, without making his house a castle, there was no living in it in these lawless times. As their temper was stern and uncompromising, Alberic de Vere appealed to the pope in the name of the king and dissolved the council, the knights with him drawing their swords to enforce his orders if necessary.³ The effects of this confirmed rupture were soon made visible. But Bishop Roger did not live to see the humiliation of Stephen; he was heart-broken; and when, in the following month of December, as the horrors of a civil war were commencing, he died at an advanced age, his fate was ascribed, not to the fever and ague, from which, in Malmesbury's words, he escaped by the kindness of death, but to grief and indignation

¹ It appears that Bishop Roger set out on his journey to Oxford with reluctance. "For," says William of Malmesbury, "I heard him speaking to the following purpose: 'By my Lady St Mary, I know not wherefore, but my heart revolts at this journey: this I am sure of, that I shall be of much the same service at court as a fool in battle!'"

² Malmesb.: Orderic.; Gesta Steph.

³ Malmesb. William of Malmesbury was present at this council.

for the injuries he had suffered. The plate and money which had been saved from the king's rapacity he devoted to the completion of his church at Sarum, and he laid them upon the high altar, in the hope that Stephen might be restrained, by fear of sacrilege, from seizing them. But these were not times for delicate scruples, and they were carried off even before the old man's death. Their value was estimated at 40,000 marks. Bishop Roger was the Cardinal Wolsey of the twelfth century, and his fate, not less tragic than the cardinal's, made a deep impression on the minds of his contemporaries. His nephew, or son, Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, and his nephew Nigel, Bishop of Ely, having the advantage of a younger age, did not resign themselves to despair, but, intent on taking vengeance, they openly joined Matilda, and were soon up in arms against Stephen.

The synod of bishops held at Winchester was dissolved on the first day of September (A.D. 1139), and towards the end of the same month, Matilda landed in England with her half-brother, Robert, Earl of Gloucester, and 140 knights. Some Normans who went out to meet her, on finding that she came with so insignificant a force, and brought no money, returned to the other side; and Stephen, by a rapid movement, presently surprised her in Arundel Castle, where Alice or Adela, the queen-widow of Henry I., gave her shelter. Stephen had both these dames in his power, but refining on the chivalrous notions which were becoming more and more in vogue, and to which he was inclined by nature more perhaps than suited good policy, he left Queen Alice undisturbed in her castle, and gave Matilda permission to go free and join her half-brother, Robert, who, immediately after their landing, had repaired by by-roads, and with only twelve followers, to the west country, where, at the very moment of these generous concessions, he was collecting his friends to make war upon Stephen. The king's brother, the Bishop of Winchester, escorted Matilda to Bristol, and delivered her safely to Earl Robert. It was quickly seen that those who had declined joining Matilda on her first landing had taken a narrow view of the resources of her party, for most of the chiefs in the north and the west renounced their allegiance to Stephen, and took fresh oaths to the empress. There was a moment

of wavering, during which many of the barons in other parts of the kingdom weighed the chances of success, or tried both parties, to ascertain which would grant the more ample recompense to their venal swords. While this state of indecision lasted, men knew not who were to be their friends, or who their foes, in the coming struggle: "the neighbour could put no faith in his nearest neighbour, nor the friend in his friend, nor the brother in his own brother;"¹ but at last the more active chiefs chose their sides, the game was made up, and the horrors of civil war, which were to decide it, were let loose upon the land. Still, however, many of the barons kept aloof, and, strongly garrisoning their own castles, took the favourable opportunity of despoiling, torturing, and murdering their weak neighbours. The whole war was conducted in a frightful manner; but the greatest of the atrocities seem to have been committed by these separationists, who cared neither for Stephen nor Matilda, and who rarely, or never, took the field for either party.



QUEEN MAUD'S CHAMBER, Arundel Castle.²—From a sketch on the spot by J. W. Archer.

They waged war against one another, and besieged castles, and racked farms, and seized the

¹ *Gervase of Canterbury.*

² Arundel Castle is referred to as early as the time of King Alfred, who bequeathed it to his nephew Aldhelm. William the Conqueror gave it to his kinsman, Roger de Montgomery, created Earl of Arundel and Shrewsbury. It afterwards passed into the hands of the Albini, and from them to the Fitz-Alans. The ancient keep and several towers and gates still remain. Arundel Castle confers by tenure the peerage and earldom of Arundel, without any creation, patent, or investiture, this being the only instance of the kind now existing in this country. A tower next the keep is called Queen Maud's Tower; and an upper chamber is said by tradition to have been her chamber, when Alice or Adela, the widow queen of Henry I., gave her shelter at Arundel in the course of her contest with Stephen.

unprotected traveller, on their own account, and for their own private spite or advantage.

At first the fortune of the greater war inclined in favour of Stephen; for though he failed to take Bristol, the head-quarters of Matilda and Earl Robert, he gained many advantages over their adherents in the west, and he defeated a formidable insurrection in the east, headed by Nigel, the Bishop of Ely, who built a stone rampart among the bogs and fens of his diocese, on the very spot, it is said, where the brave Hereward, the last champion of Saxon independence, had raised his fortress against the Conqueror. To reach the warlike and inveterate nephew of old Bishop Roger, Stephen had recourse to the same skilful measures which had been employed by the Conqueror at the same difficult place. Defeated at Ely, Nigel fled to Gloucester, whither Matilda had transferred her standard; and while Stephen was still on the eastern coast, the flames of war were rekindled in all the west. The Norman prelates had no scruples in taking an active part in these military operations; and the garrisons of their castles are said to have been as cruel to the defenceless rural population, as eager after plunder, and altogether as lawless, as the retainers of the lay barons. The bishops themselves were seen, as at the time of the Conquest, mounted on war-horses, clad in armour, directing the siege or the attack, and drawing lots with the rest for the booty.¹

The cause of Stephen was never injured by any want of personal courage and rapidity of movement. From the east he returned to the west, and from the west marched again to the country of fens, on learning that Alexander, the Bishop of Lincoln, had got together the scattered forces of the Bishop of Ely in those parts, and, in alliance with the Earls of Lincoln and Chester, was making himself very formidable. The castle of Lincoln was in the hands of his enemies; but the town's people were for Stephen, and assisted him in laying siege to the fortress. On the 2d of February, A.D. 1141, as Stephen was prosecuting this siege, the Earl of Gloucester, who had got together an army 10,000 strong, swam across the Trent, and appeared in front of Lincoln. Stephen, however, was prepared to receive him: he had drawn out his forces in the best position, and, dismounting from his war-horse, he put himself at the head of his infantry. But his army was unequal in number, and contained many traitors; the whole of his cavalry deserted to the enemy, or fled at the first onset; and after he had fought most gallantly, and broken both his sword and battle-axe, Stephen was taken prisoner by the Earl of Gloucester. Matilda was incapable of

imitating his generosity; but her partisans lauded her mercy, because she only loaded him with chains, and threw him into a dungeon in Bristol Castle. The empress does not appear to have encountered much difficulty in persuading the Bishop of Winchester wholly to abandon his unfortunate brother, and acknowledge her title. The price paid to the bishop was the promise, sealed by an oath, that he should have the chief direction of her affairs, and the disposal of all vacant bishoprics and abbacies. The scene of the bargain was on the downs, near Winchester, and the day on which it was concluded (the 2d of March) was dark and tempestuous. The next day, accompanied by a great body of the clergy, the brother of Stephen conducted the empress in a sort of triumph to the cathedral of Winchester, within which he blessed all who should be obedient to her, and denounced a curse against all who refused to submit to her authority. As legate of the pope, this man's decision had the force of law with most of the clergy; and several bishops, and even Theobald, the new Archbishop of Canterbury, followed his example.² At Winchester, Matilda took possession of the royal castle, the crown, with other regalia, and such treasure as Stephen had not exhausted. On the 7th of April, she, or the legate acting for her, convened an assembly of churchmen to ratify her accession. The members of this synod were divided into three classes—the bishops, the abbots, and the archdeacons. The legate conferred with each class separately and in private, and his arguments prevailed with them all. On the following day they sat together, and the deliberations were public. William of Malmesbury, who tells us he was present, and heard the opening speech with great attention, professes to give the very words of the legate. The brother of Stephen began by contrasting the turbulent times they had just witnessed, with the tranquillity and happiness enjoyed under the wise reign of Henry I.; he glanced lightly over the repeated vows made to Matilda, and said the absence of that lady, and the confusion into which the country was thrown, had compelled the prelates and lords to crown Stephen;—that he blushed to bear testimony against his own brother, but that Stephen had violated all his engagements, particularly those made to the church;—that hence God had pronounced judgment against him, and placed them again under the necessity of providing for the tranquillity of the kingdom by appointing some one to fill the throne. "And now," said the legate, in conclusion, "in order that the kingdom may not be without a ruler, we, the clergy of England, to whom it chiefly belongs to elect kings

¹ *Gesta Stephani*. This military spirit of the ecclesiastics had been greatly increased by the Crusades.

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² *Malmesb.*; *Gesta Steph.*: *German.*

and ordain them, having yesterday deliberated on this great cause in private, and invoked, as is fitting, the direction of the Holy Spirit, did, and do, elect Matilda, the daughter of the pacific, rich, glorious, good, and incomparable King Henry, to be *sovereign lady of England and Normandy*." Many persons present listened in silence—but silence, as usual, was interpreted into consent; and the rest of the assembly hailed the conclusion of the speech with loud and repeated acclamations. The deliberations of the synod, and the proclamation of Matilda, were hurried over before the deputation from the city of London could reach Winchester; but such was the respect they imposed, that it was deemed expedient to hold an adjourned session on the following morning. When the decision of the council was announced to them, the deputies said they did not come to debate, but to petition for the liberty of their king; that they had no powers to agree to the election of this new sovereign; and that the whole community of London, with all the barons lately admitted into it, earnestly desired of the legate, the archbishop, and all the clergy, the immediate liberation of Stephen. When they ended, Christian, the chaplain of Stephen's queen, rose to address the meeting. The legate endeavoured to impose silence on this new advocate; but, in defiance of his voice and authority, the chaplain read a letter from his royal mistress, in which she called upon the clergy, by the oaths of allegiance they had taken to him, to rescue her husband from the imprisonment in which he was kept by base and treacherous vassals. But Stephen's brother was not much moved by these measures; he repeated to the Londoners the arguments he had used the day before; the deputies departed with a promise, in which there was probably little sincerity, to recommend his view of the case to their fellow-citizens; and the legate broke up the council with a sentence of excommunication on several persons who still adhered to his brother, not forgetting a certain William Martel, who had recently made free on the roads with a part of his (the legate's) baggage.

If popular opinion can be counted for anything in those days—and if the city of London, together with Lincoln and other large towns, may be taken as indexes of the popular will—we might be led to conclude that Stephen was still the sovereign of the people's choice, or, at least, that they preferred him to his competitor. The feelings of the citizens of London were indeed so decided, that it was not until some time had passed, and the Earl of Gloucester had soothed them with promises and flattering prospects, that Matilda ventured among them. She entered the city a few days before Midsummer, and made preparations for her immediate coronation at Westmin-

ster. But Matilda herself, who pretended to an indefeasible, sacred, hereditary right, would perform none of the promises made by her half-brother; on the contrary, she imposed a *heavy* tallage or tax on the Londoners, as a punishment for their attachment to the usurper; and arrogantly rejected a petition they presented to her, praying that the laws of Edward the Confessor might be restored, and the changes and usages introduced by the Normans abolished. Indeed, whatever slight restraint she had formerly put on her haughty, vindictive temper, was now entirely removed; and in a surprisingly short space of time she contrived not only to irritate her old opponents to the very utmost, but also to convert many of her best friends into bitter enemies. When the legate desired that Prince Eustace, his nephew, and Stephen's eldest son, should be put in possession of the earldom of Boulogne and the other patrimonial rights of his father, she gave him a direct and insulting refusal. [In dethroning his brother, this prelate, who was, perhaps, the most extraordinary actor in the drama, had not bargained for the impoverishment of all his family, and an insult was what he never could brook.] When Stephen's wife, who was her own cousin, and a kind-hearted, amiable woman, appeared before her, seconded by many of the nobility, to petition for the enlargement of her husband, she showed the malignancy and littleness of her soul by personal and most unwomanly upbraidings.

The acts of this tragedy, in which there was no small mixture of farce, passed almost as rapidly as those of a drama on the stage; and before the coronation clothes could be got ready, and the bishops assembled, Matilda was driven from London without having time to take with her so much as a change of raiment. One fine summer's day, "nigh on to the feast of St. John the Baptist," and about noon-tide, the dinner hour of the court in those times, a body of horse bearing the banner of Queen Maud (the wife of Stephen) appeared on the southern side of the river opposite the city; on a sudden all the church-bells of London sounded the alarm, and the people ran to arms. From every house there went forth one man at least with whatever weapon he could lay his hand upon. They gathered in the streets, says a contemporary, like bees rushing from their hives.¹ Matilda saved herself from being made prisoner by rushing from table, mounting a horse, and galloping off. She had scarcely cleared the western suburb when some of the populace burst into her apartment, and pillaged or destroyed whatever they found in it. Such was her leaving-taking of London, which she never saw again.

¹ *Gesta Stephani*.

Some few of her friends accompanied her to Oxford, but others left her on the route, and fled singly by cross country roads and unfrequented paths towards their respective castles.¹

Matilda had not been long at Oxford when she conceived suspicions touching the fidelity of the Bishop of Winchester, whom she had offended beyond redress, and who had taken his measures accordingly, absenting himself from court, and manning the castles which he had built within his diocese—as at Waltham, Farnham, and other places. He had also an interview with his sister-in-law, Maud, at the town of Guildford, where he probably arranged the plans in favour of his brother Stephen, which were soon carried into execution. Matilda sent him a rude order to appear before her forthwith. The cunning churchman told her messenger that he was “getting himself ready for her;” which was true enough. She then attempted to seize him at Winchester; but, having well fortified his episcopal residence, and set up his brother’s standard on its roof, he rode out by one gate of the town as she entered at the other, and then proceeded to place himself at the head of his armed vassals and the friends who had engaged to join him. Matilda was admitted into the royal castle of Winchester, whither she immediately summoned the Earls of Gloucester, Hereford, and Chester, and her uncle David, King of Scots, who had been for some time in England vainly endeavouring to make her follow mild and wise counsel. While these personages were with her, she laid siege to the episcopal palace, which was in every essential a castle, and a strong one. The legate’s garrison made a sortie, and set fire to all the neighbouring houses of the town that might have weakened their position, and then, being confident of succour, waited the event. The bishop did not make them wait long. Being reinforced by Queen Maud and the Londoners, who, to the number of a thousand citizens, took the field for Stephen, clad in coats of mail, and wearing steel casques, like noble men of war,² he turned rapidly back upon Winchester, and actually besieged the besiegers there. By the 1st of August he had invested the royal castle of Winchester, where, besides the empress-queen, there were shut up the King of Scotland, the Earls of Gloucester, Hereford, and Chester, and many other of the noblest of her partizans. When the siege had lasted six weeks, all the provisions in the castle were exhausted, and a desperate attempt at flight was resolved upon. By tacit consent the belligerents of those times were accustomed to suspend their operations on the great festivals of the church. The 14th of September was a Sun-

day, and the festival of the Holy Rood or Cross. At a very early hour of the morning of that day, Matilda mounted a swift horse, and, accompanied by a strong and well-mounted escort, crept as secretly and quietly as was possible out of the castle: her half-brother, the Earl of Gloucester, followed at a short distance with a number of knights, who had engaged to keep between her and her pursuers, and risk their own liberty for the sake of securing the queen’s. These movements were so well timed and executed, that they broke through the beleaguers, and got upon the Devizes road, before the legate’s adherents, who were thinking of their mass and prayers, could mount and follow them. Once in the saddle, however, they made hot pursuit, and at Stourbridge, the Earl of Gloucester and his gallant knights were overtaken. To give Matilda, who was only a short distance in advance, time to escape, they formed in order of battle and offered an obstinate resistance. In the end they were nearly all made prisoners; but their self-devotion had the desired effect, for the queen, still pressing on her steed, reached the castle of Devizes in safety. That fortress, the work of Bishop Roger, was, we know, very strong; but it is said that, not finding herself in security even there, Matilda almost immediately resumed her journey, and, the better to avoid danger, feigned herself to be dead, and being placed on a bier like a corpse, caused herself to be drawn in a hearse from Devizes to Gloucester. Of all who formed her strong rear-guard on her flight from Winchester, the Earl of Hereford alone reached Gloucester castle, and he arrived in a wretched state, being almost naked.³ The other barons and knights who escaped from the field of Stourbridge threw away their arms, disguised themselves like peasants, and made for their own homes. Some of them, betrayed by their foreign accent, were seized by the English peasantry, who bound them with cords, and drove the proud Normans before them with whips, to deliver them up to their enemies.⁴ The King of the Scots, Matilda’s uncle, got safe back to his own kingdom; but her half-brother, the Earl of Gloucester, who was by far the most important prisoner that could be taken, was conveyed to Stephen’s queen, who secured him in Rochester Castle.⁵

Both parties were now, as it were, without a head, for Matilda was nothing in the field in the absence of her half-brother. A negotiation was therefore set on foot, and, on the 1st of November, it was finally agreed that the Earl of Glou-

¹ *Contin. Wig.*

² At different times the Archbishop of Canterbury and several of the Norman bishops and abbots were stripped by the English peasants—“*eguis et vestibus ab eis capitis, ab illis horrende abstractis.*”—*Gesta Steph.* ³ *Malmesb.*; *Gesta Steph.*; *Brunt.*

¹ *Malmesb.*; *Gesta Steph.*; *Exempt.*; *Flor. Wig.* ² *Gesta Steph.*

ester should be exchanged for King Stephen. The interval had been filled up by unspeakable misery to the people; but, as far as the principals were concerned, the two parties now stood as they did previously to the battle of Lincoln. The clergy, and particularly the legate who had alternately sided with each, found themselves in an embarrassing position; but the brother of Stephen had an almost unprecedented strength of face. He summoned a great ecclesiastical council, which met at Westminster on the 7th of December, and he there produced a letter from the pope, ordering him to do all in his power to effect the liberation of his brother. This letter was held as a sufficient justification of all the measures he had recently adopted. Stephen then addressed the assembly, briefly and moderately complaining of the wrongs and hardships he had sustained from his vassals, unto whom he had never denied justice when they asked for it; and adding, that if it would please the nobles of the realm to aid him with men and money, he trusted so to work as to relieve them from the fear of a shameful submission to the yoke of a woman; a thing which at first they seemed much to dislike; and which now, to their great grief, they had by experience found to be intolerable. At last the legate himself rose to speak, and, as he had with a very few exceptions the same audience as in the synod assembled at Winchester only nine months before, when he pronounced the dethronement of his own brother, and hurled the thunders of excommunication against his friends and adherents, his speech must have produced a singular effect. He pleaded that it was through force, and not out of conviction or good-will, that he had supported the cause of Matilda, who subsequently had broken all her engagements with him, and even made attempts against his liberty and life. He was thus, he maintained, freed from his oaths to the *Countess of Anjou*, for he no longer deigned to style her by a higher title. The judgment of Heaven, he said, was visible in the punishment of her perfidy, and God himself now restored the rightful King Stephen to his throne. Though there were some jealousies already existing between him and the Archbishop of Canterbury, the council went with the legate, and no objection was started save by a solitary voice, which boldly asserted, in the name of Matilda, that the legate himself had caused all the calamities which had happened—that he had invited her into England—that he had planned the expedition in which Stephen was taken—and that it was by his advice that the empress had loaded his brother with chains. The imperturbable legate heard these open accusations without any apparent emotion either of shame or anger; and with the greatest composure pro-

ceeded to excommunicate all those who remained attached to the party he had just quitted. The curse and interdict were extended to all who should build new castles, or invade the rights and privileges of the church, and (a most idle provision!) to all who should wrong the poor and defenceless.¹

No compromise between the contending parties was as yet thought of; the smouldering ashes of civil war were raked together, and England was tortured as if with a slow fire; for the flames were not brought to a head in any one place, and no decisive action was fought, but a succession of skirmishes and forays, petty sieges, and the burning of defenceless towns and villages kept people on the rack in nearly every part of the land at once. "All England," says a contemporary, "wore a face of woe and desolation. Multitudes abandoned their beloved country to wander in a foreign land: others, forsaking their own houses, built wretched huts in the church-yards, hoping that the sacredness of the place would afford them some protection."² This last miserable hope was generally vain, for the belligerents no more respected the houses of God than they did the abodes of humble men. They seized and fortified the best of the churches; and the belfry towers, from which the sweet sounds of the church-bells were wont to proceed, were converted into fortresses, and furnished with engines of war;³ they dug fosses in the very cemeteries, so that the bodies of the dead were brought again to light, and the miserable remains of mortality trampled upon and scattered all about. At an early period of the contest both parties had engaged foreign mercenaries; and, in the absence of regular pay and provision, and of all discipline, bands of Brabanders and Flemings prowled through the land, satisfying all their appetites in the most brutal manner. So general was the discouragement of the suffering people, that whenever only two or three horsemen were seen approaching a village or open burgh, all the inhabitants fled to conceal themselves. So extreme were their sufferings that their complaints amounted to impiety, for, seeing all these crimes and atrocities going on without check or visible judgment, men said openly that Christ and his saints had fallen asleep.⁴

A.D. 1142. During Stephen's captivity, Matilda's husband, Geoffrey of Anjou, reduced nearly the whole of Normandy, and

¹ *Gervase: Malmesb.* The honest and judicious monk of Malmesbury says, "I cannot relate the transactions of this council with that exact veracity with which I did the former, as I was not present at it." He tells us that the legate "commanded, therefore, on the part of God and the pope, that they should strenuously assist the king, anointed by the will of the nation and with the approbation of the Holy See; and that such as disturbed the peace in favour of the Countess of Anjou should be excommunicated, with the exception of herself, who was sovereign of the Angevine."² *Gesta Steph.* ³ *Ibid.* ⁴ *Chron. Sax.*

prevailed upon the majority of the resident nobles to acknowledge Prince Henry (his son by Matilda) as their legitimate duke. The king's party thus lost all hope of aid and assistance from beyond sea; but, as they were masters of the coasts of the island, they were able to prevent the arrival of any considerable reinforcement to their adversaries. Matilda pressed her husband to come to her assistance with all the forces he could raise; but Geoffrey declined the invitation on the ground that he had not yet made himself sure of Normandy; but he offered to send over Prince Henry. Even on this point he showed no great readiness, and several months were lost ere he would intrust his son to the care of the Earl of Gloucester, whom Matilda had sent into Normandy.

Meanwhile Stephen, who had recovered from a long and dangerous illness, marched in person to Oxford, where the empress had fixed her court, and invested that city, with a firm resolution of never moving thence until he had got his troublesome rival into his hands. At his first approach, the garrison came out to meet him: these enemies he put to flight, and pursued them so hotly, that he entered the city pell-mell with them. Matilda



TOWER OF OXFORD CASTLE.—J. S. Prout, from his sketch on the spot.

then retired into the castle, and the victor's troops set fire to the town. Stephen invested the city,

¹ Oxford Castle was situated at the west end of the city; its site is now occupied by the county jail. A castle was founded here in 1071 by Robert D'Oilli, at the command of William the

Conqueror, and persevered in the operations of the siege or blockade in a winter of extraordinary severity; and so intent was he on his purpose that he would not permit his attention to be distracted even when informed that the Earl of Gloucester and Prince Henry had landed in England. The castle was strong, but when the siege had lasted some three months, Matilda again found herself in danger of starvation, to escape which she had recourse to another of her furtive flights. On the 20th of December, a little after midnight, she dressed herself in white, and, accompanied by three knights in the same attire, stole out of the castle by a postern gate. The ground being covered with deep snow, the party passed unobserved, and the Thames being frozen over, afforded them a safe and direct passage. Matilda pursued her course on foot as far as the town of Abingdon, where, finding horses, the party mounted, and she rode on to Wallingford, at or near to which place she was soon after joined by the Earl of Gloucester and her young son, who were now at the head of a considerable force. The day after Matilda's flight Oxford Castle surrendered to the king; but the king himself was defeated by the Earl of Gloucester at Wilton, in the following month of July, and, with his brother the legate, narrowly escaped being made prisoner.

After the affair of Wilton no military operation deserving of notice occurred for three years, during which Stephen's party prevailed in all the east; Matilda's maintained their ground in the west; and the young prince was shut up for safety in the strong castle of Bristol, where, at his leisure moments, his uncle, the Earl of Gloucester, who enjoyed, like his father, Henry Beauclerk, the reputation of being a learned person, attended to his education. The presence of the boy in England was of no use whatever to his mother's or his own cause, and about the feast of Whitsuntide, 1147, he returned to his father Geoffrey in Normandy. Gloucester died of a fever in the month of October; and thus, deprived of son and brother, and depressed also by the loss of the Earl of Hereford, and other stanch partizans, who fell the victims of disease, the masculine resolution of Matilda gave way, and, after a struggle

Conqueror, and finished in 1073. By digging deep trenches he caused the river to surround it like a moat; and, according to Agas's map, it appears to have been a fortress of extraordinary strength and extent. At its entrance from the city, which was on the south-east side, was a large bridge, which led by a long and broad entry to the chief gate of the castle. On one side of the castle was a barbican or watch-tower; and within the walls were a church and convent dedicated to St. George, founded by Robert D'Oilli. The towers at the west end were pulled down when the castle was made a garrison by the Parliament, during the great Civil War; and the whole fortification, with the exception of the tower represented in the cut, was demolished in 1652.

of eight years, she quitted England and retired to Normandy. After her departure, Stephen

was compelled to seek a reconciliation with the archbishop. About two years after this reconciliation, a general council of the high clergy was held at London; and Stephen, who, in the interval, had endeavoured to win the hearts of the bishops and abbots with donations to the church, and promises of much greater things when the kingdom should be settled, required them to recognize and anoint his eldest son, Eustace, as his successor. This the Archbishop of Canterbury resolutely and most unceremoniously refused to do. He had consulted, he said, his spiritual master, and the pope had told him that Stephen was an usurper, and therefore



CRYPT OF BRISTOL CASTLE.—J. S. Prout, from his sketch on the spot.

endeavoured to get possession of all the baronial castles, and to reduce the nobles to a proper degree of subordination; but the measures he adopted were, in some instances, characterized by craft, if not treachery; and his too openly avowed purpose of curbing the power and license of the nobility was as unpalatable to his own adherents as to the friends of Matilda. At the same time he involved himself in a fresh quarrel with the church, and that, too, at a moment when his brother, the legate, and Bishop of Winchester, had lost his great authority through the death of the pope, who patronized him, and the election of another pope, who took away his legatine office, and espoused the quarrel of his now declared enemy, Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury.

For attending the council of Rheims, against the express orders of the king, the archbishop was exiled. Caring little for this sentence, Theobald went (A.D. 1148) and put himself under the protection of Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, who was of the Angevin faction, and then published a sentence of interdict against Stephen's party and all that part of the kingdom that acknowledged the rule of the *usurper*. Instantly, in one half of the kingdom, all the churches were closed, and the priests and monks either withdrew, or refused to perform any of the offices of religion. This was

could not, like a legitimate sovereign, transmit his crown to his posterity. It was quite natural, and perhaps excusable, that Stephen, on thus hearing his rights called in question by a man who had sworn allegiance to him, should be overcome by a momentary rage (and it was not more in effect), and order his guards to arrest the bishops and seize their temporalities. But putting aside the question of right, and however much they may have failed in the respect due to one who was their king at the time, the prelates, in acting as they did, indubitably took a most prudent and wise view of the case, and adopted a system which was calculated to narrow the limits of civil war.

As long as the contest lay between Stephen on the one side and a woman and a boy on the other, it was likely to be, on the whole, favourable to the former. But time had worked its changes; Prince Henry was no longer a boy, but a handsome, gallant young man, capable of performing all the *duties* of a knight and soldier, and gifted with *preocious* abilities and political acumen. He had *also* become, by inheritance and marriage, one of the most powerful princes on the Continent. When Henry Plantagenet left Bristol Castle he was about fourteen years of age. In A.D. 1149, having attained the military age of sixteen, he recrossed the seas and landed in Scotland, in order to receive the honour of knighthood at the hands of his mother's uncle, King David. The ceremony was performed with great pomp in "merry Carlisle," where the Scottish king then kept his court: crowds of nobles from most parts of England, as well as from Scotland and Normandy, were present, and had the oppor-

¹ The only surviving vestige of Bristol Castle is the crypt. The castle is not specified in *Domesday Book*, and the period of its origin is unknown; but it is surmised to have been built, together with the second wall round the town, by Godfrey, Bishop of Exeter, one of the followers of the Conqueror. The first historical notice of it occurs on the death of William I., when it was fortified and held by Godfrey on behalf of Robert, the Conqueror's eldest son.

tunity of remarking Henry's many eminent qualities; and as that prince had only been returned to the Continent some twelve months when Stephen assembled the council for the anointing of his son, the impressions made by the fortunate Plantagenet were still fresh, and his character was naturally contrasted with that of Prince Eustace, who was about his own age, but who does not appear to have had one of his high endowments. Shortly after his return from Carlisle, Henry was put in full possession of the government of Normandy; by the decease of his father Geoffrey, who died in the course of the same year (1150), he succeeded to the earldom of Anjou; and in 1152, together with the hand of Eleanor, the divorced queen of Louis VII. of France, he acquired her rights over the earldom of Poitou and the vast duchy of Guienne or Aquitaine, which had descended to her from her father. The Plantagenet party in England recovered their spirits at the prospect of this sudden aggrandizement, and thinking no more of the mother, they determined to call in the son to reign in his own right. The Earl of Chester passed over to Normandy, to express what he called the unanimous will of the nation; but the King of France formed an alliance with King Stephen, Theobald, Earl of Blois, and Geoffrey of Anjou, Henry's younger brother, and marched a French army to the confines of Normandy. This attempt occasioned some delay; but as soon as Henry obtained a truce on the Continent, he sailed for England with a small fleet. The army he brought over with him did not exceed 140 knights and 3000 foot, but it was well appointed and disciplined; and as soon as he landed in England most of the old friends of his family flocked to join his standard. It was unexpectedly found, however, that Stephen was still strong in the affections and devotion of a large party. The armies of the competitors came in sight of each other at Wallingford—that of Stephen, who had marched from London, occupying the left bank of the Thames, and that of Henry, who had advanced from Marlborough, the right. They lay facing each other during two whole days, and were hourly expecting a sanguinary engagement; but the pause had given time for salutary reflection, and the Earl of Arundel had the boldness to say that it was an unreasonable thing to prolong the calamities of a whole nation on account of the ambition of two princes. Many lords of both parties, who were of the same opinion, or wearied at length with a struggle which had already lasted fifteen years, laboured to persuade both princes to come to an amicable arrangement. The two chiefs consented; and in a short conversation which they carried on with one another

across a narrow part of the Thames, Stephen and Henry agreed to a truce, during which each expressed his readiness to negotiate a lasting peace. On this, Prince Eustace, who was probably well aware that the first article of the treaty would seal his exclusion from the throne, burst away from his father in a paroxysm of rage, and went into the east to get up a war on his own account. The rash young man took forcible possession of the abbey of St. Edmundsbury, and laid waste or plundered the country round about, not excepting even the lands of the abbot. His licentious



GATE OF THE ABBEY CHURCH, St. Edmundsbury.¹—From a view by Mackenzie.

career was very brief, for, as he was sitting down to a riotous banquet, he was suddenly seized with a frenzy, of which he soon died.²

The principal obstacle to concession from Stephen was thus removed, for though he had another legitimate son, Prince William, he was but a boy, and was docile and unambitious. The principal negotiators, who with great ability and address reconciled the conflicting interests of the two factions, were Theobald, the Archbishop of Canter-

¹ This fine structure was the portal opposite to the west entrance to the monastery church. It is a quadrangular building, 80 ft. high. Near the base on the western face are two bas-reliefs, one representing mankind after the fall by the figures of Adam and Eve entwined with a serpent, and the other, typical of the deliverance of mankind, represents God the Father surrounded by cherubim. Within the arch are various grotesque figures.

² Writers of a later period introduced some confusion in this matter by accounting for his death in different ways. Some of them said Eustace was drowned.

bury, and Henry, Bishop of Winchester, Stephen's brother, who played so many parts in this long and checkered drama. On the 7th of November, 1153, a great council of the kingdom was held at Winchester, where a peace was finally adjusted on the following conditions:—Stephen, who was to retain undisturbed possession of the crown during his life, *adopted* Henry as his son, appointed him his successor, and *gave* the kingdom, after his own death, to Henry and his heirs for ever. In return Henry did present homage, and swore fealty to Stephen. Henry received the homage of the king's surviving son William, and, in return, gave that young prince all the estates and honours, whether in England or on the Continent, which his father Stephen had enjoyed before he ascended the throne; and Henry promised, as a testimonial of his own affection, the honour of Pevensey, together with some manors in Kent. There then followed a mighty interchange and duplication of oaths among the earls, barons, bishops, and abbots of both factions, all swearing present allegiance to Stephen, and future fealty to Henry.¹

After signing the treaty, Stephen and Henry

visited together the cities of Winchester, London, and Oxford, in which places solemn processions were made, and both princes were received with acclamations by the people. At the end of Lent they parted with expressions of mutual friendship.

Henry returned to the Continent, and on the following 25th of October (1154), Stephen died at Dover, in the fiftieth year of his age. He was buried by the side of his wife, Maud, who died



FAVERSHAM ABBEY.—From an old view in the British Museum.

three years before him, at the monastery of Faversham, in the pleasant county of Kent, which she had loved so much while living.

CHAPTER V.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1154—1172.

HENRY II., SURNAMED PLANTAGENET.—ACCESSION, A.D. 1154—DEATH, A.D. 1189.

Succession of Henry II., surnamed Plantagenet—History of his queen, Eleanor—Henry's reforms at the beginning of his reign—His resumption of crown lands, and suppression of the barons—He invades Maine and Anjou—His successful war in Wales—His acquisitions on the Continent—His war with the French king—Exploits of Thomas à Becket in the war—Previous career of Becket—He becomes Archbishop of Canterbury—His altered behaviour on becoming primate—Commencement of his quarrels with Henry—Struggles of Becket for the privileges of the clergy—He is worsted by the king—Becket's strange visit to the court at Northampton—He retreats to France—Henry's vindictive proceedings against him—Henry's unsuccessful campaign in Wales—His successes on the Continent—He is excommunicated by Becket—Attempts of the French king to reconcile Henry and Becket—Becket returns to England—His triumphant reception by the people—Henry's rage at the tidings—Assassination of Thomas à Becket—Henry's attempts to free himself from suspicion.



WHEN Henry Plantagenet received the news of Stephen's death, he was engaged in the siege of a castle on the frontiers of Normandy. Relying on the situation of affairs in England, and the disposition of men's minds in his favour, he prosecuted the siege to a successful close, and

reduced some turbulent continental vassals to obedience, before he went to the coast to embark

¹ Rymer's *Fœdera*.

² This abbey was built and endowed by Stephen; and himself, his queen Maud, and his eldest son Eustace of Boulogne, were buried within its walls. At the dissolution this abbey was held by monks of the Benedictine order. After the suppression the remains of Stephen were thrown into the river, for the value of the leaden coffin in which they were contained.

for his new kingdom. He was detained some time at Barfleur by storms and contrary winds; and it was not till six weeks after the death of Stephen, that he landed in England, where he was received with enthusiastic joy. He brought with him a splendid retinue, and Eleanor, his wife, whose inheritance had made him so powerful on the Continent. This marriage proved, that if the young Henry had the gallantry of his age and all the knightly accomplishments then in vogue, he was not less distinguished by a cool calculating head, and the faculty of sacrificing romantic or delicate feelings for political advantages. The lady he espoused was many years older than himself, and the repudiated wife of another.

Eleanor, familiarly called in her own country Anor, was daughter and heiress of William IX.,¹ Earl of Poitou and Duke of Aquitaine; that is to say, of the sovereign chief of all the western coast of France, from the mouth of the Loire to the foot of the Pyrenees. She was married in 1137 to Louis VII., King of France, who was not less enchanted with her beauty than with the fine provinces she brought him. When the union had lasted some years, and the queen had given birth to two daughters, the princesses Marie and Alix, Louis resolved to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and to take along with him his wife, whose uncle, Raymond, was Duke of Antioch. The general morality of the royal and noble crusaders and pilgrims is represented in no very favourable light by contemporary writers; and it is easily understood how camps and marches, and a close and constant association with soldiers, should not be favourable to female virtue. Suspicion soon fell upon Eleanor, who, according to her least unfavourable judges, was guilty of great coquetry and freedom of manners; and her conduct in the gay and dissolute court of Antioch at last awakened the indignation of her devout husband. She was very generally accused of an intrigue with a young and handsome Turk, named Saladin.² In 1152,

about a year after their return from the Holy Land, Louis summoned a council of prelates for the purpose of divorcing him from a woman who had publicly dishonoured him. The Bishop of Langres, pleading for the king, gravely announced that his royal master "no longer placed faith in his wife, and could never be sure of the legitimacy

of her progeny." But the Archbishop of Bordeaux, desirous that the separation should be effected in a less scandalous manner, proposed to treat the whole question on very different grounds—namely, on the consanguinity of the parties, which might have been objected by the canonical law as an insuperable barrier to the marriage when it was contracted fifteen years before, but which now seemed to be remembered by the clergy somewhat tardily. This course, however, relieved them from a delicate dilemma; and as Eleanor, who considered Louis to be "rather a monk than a king,"³ voluntarily and readily agreed to the dissolution of the marriage, the council dissolved it accordingly—on the pretext that the consciences of the parties reproached them for living as man and wife when they were cousins within the prohibited degree. This decent colouring, however, deceived nobody; but the good, simple Louis wonderfully deceived himself, when he thought that no prince of the time—no, not a private gentleman—would be so wanting in delicacy, and regardless of his own honour, as to marry a divorced wife of so defamed a reputation. According to a contemporary authority, Eleanor's only difficulty was in making a choice, and escaping the too forcible addresses of some of her suitors. Henry soon presented himself, and, "with more policy than delicacy," wooed, and won, and married her too, within six weeks of her divorce.⁴ King Louis's conduct was directly the opposite of Henry's, for he had been more delicate than politic; and, however honourable to him individually, his delicacy was a great misfortune to France, for it dismembered states which had been



HENRY II., from his tomb at Fontevraud.—Stechert's Monumental Effigies.

din, the heroic opponent of Eleanor's son, Richard; but this is a great mistake, involving an anachronism.

¹ This Duke William was a troubadour of high renown, and the most ancient of that class of poets whose works have been preserved.

² Some old writers confound this Saladin with the Great Saladin.

³ Mézerai, *Hist. de France*.

⁴ Script. Aer. Franc.

united by the marriage—retarded that fusion and integration which alone could render the French kingdom respectable, and threw the finest territories of France into the hands of his most dangerous enemies. If he could have freed himself of his wife, without resigning her states, the good would have been unmixed; but this was impossible. His discarded wife, who seems to have been dear to her people, in spite of her irregularities, encountered little or no difficulty in inducing them to admit the garrisons of her new husband, the young and popular Henry. When it was too late, Louis saw the great error in policy he had committed, and made what efforts he could to prevent the by him most unexpected marriage. He prohibited Henry, as his vassal for Normandy and Anjou, to contract any such union without the consent and authority of his suzerain lord, the King of France; but Henry, who was soon by far the more powerful of the two, cared little for the prohibition, and Louis, in the end, was obliged to content himself with receiving the empty oaths of allegiance which the fortunate Plantagenet tendered for Guienne and Poitou, in addition to those he had already pledged for Anjou and Normandy. The old French historians cannot relate these transactions without losing their temper.¹

The sacrifice was indeed immense. The French kingdom almost ceased to figure as a maritime state on the Atlantic; and when Eleanor's possessions were added to those Henry already possessed on the Continent, that prince occupied the whole coast line from Dieppe to Bayonne, with the exception only of the great promontory of Brittany, where a race of semi-independent princes were established that had sometimes supported the interests of the French kings, and at others allied themselves with the Anglo-Norman sovereigns. Henry, in fact, was master of one-fifth of the territories now included in the kingdom of France; and, deducting other separate and independent sovereignties, Louis, driven back from the Atlantic, and cooped up between the Loire, the Saône, and the Meuse, did not possess half so much land as his rival, even leaving out of the account the kingdom of England, to which he succeeded about two years after his marriage.

Eleanor was soon as jealous of Henry as Louis had been of her. The Plantagenet had not married with a view to domestic happiness, but he was probably far from expecting the wretchedness to which the union would condemn his latter days. At their first arrival in England, however, everything wore a bright aspect. The queen rode by the king's side into the royal city of Winchester, where they both received the homage of the nobility; and when, on the 19th of December, Henry took his coronation oaths, and was crowned at Westminster by Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, Eleanor was crowned with him, amidst the acclamations of the people. Not a shadow of opposition was offered; the English, still enamoured of their old dynasty or traditions, dwelt with complacency on the Saxon blood, which, from his mother's side, flowed in the veins of the youthful, the handsome, and brave Henry; and all classes seemed to overlook the past history of the queen in her grandeur and magnificence, and present attachment to their king. The court pageantries were splendid, and accompanied by the spontaneous rejoicings of the citizens. Henry did not permit his attention to be long occupied by these pleasures, but proceeded to business almost as soon as the crown was on his head. He assembled a great council, appointed the crown officers, issued a decree, promising his subjects all the rights and liberties they had enjoyed under his grandfather, Henry I.; and he made his barons and bishops swear fealty to his infant children, his wife Eleanor having already made him the happy father of two sons.²

Henry then turned his attention to the correcting of those abuses which had rendered the reign of Stephen a long agony to himself and a curse to the nation. His reforms were not completed for several years, and many events of a foreign nature intervened during their progress; but it will render the narrative clearer to condense our account of these transactions in one general statement.³

Henry appointed the Earl of Leicester grand justiciary of the kingdom, and, feeling that the office had hitherto been insufficiently supported by the crown, he attached to it more ample powers, and provided the means of enforcing its decisions. As happened in all seasons of trouble

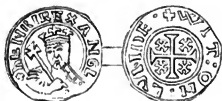
¹ *Ce qui nous conta bon.*—*Brantôme*. Mézerai and Larrey (*Histoire de Guienne*) agree in attributing Louis's error to the want of the wise counsels of Suger. Larrey and Bouchet (*Annales d'Aquitaine*), with some other writers, natives of Aquitaine or Poitou, maintained that Eleanor was unjustly calumniated; but the weight of contemporary evidence is on the other side.

² William and Henry. William died in his childhood.

³ "Under the turbulent and miserable usurpation of Stephen, neither government nor law existed in England. The realm was entirely given up to violence; every powerful man built his castle, which became a den of robbers; the towns and the open country, the clergy and the peasantry—all suffered equally from

spoil and rapine; pestilence and famine swept away the people, and the labours of agriculture were abandoned in despair; to till the ground was to plough the sea; the earth bore no corn, for the land was all wasted by these deeds. 'Such things,' continue the monks of Peterborough, 'did we suffer for nineteen years for our sins,' until the accession of 'Henry Fitz-Empress,' considered by the English as representing the ancient national dynasty. They traced his descent to Alfred and to Cerdic; but the son of Geoffrey Plantagenet was a stranger by birth and education; and the Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence was finally subverted by the restorer of the Anglo-Saxon line."—*Palgrave, Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth*, part i. p. 240.

and distress in those ages, the coin had been alloyed and tampered with under Stephen; and



SILVER PENNY, Henry II.—Weights 22 grs.

now Henry issued an entirely new coinage of standard weight and purity. The foreign merce-



SILVER COIN, Henry II.

naries and companies of adventure that came over to England during the long civil war between Stephen and Matilda had done incalculable mischief. Many of these adventurers had got possession of the castles and estates of the Anglo-Norman nobles who adhered to Matilda, and had been created earls and barons by Stephen; but, treating all these as acts of usurpation, Henry determined to drive every one of them from the land, and their expulsion seems to have afforded almost as much joy to the Saxon population as to the Normans, who raised a shout of triumph on the occasion. "We saw them," says a contemporary, "we saw these Brabançons and Flemings cross the sea, to return from the camp to the plough-tail, and become again serfs, after having been lords."¹ Up to this point the operations were easy, and the king, unopposed by the conflicting interest of any important party in the state, or by claims on his own gratitude, was carried forward on the high tide of popular opinion; but in what still remained to do were great and obvious difficulties, and feelings of a private nature, which might have overcome a less determined and politic prince, for, in the impartial execution of his measures he had to despoil those who fought his mother's battles and supported his own cause

when he was a helpless infant. The generous romantic virtues natural to youth might have been fatal to him; but Henry's heart in some respects seems never to have been young, and his head was cool and calculating. In a treaty made at Winchester, shortly after his pacification with Stephen, it was stipulated that the king (Stephen) should resume all such royal castles and lands as had been alienated to the lay nobles or usurped by them. Among the resumable gifts were many made by Matilda. Stephen, poor as he was, had neglected this resumption, or made no progress in it during the few months that he survived the treaty. But Henry was determined not to be a pauper king, or to tolerate that widely-stretched aristocratic power which at once ground the people and bade fair to reduce royalty to an empty shadow. In the absence of other fixed revenues, the sovereigns of that time depended almost entirely on the produce of the crown lands; and Stephen had allowed so much of these to slip from him, that there remained not sufficient for a decent maintenance of royal dignity. Besides the numerous castles which had been built by the turbulent nobles, royal fortresses and even royal cities had been granted away; and these could hardly be permitted to remain in the hands of the feudal lords without endangering the peace of the kingdom.² Law was brought in to the aid of policy, and it was now established as a legal axiom, that the ancient demesne of the crown was of so sacred and inalienable a nature, that no length of time, tenure, and enjoyment could give a right of prescription to any other possessors, against the claim of succeeding princes, who might (it was laid down) at any time resume possession of what had formerly been alienated.³

Foreseeing, however, that this step would create much discontent, Henry was cautious not to act without a high sanction; and he therefore summoned a great council of the nobles, who, after hearing the urgency of his necessities, concurred pretty generally in the justice of his immediately resuming all that had been held by his grandfather Henry I., with the exception of the alienations or grants to Stephen's son and the church. As soon as he was armed with this sanction the

¹ R. de Diceto.

² "The judicial entries on the fly-leaves of the Exeter manuscript, written before and after the Conquest, show us that the municipal forms and conditions of that city underwent no change upon the transfer of the English crown to a Norman line of sovereigns; and such was probably the case in all other cities and towns then in existence. But although their privileges and constitution were in principle untouched, in practice they were frequently trespassed upon. A new race of feudal lords had entered upon the land, who were ignorant of the customs of the people over whom they had intruded themselves, and who had little respect for any customs which stood as obstacles in the gratification of their views of aggrandizement. This must have led to continual riots and disturbances in the old Saxon towns, and to

infringements of their privileges where they had little power to obtain permanent redress. After undergoing all these vexations during a few years, they saw the advantages, or, we may perhaps better say, the necessity, of purchasing from the king written charters confirming their old rights, which became an effective protection in courts of law. Thus originated municipal charters, which are rather to be considered as a proof of the antiquity, than of the novelty of the privileges they grant. They were given most abundantly under Henry II. and his sons, when it became the policy of the English monarchs to seek the support of the independent burghers against a turbulent feudal aristocracy."—Wright, *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, p. 449.

³ Lord Lyttleton's *Henry II.* Contemporary details are found in *Gervase of Canterbury*, *Wm. of Newbury*, and *Roger of Hoveden*.

young king put himself at the head of a formidable army, knowing right well that there were many who would not consider themselves bound by the voices of the assembly of nobles, and who would only cede their castles and lands by force. In some instances the castles, on being closely beleaguered, surrendered without bloodshed; in others, they were taken by storm, or reduced by famine. In nearly all cases they were levelled to the ground, and about 1100 of these "dens of thieves" were blotted out from the fair land they defaced. At the siege of the castle of Bridgenorth, in Shropshire, which Hugh de Mortimer

revenge; and by his equal and impartial proceeding, he left the adherents of Stephen no more reason to complain than his mother's or his own partizans. Among the latter were several who lost their all by these resumptions; but, steady to his purpose, the king would make no exceptions, not even in favour of those who had succoured his mother in the hour of need, and made the greatest sacrifices for his family. He evaded the most earnest applications by a courtesy of demeanour, and a prodigality of promises for the future, which seldom lay heavy on his conscience.

Before these measures were completed Henry's

active mind was occupied by the affairs of the Continent, for his younger brother Geoffrey, advancing a title to Anjou and Maine, had invaded those provinces. A short time after his marriage, which made him Duke of Aquitaine and Earl of Poitou, Henry became Earl of Anjou by the death of his father, but under the express condition, it is said, of resigning that earldom to his younger brother if he ever should become King of England. That young prince was now encouraged by the French court, which was still smarting under the injuries received from Henry's marriage; and he seems to have had a strong party in his favour in the



BRIDGENORTH CASTLE.¹—FROM AN OLD VIEW.

held out against the king, Henry's life was preserved by the affection and self-devotion of one of his followers, his faithful vassal Hubert de St. Clair, who stepped forward and received in his own bosom an arrow aimed at the king. After many toils, and not a few checks, Henry completed his purpose; he drove the Earl of Nottingham and some other dangerous nobles out of the kingdom; he levelled with the ground the six strong castles of Stephen's brother, the famous Bishop of Winchester, who, placing no confidence in the new king whom he had helped to make, fled with his treasures to Clugny; he reduced the Earl of Albemarle, who had long reigned like an independent sovereign in Yorkshire, to the proper state of vassalage and allegiance; and he finally obliged Malcolm, King of Scots, to resign the three northern counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, for the *bonâ fide* possession of the earldom of Huntingdon, which the Scottish princes claimed as descendants of Earl Waltheof. Henry was not less eager to recover everything than wisely anxious to avoid the appearance of acting from motives of party

provinces of Maine and Anjou.

The King of England crossed the seas in 1156, and again did homage to Louis VII., for Normandy, Aquitaine, Poitou, Auvergne, the Limousin, Anjou, Touraine, and a long train of dependent territories; and by this and other means, the nature of which is not explained, he induced the French king to abandon the cause of his younger brother. He then threw himself into the disputed territory, at the head of an army consisting almost entirely of native English, who soon reduced Chinon, Mirabeau, and the other castles which held for his brother. The people returned to their allegiance to Henry, and Geoffrey was soon obliged to resign all his claims for a pension of 1000 English and 2000 Angevin pounds. Having triumphed over every opposition, as much by policy as by force of arms, Henry made a magnificent progress through Aquitaine and the other dominions he had obtained by his marriage, and received the fealty of his chief vassals in a great council held in the city of Bordeaux. Wherever he appeared he commanded respect, and no sovereign of the time in Europe could equal the power and splendour of this young king.

On his return to England in 1157, he engaged in hostilities with the Welsh. Feeling over-confident in the number and quality of his army, he

¹ The remaining fragment of Bridgenorth Castle has, from excavations at its base, inclined so far from the perpendicular, as to have obtained the title of the Leaning Tower. It is situated at the south side of the town.

crossed Flintshire, and threw himself among the mountains. The Welsh let him penetrate as far as the difficult country about Coleshill Forest, when, issuing from their concealment, and pouring down in torrents from the uplands, they attacked Henry in a narrow defile where his troops could not form. The slaughter was prodigious. Eustace Fitz-John and Robert de Courcy, men of great honour and reputation, together with several other nobles, were dismounted and cut to pieces; the king himself was in the greatest danger, and a rumour was raised that he had fallen. Henry, Earl of Essex, the hereditary standard-bearer, threw down the royal standard and fled. The panic was now universal; but the king rushed among the fugitives, showed them he was unhurt, rallied them, and finally fought his way through the mountain-pass. The serious loss he suffered made him cautious, and instead of following Owen Gwynedd, who artfully tried to draw him into the defiles of Snowdon, he changed his route, and gaining the open sea-coast, marched along the shore, closely attended by a fleet. He cut down some forests, or opened roads through them, and built several castles in advantageous situations. There was no second battle of any note, and, after a few months, the Welsh were glad to purchase peace by resigning such portions of their native territory as they had retaken from Stephen, and giving hostages and doing feudal homage for what they retained. Six years after the battle of Coleshill, the Earl of Essex was publicly accused of cowardice and treason by Robert de Montfort. The standard-bearer appealed to the trial of arms, and was vanquished in the lists by his accuser. By the law of the times, death should have followed, but the king, qualifying the rigour of the judgment, granted him his life, appointing him to be a shorn monk in Reading Abbey, and taking the earl's possessions into his hands as forfeited to the crown.¹

Geoffrey did not live long to exact payment of his annuities from his brother. Soon after concluding the treaty with Henry, which left him without any territory, the citizens of Nantes, in Lower Brittany, spontaneously offered him the government of their city, just as the people of Domfront had done by Henry Beaulerc, when under similar depressed circumstances. But Geoffrey died in 1158, and the citizens of Nantes, returning to their old connection with the rest of the country, were governed by Conan, who was Earl of Richmond in England, as well as the hereditary Count or Duke of Brittany. To the surprise of everybody, King Henry claimed the free city of Nantes as hereditary property, devolved to him by his brother's death. It was in

vain the citizens represented that they had not, by choosing Geoffrey to be their governor, resigned their independence, or converted themselves into a property to be hereditary in his family. Henry wanted to fill up the only great gap in his continental territories, and, careless of right or appearances, he resolved to seize Nantes, hoping, that if once he gained a firm footing there he should soon extend his dominion over the rest of Brittany. He affected to treat the men of Nantes as rebels, and Conan as an usurper of his rights; he confiscated his earldom of Richmond, in Yorkshire, and crossing the Channel with a formidable army, spread such terror that the people submitted, and, renouncing Conan, received his garrison within the walls of Nantes.² He then quietly took possession of the whole of the country between the Loire and the Vilaine, relying on his art and address for quieting the alarms these encroachments could not fail to create in the French court. He dispatched Thomas à Becket, then the most skilful and accommodating of all his ministers, to Paris, the volatile inhabitants of which capital were dazzled and delighted by the ambassador's magnificence. Henry soon followed in person, and, between them, these two adroit negotiators completely won over the obtuse French king. The price paid for his neutrality was, Henry's affiancing his eldest son to Margaret, an infant daughter Louis had had by his wife, Constance of Castile, who had succeeded Eleanor. Henry then prosecuted his views on the rest of Brittany, and concluded with Conan, whom he had driven from Nantes, a compact which threatened the independence of the whole country. He affianced his then youngest son Geoffrey to Constantia, an infant daughter of Conan, the latter engaging to bequeath to his daughter all his rights in Brittany at his death, and Henry engaging to support him in his present power during his life.³

If this treaty was kept secret for a time from King Louis, Henry's ambition hurried him into other schemes, which interrupted their good understanding before it had lasted a year. Not satisfied with the tranquil enjoyment of the states he had procured by his marriage, he advanced fresh claims, in right of his wife, to territories which neither she nor her father had ever enjoyed, and, by obtaining the great earldom of Toulouse, he hoped to spread his power across the whole of the broad isthmus that joins France to Spain, and to range along the French coast on the Mediterranean, as he already did along the whole Atlantic sea-board. William, Duke of Aquitaine, grandfather of Queen Eleanor, Henry's wife, and a contemporary of the Conqueror, married Philippa,

¹ *Dicto.*² *Neubrig.; Script. Rer. Franc.*³ *Chron. Norm.; Neubrig.; Daru, Hist. de la Bretagne.*

the only child of William, the fourth Earl of Toulouse. As a female succession was contrary to the laws or usages of the country, the Earl William, Philippa's father, conveyed the principality, by a contract of sale, to his brother, Raymond de St. Gilles, who succeeded at his death, and transmitted it to his posterity in the male line, who had held it many years, not without cavil on the part of the house of Aquitaine, but without any successful challenge of their title. Eleanor conveyed her rights, such as they were, and which she was determined not to leave dormant, to Louis VII., by her first marriage; and during their union the French king sent forth an army for the conquest and occupation of Toulouse. But the expedition ended in a treaty, and Raymond de St. Gilles, the grandson of the first earl of that name, was confirmed in possession of the country, and released from all claims to it, whether on the part of the French king or his wife Eleanor, by marrying Constance, the sister of Louis. Henry now urged, that by her subsequent divorce from Louis, Eleanor was restored to her original rights; and after some curious correspondence, he demanded the instant surrender of the earldom of Toulouse upon the same grounds as Louis had done before him. The Earl Raymond raised his banner of war, and applied for aid to his brother-in-law of France. "The common council of the city and suburbs," for such was the title borne by the municipal government of Toulouse,¹ seconded Raymond's negotiations with the French court, and raised their banner as a free and incorporated community. On this occasion Louis broke through the fine meshes of Henry and Becket's diplomacy, and roused himself to a formidable exertion. Perceiving that the struggle would be serious, and that success could only be obtained by the keeping on foot a large army very different in its constitution and terms of service from his feudal forces, Henry resolved, by the advice of Becket, to commute the personal services of his vassals for an aid in money,² with which he trusted to procure troops that would serve like modern soldiers for their daily pay, obey his orders directly without the often troublesome intermission of feudal lords, and have no objection either to the distance of the scene of hostilities, or the length of time they were detained from their homes. The term of forty days, to which the services of the vassals were limited, would have been in good part consumed in the march alone from England and the north of France to Toulouse. He began by levying a sum of money, in lieu of their pre-

sence and services, upon his vassals in Normandy, and other provinces remote from the seat of action; the commutation was agreeable to most of them; and when it was proposed in England, it was still more acceptable, on account of the greater distance, and the laudable anxiety of many of the nobles to take care of their estates, which had suffered so much during the intestine wars of the preceding reign. The *scutage*, as it is called, was levied at the rate of three pounds in England, and of forty Angevin shillings in the continental dominions, for every knight's fee. There were 60,000 knights' fees in England alone, which would produce £180,000. But, whatever was the sum, it sufficed Henry for the raising of a strong mercenary force, consisting chiefly of bodies of the famous infantry of the Low Countries. With these marched Malcolm, King of Scotland, who courted the close alliance of Henry; Raymond, King of Arragon (to whose infant daughter Henry had affianced his infant son Richard); one of the Welsh princes, and many English and foreign barons who voluntarily engaged to follow the king to Toulouse. Thomas à Becket, now chancellor of England, and the inseparable companion of his royal master, attended in this war, and none went in more warlike guise. He marched at the head of 700 knights and men-at-arms, whom he had raised at his own expense; and, when they reached the scene of action, he distinguished himself by his activity and gallantry, not permitting the circumstance of his being in holy orders to prevent him from charging with the chivalry, or mounting the deadly breach. After taking the town of Cahors, Henry marched upon the city of Toulouse. But the French king, crossing Berry, which belonged to him in good part, and the Limousin, which granted him a free passage, threw himself with reinforcements into the threatened city, where he was received with extreme joy by Earl Raymond and the citizens.³ The force which Louis brought with him was small, and the energetic Becket advised Henry to make an immediate assault, in which the churchman judged he could hardly fail of reducing the town and taking prisoner the French king, whose captivity might be turned to incalculable advantage. But Henry was cool and cautious even in the midst of his greatest successes: he did not wish to drive the French nation to extremities—he was so woven up in the complicated feudal system, and so dependent himself on the faithful observance of its nice gradations, that he wished to avoid outraging the great principles on which it rested; and being himself vassal to Louis, and, in his quality of Earl of Anjou, hereditary seneschal of France, he declared he could not show

¹ *Commune concilium urbis Tolosæ et suburbii.*—*Script. Rer. Franc.*

² This seems to have been the first introduction of a practice which tended gradually to the overthrow of the feudal system.

³ *Script. Rer. Franc.*

such disrespect to his superior lord as to besiege him. While he hesitated, a French army marched to the relief of their king. Henry then transferred the war to another part of the earldom, and soon after, leaving the supreme command to Becket, returned with part of his army to Normandy. The clerical chancellor continued to appear as if in his proper element: he fortified Cahors, took three castles, which had been deemed impregnable, and tilted with a French knight, whose horse he carried away as the proof of his victory. But Henry could not do without his favourite; and a French force having made a diversion on the side of Normandy, Becket also returned thither, leaving only a few insignificant garrisons on the banks of the Garonne and pleasant hills of Languedoc. The political condition, however, of that favoured region—the sunny land of the troubadours—declined from that hour. The habit of imploring the protection of one king against another became a cause of dependence; and with the epoch when the King of England, as Duke of Aquitaine and Earl of Poictou, obtained an influence over the affairs of the south of France, commenced the decline and misery of a most interesting population. Thenceforward, placed between two great powers, the rivals of each other, and both equally ambitious and encroaching, they sought the protection, now of the one, and now of the other, according to circumstances; and were alternately supported and abandoned, betrayed and sold by both.

In the brief war which ensued on the frontiers of Normandy, after the expedition to Toulouse, Becket maintained 1200 knights, with no fewer than 4000 attendants and foot soldiers; and when the King of France was induced to treat, the eloquent and versatile churchman was charged with the negotiations on the part of his friend and master. A truce was concluded at the end of the year, and a few months after, when the rival kings had an interview, the truce was converted into a formal peace (A.D. 1160), Henry's eldest son doing homage to Louis for the duchy of Normandy, and Henry being permitted to retain the few places he had conquered in the earldom of Toulouse. This precious peace did not last quite one month. Constance, the French queen, died without leaving any male issue; and Louis, anxious for an heir, as his daughters could not succeed, in about a fortnight after her decease, married Adelaïs, niece of the late English king, Stephen, and sister of the three Earls of Blois, Champagne, and Sanserre. This union with the old enemies of his family greatly troubled Henry, who, foreseeing a disposition in the French court to break off the alliance with him, which might give his progeny a hold upon France, secretly secured a dispensation from the pope, and solemnized the contract of marriage between his son

Henry, who was seven years old, and the daughter of Louis, the Princess Margaret, who had been placed in his power at the conclusion of the original treaty, and who had attained the matronly age of *three* years. Becket, the prime mover in all things, brought the royal infant to London, where this strange ceremony was performed.

Another war ensued, but of too insignificant a character to demand our notice, and it was soon concluded through the mediation of the pope.

At this time, as at several other periods in the middle ages, there were two popes, each calling the other anti-pope and anti-Christ. Victor IV. was established at Rome under the patronage of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa; and Alexander III. was a fugitive and an exile north of the Alps, where both Louis and Henry bowed to his spiritual authority, and rivalled each other in their offers of an asylum and succour, and in their reverential demeanour. When the two kings met him in person at Courcy-sur-Loire, they both dismounted, and holding each of them one of the bridle-reins of his mule, walked on foot by his side, and conducted him to the castle.¹

A short period of tranquillity, both in England and Henry's continental dominions, followed this reconciliation; and when it was disturbed, the storm proceeded from a most unexpected quarter—from Thomas à Becket, the king's bosom friend.

Becket was born at London, in or about the year 1117. His father was a citizen and trader, of the Saxon race—circumstances which seemed to exclude the son from the career of ambition. The boy, however, was gifted with an extraordinary intelligence, a handsome person, and most engaging manners; and his father gave him all the advantages of education that were within his reach. He studied successively at Merton Abbey, London, Oxford, and Paris, in which last city he applied to civil law, and acquired as perfect a mastery, and as pure a pronunciation of the French language, as any the best educated of the Norman nobles and officers. While yet a young man, he was employed as an under-clerk in the office of the sheriff of London, where he attracted the attention of Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, who sent him to complete his study of the civil law at the then famous school of Bologna. After profiting by the lessons of the learned Gratian, Becket recrossed the Alps, and staid some time at Auxerre, in Burgundy, to attend the lectures of another celebrated law professor. On his return to London, he took deacon's orders,² and his powerful patron the archbishop gave him some valuable church preferment, which neither necessitated a residence, nor the performance of any

¹ *Neubrig. 2. Chron. Norm.*

² He never took the major orders till he became archbishop.

church duties; and he soon afterwards sent him, as the best qualified person he knew, to conduct some important negotiations at the court of Rome. The young diplomatist (for he was then only thirty-two years old) acquitted himself with great ability and complete success, obtaining from the pope a prohibition that defeated the design of crowning Prince Eustace, the son of Stephen—an important service, which secured the favour of the Empress Matilda and the house of Plantagenet. On Henry's accession, Archbishop Theobald had all the authority of prime minister, and, being old and infirm, he delegated the most of it to the active Becket, who was made chancellor of the kingdom two years after, being the first Englishman since the Conquest that had reached any eminent office. As if to empty the lap of royal bounty, Henry at the same time appointed him preceptor of the heir to the crown, and gave him the wardenship of the Tower of London, the castle of Berkhamstead, and the honour of Eye, with 340 knights' fees. His revenue, flowing in from many sources, was immense; and no man ever spent more freely or magnificently. His house was a palace, both in dimensions and appointments. It was stocked with vessels of gold and silver, and constantly frequented by numberless guests of all goodly ranks, from barons and earls to knights and pages, and simple retainers—of which he had several hundreds, who acknowledged themselves his immediate vassals. His tables were spread with the choicest viands; the best of wines were poured out with an unsparing hand; the richest dresses allotted to his pages and serving men.¹ The chancellor's out-door appearance was still more splendid, and on great public occasions was carried to an extremity of pomp and magnificence. When he went on his embassy to Paris he was attended by 200 knights, besides many barons and nobles, and a complete host of domestics, all richly armed and attired, the chancellor himself having four-and-twenty changes of apparel. As he travelled through France, his train of waggons and sumpter-horses, his hounds and hawks, his huntsmen and falconers, seemed to announce the presence of a more than king. Whenever he entered a town, the ambassadorial procession was led by 250 boys singing national songs; then followed his hounds, led in couples; and these were succeeded by eight waggons, each with five large horses, and five drivers in new frocks. Every wagon was covered with skins, and guarded by two men and a fierce mastiff. Two of the waggons were loaded with ale, to be distributed to the people; one carried the vessels and furniture of his chapel; another of his bed-chamber; a fifth was loaded with his kitchen ap-

paratus; a sixth carried his abundant plate and wardrobe; and the other two were devoted to the use of his household servants. After the waggons came twelve sumpter-horses, *a monkey riding on each, with a groom behind on his knees*. Then came the esquires, carrying the shields, and leading the war-horses of their respective knights; then other esquires (youths of gentle birth), falconers, officers of the household, knights, and priests; and last of all appeared the great chancellor himself, with his familiar friends. As Becket passed in this guise, the French were heard to exclaim, "What manner of man must the King of England be, when his chancellor travels in such state!"² Henry encouraged all this pomp and magnificence, and seems to have taken a lively enjoyment in the spectacle, though he sometimes twitted the chancellor on the finery of his attire. All such offices of government as were not performed by the ready and indefatigable king himself were left to Becket, who had no competitor in authority. Secret enemies he had in abundance, but never even a momentary rival in the royal favour. The minister and king lived together like brothers; and according to a contemporary,³ who knew more of Henry than any other that has written concerning him, it was notorious to all men that they were *cor unum et animam unam* (of one heart and one mind in all things). With his chancellor Henry gave free scope to a facetious, frolicsome humour, which was natural to him, though no prince could assume more dignity and sternness when necessary. The chancellor was an admirable horseman, and expert in hunting and hawking, and all the sports of the field. These accomplishments, and a never-failing wit and vivacity, made him the constant companion of the king's leisure hours, and the sharer (it is hinted) in less innocent pleasures; for Henry was a very inconstant husband, and had much of the Norman licentiousness. At the same time, Becket was an able minister, and his administration was not only advantageous to the interests of his master, but, on the whole, extremely beneficial to the nation. Most of the useful measures which distinguished the early part of the king's reign have been attributed to his advice, his discriminating genius, and good intentions. Such were the restoration of internal tranquillity, the curbing of the baronial power, the better appointment of judges, the reform in the currency, and the encouragement given to trade. He certainly could not be accused of entertaining a low notion of the royal prerogative, or of any luke-warmness in exacting the rights of the king. He humbled the lay aristocracy whenever he could, and more than once attacked

¹ Fitz-Stephen. This amusing biographer was Becket's secretary.

² Fitz-Stephen.

³ Petrus Blesensis, or Peter of Blois. See his *Letters*.

the extravagant privileges, immunities, and exemptions claimed by the aristocracy of the church. He insisted that the bishops and abbots should pay the scutage for the war of Toulouse like the lay vassals of the crown, and this drew upon him the violent invectives of many of the hierarchy, Gilbert Foliot, the Bishop of Hereford, among others, accusing him of plunging the sword into the bosom of mother church, and threatening him with excommunication. All this tended to convince Henry that Becket was the proper person to nominate to the primacy, as one who had already given proofs of a spirit greatly averse to ecclesiastical encroachments, and that promised to be of the greatest service to him in a project which, in common with other European sovereigns, he had much at heart—namely, to check the growing power of Rome, and curtail the privileges of the priesthood. Although his conduct had not been very priest-like, he was popular; the king's favour and intentions were well known, and accordingly, in 1161, when his old patron, Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, died, the public voice designated Becket as the man who must inevitably succeed him; and after a vacancy of about thirteen months, during which Henry drew the revenues, he was appointed Primate of all England.

From that moment Becket was an altered man: the soldier, statesman, hunter, courtier, man of the world, and man of pleasure, became a rigid and ascetic monk, renouncing even the innocent enjoyments of life, together with the service of his more friend than master, and resolving to perish by a slow martyrdom rather than suffer the king to invade the smallest privilege of the church. Although he then retained, and afterwards showed a somewhat inconsistent anxiety to keep certain other worldly honours and places of trust, he resigned the chancellorship in spite of the wishes of the king—he discarded all his former companions and magnificent retinue—he threw off his splendid attire—he discharged his choice cooks and his cup-bearers, to surround himself with monks and beggars (whose feet he daily washed), to clothe himself in sack-cloth, to eat the coarsest food, and drink water rendered bitter by the mixture of unsavoury herbs. The rest of his penitence, his prayers, his works of charity in hospitals and pest-houses, soon caused his name to be revered as that of a saint, and his person to be followed by the prayers and acclamations of the people. With the views the king was known to entertain in church matters, the collision was inevitable; yet it certainly was the archbishop who began the contest, and it is most unfair to attempt to conceal or slur over this fact. In 1163, about a year after his elevation, Becket raised a loud complaint on the

usurpations by the king and laity of the rights and property of the church. He claimed houses and lands which, if they ever had been included in the endowments of the see of Canterbury, had been for generations in the possession of lay families. It is curious to see castles and places of war figuring in his list. From the king himself he demanded the important castle of Rochester. From the Earl of Clare—whose family had possessed them in fief ever since the Conquest—he demanded the strong castle and the barony of Tunbridge; and from other barons, possessions of a like nature. But to complete the indignation of Henry, who had laid it down as an indispensable and unchangeable rule of government, that no vassal who held in *capite* of the crown should be excommunicated without his previous knowledge and consent, he hurled the thunders of the church at the head of William de Eynsford, a military tenant of the crown, for forcibly ejecting a priest collated to the rectory of that manor by the archbishop; and for pretending, as lord of the manor, to a right over that living. When Henry ordered him to revoke the sentence, Becket told him that it was not for the king to inform him whom he should absolve and whom excommunicate—a right and faculty appertaining solely to the church. The king then resorted from remonstrances to threats of vengeance; and Becket, bending for awhile before the storm, absolved the knight, but reluctantly, and with a bad grace.¹ In the course of the following year the king matured his project for subjecting the clergy to the authority of the civil courts for murder, felony, and other civil crimes; and to this reform, in a council held at Westminster, he formally demanded the assent of the archbishop and the other prelates. The leniency of the ecclesiastical courts to offenders in holy orders, seemed almost to give an immunity to crime; and a recent case, in which a clergyman had been but slightly punished for the most atrocious of offences, called aloud for a change of court and practice, and lent unanswerable arguments to the ministers and advocates of the king. The bishops, however, with one voice, rejected the proposed innovations; upon which Henry asked them if they would merely promise to observe the ancient customs of the realm. Becket and his brethren, with the exception only of Hilary, Bishop of Chichester, answered that they would observe them, “saving their order.” On this the king immediately deprived the archbishop of the manor of Eye, and the castle of Berkhamstead. Finding, however, that the bishops fell from his side, and being on one hand menaced by the king and lay nobles, and on the

¹ *Gervase of Canterbury: Dicto; Fitz-Steph. Epist. St. Thom.; Hist. Quad.*

other, it is said, advised to submit by the pope himself, Becket shortly afterwards, at a great council held at Clarendon,¹ in Wiltshire (25th January, 1164), consented to sign a series of enactments embodying the several points insisted upon by the king, and hence called the "Constitutions of Clarendon;" but he refused to put his seal to them, and immediately after withdrew from the court, and even from the service of the altar, to subject himself to the harshest penance for having acted contrary to his inward conviction. Subsequently the pope rejected the "Constitutions of Clarendon," with the exception only of six articles of minor importance; and the archbishop was then encouraged to persist by the only superior he acknowledged in this world.²

The king being now determined to keep no measures, assembled a great council in the town of Northampton, and summoned the archbishop to appear before it. He was charged, in the first place, with a breach of allegiance and acts of contempt against the king. He offered a plea in excuse, but Henry swore, "by God's eyes,"³ that he would have justice in its full extent, and the court condemned Becket to forfeit all his goods and chattels; but this forfeiture was immediately commuted for a fine of £500. The next day the king required him to refund £300 which he had received as warden of Eye and Berkhamstead, and £500 which he (the king) had given him before the walls of Toulouse; and, on the third day, he was required to render an account of all his receipts from vacant abbeys and bishoprics during his chancellorship, the balance due thereon to the crown being set down at the enormous sum of 44,000 marks. Becket now perceived that the king was bent on his utter ruin. For a moment he was overpowered; but, recovering his firmness and self-possession, which never forsook him for long intervals, he said he was not bound to plead on that count, seeing that, at his consecration as archbishop, he had been publicly released by the king from all such claims. He demanded a conference with the bishops; but these dignitaries had already declared for the

court, and the majority of them now advised him to resign the primacy as the only step which could restore peace to the church and nation. His health gave way under these troubles, and he was confined to a sick bed for the two following days. His indomitable mind, however, yielded none of its firmness and (we must add) its pride. He considered the bishops as cowards and time-servers; and resolved to retain that post from which, having once been placed in it, it was held, by all law and custom, he could never be deposed by the temporal power. On the morning of the decisive day (October 18, 1164), he celebrated the mass of St. Stephen, the first martyr, the office of which begins with these words:—"Sederunt principes et adversum me loquebantur" (Princes also did sit and speak against me, Ps. cxix. 23). After the mass, he set out for the court, arrayed as he was in his pontifical robes. He went on horseback, bearing the archiepiscopal cross in his right hand, and holding the reins in his left. When he dismounted at the palace, one of his suffragans would have borne the cross before him in the usual manner, but he would not let it go out of his hands, saying, "It is most reason I should bear the cross myself; under the defence thereof I may remain in safety; and, beholding this ensign, I need not doubt under what prince I serve." "But," said the Archbishop of York, an old rival and enemy of Becket, "it is defying the king, our lord, to come in this fashion to his court; but the king has a sword, the point of which is sharper than that of thy pastoral staff." As the primate entered, the king rose from his seat, and withdrew to an inner apartment, whither the barons and bishops soon followed him, leaving Becket alone in the vast hall, or attended only by a few of his clerks or the inferior clergy, the whole body of which, unlike the dignitaries of the church, inclined to his person and cause. These poor clerks trembled and were sore dismayed; but not so Becket, who seated himself on a bench, and still holding his cross erect, calmly awaited the event. He was not made to wait long: the Bishop of Exeter, terrified at the excessive exasperation of the so-

¹ "The assembly at Clarendon seems to have been the most considerable of those which met under the name of the Great or the Common Council of the Realm since the Norman invasion. They were not yet called by the name of a parliament. But whatever difficulty may exist concerning the qualifications of their constituent members, there is no reason to doubt that the fulness of legislative authority was exercised by the king only when he was present in such assemblies, and acted with their advice and consent."—*Macintosh*.

² Dr. Lingard admits, in speaking of the articles of Clarendon, that "sentences of excommunication had been greatly multiplied and abused during the middle ages." He admits that "they were the principal weapons with which the clergy sought to protect themselves and their property from the cruelty and rapacity of the banditti in the service of the barons. They were feared by the most powerful and unprincipled; because, at the

same time that they excluded the culprit from the offices of religion, they also cut him off from the intercourse of society." These remarks involve two singular admissions; first, that the Romanist clergy had failed to make society Christian enough to secure the safety of them and their property; second, that over this really heathen society, they exercised, in the name of Christ, a tremendous power of coercion. Both confirm Lappenberg's remark, that the Romish hierarchy had fallen heirs to their predecessors—the heathen priesthood. Their influence was immense; but when we analyze it, we find it not the proper influence of Christian pastors over really converted flocks, but of a pagan priesthood over unconverted "banditti."

³ This was Henry's usual oath when much excited. The oaths of all these kings would make a curious collection of blasphemy. The chroniclers have been careful to preserve them, and, according to their records, nearly every king had his distinctive oath.

vereign, came forth from the inner apartment, and throwing himself on his knees, implored the primate to have pity on himself and his brethren the bishops, for the king had vowed to slay the first of them that should attempt to excuse his conduct. "Thou fearest," replied Becket; "flee then! thou canst not understand the things that are of God!" Soon afterwards, the rest of the bishops appeared in a body, and Hilary of Chichester, speaking in the name of all, said, "Thou wast our primate, but now we disavow thee, because, after having promised faith to the king, our common lord, and sworn to maintain his royal customs, thou hast endeavoured to destroy them, and hast broken thine oath. We proclaim thee, then, a traitor, and tell thee we will no longer obey a perjured archbishop, but place ourselves and our cause under the protection of our lord the pope, and summon thee to answer us before him." "I hear," said Becket; and he deigned no further reply.

According to Roger of Hoveden, the archbishop was accused in the council chamber of the impossible crime of magic; and the barons pronounced a sentence of imprisonment against him. The door of that chamber soon opened, and Robert, Earl of Leicester, followed by the barons, stepped forth into the hall to read the sentence, beginning in the usual old Norman-French form—"Oyez-ci." The archbishop rose, and, interrupting him, said, "Son and earl, hear *me* first. Thou knowest with how much faith I served the king—with how much reluctance, and only to please him, I accepted my present charge, and in what manner I was declared free from all secular claims whatsoever. Touching the things which happened before my consecration, I ought not to answer, nor will I answer. You, moreover, are all my children in God; and neither law nor reason permits you to sit in judgment upon your father. I forbid you therefore to judge me; I decline your tribunal, and refer my quarrel to the decision of the pope. To him I appeal: and now, under the holy protection of the Catholic church and the apostolic see, I depart in peace." After this counter-appeal to the power which his adversaries had been the first to invoke, Becket slowly strode through the crowd towards the door of the hall. When near the threshold, the spirit of the soldier, which was not yet extinguished by the aspirations of the saint, blazed forth in a withering look and a few hasty but impassioned words. Some of the courtiers and attendants of the king threw at him straw or rushes, which they gathered from the floor, and called him traitor and false perjurer. Turning round and drawing himself up to his full height, he cried, "If my holy calling did not forbid it, I would make my answer with my sword to those cowards

who call me traitor!"¹ He then mounted his horse amidst the acclamations of the lower clergy and common people, and rode in a sort of triumph to his lodgings, the populace shouting, "Blessed be God, who hath delivered his servant from the hands of his enemies!" The strength of Becket's party was in the popular body; and it has been supposed, with some reason, that his English birth and Saxon descent contributed no less than his sudden sanctity, to endear him to the people, who had never since the Conquest seen one of their race elevated to such dignities.² Abandoned by the great, both lay and clerical, who had hitherto been proud to wait upon him, his house was empty; and in a spirit of imitation which some will deem presumptuous, he determined to fill it with the paupers of the town, and the lowly wayfarers from the road-side. "Suffer," said he, "all the poor people to come into the place, that we may make merry together in the Lord." "And having thus spoken, the people had free entrance, so that all the hall and all the chambers of the house being furnished with tables and stools, they were conveniently placed, and served with meat and drink to the full,"³ the archbishop supping with them, and doing the honours of the feast. In the course of the evening he sent to the king to ask leave to retire beyond sea, and he was told that he should receive an answer on the following morning. The modern historians who take the most unfavourable view of the king's conduct in these particulars, intimate, more or less broadly, that a design was on foot for preventing the archbishop from ever seeing that morrow; but the circumstances of time and place, and the character of Henry, are opposed to the belief that secret assassination was contemplated; nor does any contemporary writer give reasonable grounds for entertaining such a belief, or, indeed, say more than that the archbishop's friends were sorely frightened, and thought such a tragical termination of the quarrel a probable event. Becket, however, took his departure as if he himself feared violence. He stole out of the town of Northampton at the dead of night, disguised as a simple monk, and calling himself Brother Dearman; and being followed only by two clerks and a domestic servant, he hastened towards the coast, hiding by day and pursuing his journey by night. The season was far advanced, and the stormy winds of November swept the waters of the Channel when he reached the coast; but Becket embarked in a small boat, and after many

¹ *Fils-Steph.*; *Gervase*; *Gryn.*; *Dicto*. Dicto, we know, was at this meeting; and what gives singular interest to the accounts of it is, that it is probable the other three chroniclers, who were all closely connected with Becket, were also present.

² *M. Thierry*.

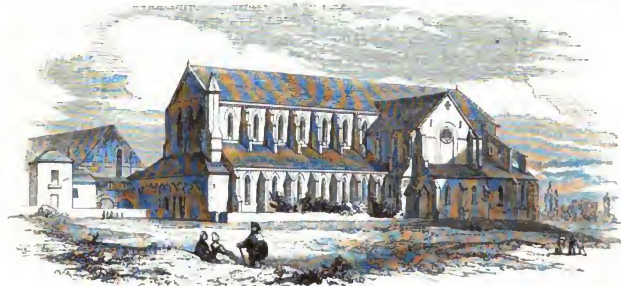
³ *H. Ainslie*.

perils and fatigues, landed at Gravelines, in Flanders, on the fifteenth day after his departure from Northampton.

From the seaport of Gravelines he and his companions walked on foot, and in very bad condition, to the monastery of St. Bertin, at St. Omer, where he waited a short time the success of his applications to the King of France, and the pope, Alexander III., who had fixed his residence for a time in the city of Sens. Their answers were most favourable; for, fortunately for Becket, the jealousy and disunion between the Kings of France and England, disposed Louis to protect the obnoxious exile, in order to vex and weaken Henry; and the pope, turning a deaf ear to a magnificent embassy despatched to him by the English sovereign, determined to support the cause of the primate as that of truth, of justice, and the church. The splendid abbey of Pontigny, in Burgundy, was assigned to him as an honour-

able and secure asylum; and the pope reinvested him with his archiepiscopal dignity, which he had surrendered into his hands.

As soon as Henry was informed of these particulars, he issued writs to the sheriffs of England, commanding them to seize all rents and possessions of the primate within their jurisdictions, and to detain all bearers of appeals to the pope till the king's pleasure should be made known to them. He also commanded the justices of the kingdom to detain, in like manner, all bearers of papers, whether from the pope or Becket, that purported to pronounce excommunication or interdict on the realm—all persons, whether lay or ecclesiastic, who should adhere to such sentence of interdict—and all clerks attempting to leave the kingdom without a passport from the king. The primate's name was struck out of the liturgy, and the revenues of every clergyman who had either followed him into France, or



ABBAY OF PONTIGNY.—Chailion Desbarres, l. Abbaye de Pontigny

had sent him aid and money, were seized by the crown. If Henry's vengeance had stopped here it might have been excused, if not justified; but, irritated to madness by the tone of defiance his enemy assumed in a foreign country, he proceeded to further vindictive and most disgraceful measures, issuing one common sentence of banishment against all who were connected with Becket, either by the ties of relationship or those of friendship. The list of proscription contained four hundred names, for the wives and children

of Becket's friends were included; and it is said that they were all bound by an oath to show themselves in their miserable exile to the cause of their ruin, that his heart might be wrung by the sight of the misery he had brought down upon the heads of all those who were most dear to him. It is added that his cell at Pontigny was accordingly beset by these exiles, but that he finally succeeded in relieving their immediate wants by interesting the King of France, the Queen of Sicily, and the pope, in their favour.²

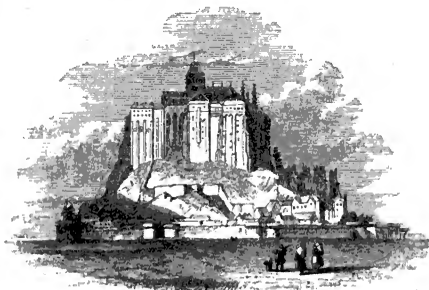
¹ This abbey was suppressed in 1790. The church has been preserved, and, after the cathedrals of Sens and of Auxerre, and the church of Vezelay, is the finest and largest religious edifice in the department of Yonne. The length of its interior is 354 ft., breadth 77 ft.; height of centre of transept, 69 ft.

² "Odo of Kent was one of the intimate friends of Thomas Becket and of John of Salisbury, and is mentioned with expressions of great esteem by the latter writer. He appears first in history in 1172, as prior of Canterbury, when he distinguished himself by a protracted resistance to the attempts of the crown to usurp the right of electing the archbishop. In 1175 he was

made abbot of Battle; and in the time of Leland a handsome marble tomb marked the place of his burial in the abbey church." Wright's *Biog. Brit. Liter.* ii. 234. From the specimen given in Latin of the kind of preaching with which this Odo, John of Abbeville, and Roger of Salisbury enlightened such of their hearers as understood Latin, one cannot form any high estimate of the improvement introduced by the Norman clergy into the pulpits of England, or consider that much was lost by those plain Anglo-Saxons who could not understand them. Anything more silly than the story introduced to illustrate how the devils are to spit on the faces of fools in hell, can hardly be imagined.

In 1165, the year after Becket's flight, Henry sustained no small disgrace from the result of a campaign, in which he personally commanded, against the Welsh. That hardy people had risen once more in arms in 1163, but had been defeated by an Anglo-Norman army, which subsequently plundered and wasted with fire the county of Carmarthen. Somewhat more than a year later a nephew of Rees-ap-Gryffiths, Prince or King of South Wales, was found dead in his bed, and the uncle, asserting he had been assassinated by the secret emissaries of a neighbouring Norman baron, collected the mountaineers of the south, and began a fierce and successful warfare, in which he was presently joined by his old allies, Gwynedd, the Prince of North Wales, and Owen Cyvelioch, the leader of the clans of Powisland. One Norman castle fell after another, and, when hostilities had continued for some time, the Welsh pushed their incursions forward into the level country. The king, turning at length his attention from the church quarrel, which had absorbed it, drew together an army "as well of Englishmen as strangers," and hastened to the Welsh marches. At his approach the mountaineers withdrew "to their starting-holes"—their woods and strait passages. Henry, without regard to difficulties and dangers, followed them, and a general action was fought on the banks of the Cieroc. The Welsh were defeated, and fled to their uplands. Henry, still following them, penetrated as far as the lofty Berwin, at the foot of which he encamped. A sudden storm of rain set in, and continued until all the streams and torrents were fearfully swollen, and the valley was deluged. Meanwhile the natives gathered on the ridges of the mountain of Berwin; but it appears to have been more from the war of the elements than of man that the king's army retreated in great disorder and with some loss. Henry had hitherto showed himself remarkably free from the cruelty of his age, but his mind was now embittered, and in a hasty moment he resolved to take a barbarous vengeance on the persons of the hostages whom the Welsh princes had placed in his hands, seven years before, as pledges of their tranquillity and allegiance. The eyes of the males were picked out of their heads, and the noses and ears of the females were cut off. The old chroniclers hardly increase our horror when they tell us that the victims belonged to the noblest families of Wales.¹

This reverse in England was soon followed by successes on the Continent. A formidable insurrection broke out in Brittany against Henry's subservient ally Conan, who applied to him for succour, according to the terms of the treaty of alliance subsisting between them. The troops of the king entered by the frontier of Normandy, under pretext of defending the legitimate Earl of the Bretons against his revolted subjects. Henry soon made himself master of Dol, and several other towns, which he kept and garrisoned with his own soldiers. Conan had shown himself utterly incapable of managing the fierce Breton nobles, by whose excesses and cruelties the poor people were ground to the dust. Henry's power and abilities were well known to the suffering Bretons, and a considerable party, including the priests of the country, rallied round him, and hailed him as a deliverer.² Submitting in part to the force of circumstances and the wishes of Henry, and in part, perhaps, following his own indolent inclinations, Conan resigned the remnant of his authority into the hands of his protector, who governed the state in the name of his son Geoffrey, and Conan's heiress Constantia, the espousals of these two children being prematurely solemnized. In the month of December, 1166, Henry kept his court in the famed old castle on Mount St. Michael, whence his eye could range over the long and extending land of Brittany; and



MOUNT ST. MICHAEL, Normandy.—Cotman's Antiquities of Normandy.

there he was visited by William the Lion, who had recently ascended the Scottish throne on the death of his brother, Malcolm IV.

² *Script. Ber. Franc.*; Daru, *Hist. de la Bretagne*.

³ This singular rock is situated in the province of Normandy and the modern department of Manche in France, seven miles south west from Avranches. It is about 400 ft. high, including the building; above five miles in circumference; and lies three miles from the coast, on sandy flats that are covered each tide, and thus isolate it from the mainland. It was once strongly

¹ *Gerace. Newbrig.*; Girald. *Camb. Itin.*; *Diecio*.

While still abroad, he ordered a tax to be levied on all his subjects, whether English or foreign, for the support of the war in the Holy Land, which was taking a turn more and more unfavourable to the Christians; but at that very time his peace was broken by his own war with the church and the unremitting hostility of Becket. In the month of May the banished archbishop went from Pontigny to Vezelay, near Auxerre, and, encouraged by the pope, he repaired to the church on the great festival of the Ascension, and mounting the pulpit there, "with book, bell, and candle," solemnly cursed and pronounced the sentence of excommunication against the defenders of the Constitutions of Clarendon, the detainers of the sequestrated property of the church of Canterbury, and those who imprisoned or persecuted either laymen or clergy on his account. This done, he more particularly excommunicated by name Richard de Lucy, Joycelin Baliol, and four others of Henry's courtiers and prime favourites.¹ The king was at Chinon, in Anjou, when he was startled by this new sign of life given by his adversary. Though in general a great master of his feelings, Henry was subject to excesses of ungovernable fury, and on this occasion he seems fairly to have taken leave of his senses. He cried out that they wanted to kill him, body and soul—that he was wretched in being surrounded by cowards and traitors, not one of whom thought of delivering him from the insupportable vexations caused him by a single man. He took off his cap and dashed it to the ground, undid his girdle, threw his clothes about the room, tore off the silk coverlet from his bed and rolled upon it, and gnawed the straw and rushes—for it appears that this mighty and splendid monarch had no better bed.² His resentment did not pass away with this paroxysm; and after writing to the pope and the King of France, he threatened that, if Becket should return and continue to be sheltered at the abbey of Pontigny, which belonged to the Cistercians, he would seize all the estates appertaining to that order within his numerous dominions. The threat was an alarming one to the monks, and we find Becket removing out of Burgundy to the town of Sens, where a new asylum was appointed him by Louis. A paltry war was begun and ended by a truce, all within a few months: it was followed the next year by another war, equally

short and still more inglorious for the French king; for although he had excited fresh disturbances in Brittany and Maine, and leagued himself with some of Henry's revolted barons of Poitou and Aquitaine, he gained no advantage whatever for himself, was the cause of ruin to most of his allies, and was compelled to conclude a peace at the beginning of the year 1169. Nothing but an empty pride could have been gratified by a series of feudal oaths; but the designations given to his sons on this occasion, by the English king, contributed to fatal consequences which happened four years later. Prince Henry of England, his eldest son, did homage to his father-in-law, the King of France, for Anjou and Maine, as he had formerly done for Normandy; Prince Richard, his second son, did homage for Aquitaine; and Geoffrey, his third son, for Brittany: and it was afterwards assumed that these ceremonies constituted the boys sovereigns and absolute masters of the several dominions named. At the same time the two kings agreed upon a marriage between Prince Richard of England, and Alice, another daughter of the King of France, the previous treaty of matrimony with the King of Arragon being set aside. Sixteen months before these events Henry lost his mother, the Empress Matilda, who died at Rouen, and was buried in the celebrated abbey of Bec, which she had enriched with the donations of her piety and penitence.

About this time Henry was prevailed upon by the pope, the King of France, and by some of his own friends, to assent to the return of Becket and his party. The Kings of France and England met at Montmirail, and Becket was admitted to a conference. Henry insisted on qualifying his agreement to the proposed terms of accommodation by the addition of the words, "saving the honour of his kingdom," a salvo which Becket met by another on his part, saying that he was willing to be reconciled to the king, and obey him in all things, "saving the honour of God and the church." Upon this, Henry, turning to the King of France, said, "Do you know what would happen if I were to admit this reservation? That man would interpret everything displeasing to himself as being contrary to the honour of God, and would so invade all my rights: but to show that I do not withstand God's honour, I will here offer him a concession—what the greatest and

fortified, but is now used as a state prison. Duke Rollo of Normandy is said to have endowed the monastery which crowns St. Michael's Mount on the fourth day after his baptism into the Christian faith. Richard I. of England greatly enlarged the church, and added spacious buildings for a body of monks of the Benedictine order. The base of the mount is surrounded with high thick walls, flanked with semicircular natchelated towers and bastions. Toward the west end its sides present only steep, black, bare, pointed rocks. The portions lying in an opposite di-

rection incline in a comparatively easy slope, and are covered with houses that follow in successive lines, leaving but a scanty space for some small gardens, in which the vine, the fig-tree, and the almond flourish in great luxuriance. The walls of the castellated abbey impend, and jut out in bold, decided masses; and the whole is crowned by the florid choir of the abbey church.

¹ *Epist. S. Thomæ. Reg. Hist. Germae.*

² *Script. Rer. Franc.* Henry seems to have acted in this mad way on more than one occasion.

holiest of his predecessors did unto the least of mine, that let him do unto me, and I am contented therewith." All present exclaimed that this was enough—that the king had humbled himself enough. But Becket still insisted on his salvo; upon which the King of France said he seemed to wish to be "greater than the saints, and better than St. Peter;" and the nobles present murmured at his unbending pride, and said he no longer merited an asylum in France. The two kings mounted their horses and rode away without saluting Becket, who retired much cast down. No one any longer offered him food and lodging in the name of Louis, and on his journey back to Sens he was reduced to live on the charity of the common people.¹

In another conference the obnoxious clauses on either side were omitted. The business now seemed in fair train; but when Becket asked from the king the kiss of peace,² which was the usual termination to such quarrels, Henry's irritated feelings prevented him from granting it, and he excused himself by saying it was only a solemn oath taken formerly, in a moment of passion, never to kiss Becket, that hindered him from giving this sign of perfect reconciliation. The primate was resolute to waive no privilege and no ceremony, and this conference was also broken off in anger. Another quarrel between the two kings, and an impotent raising of banners on the part of Louis, which threatened at first to retard the reconciliation between Henry and his primate, were in fact the causes of hastening that event; for hostilities dwindled into a truce, the truce led to another conference between the sovereigns, and the conference to another peace, at which Henry, who was apprehensive that the pope would finally consent to Becket's ardent wishes, and permit him to excommunicate his king by name, and pronounce an interdict against the whole kingdom, slowly and reluctantly pledged his word to be reconciled forthwith to the dangerous exile. On the 22d of July, 1170, a solemn congress was held in a spacious and most pleasant meadow,³ between Freteval and La Ferté-Bernard, on the borders of Touraine. The king was there before the archbishop; and as soon as Becket appeared, riding leisurely towards the tent, he spurred his horse to meet him, and saluted him, cap in hand. They then rode apart into the field, and discoursed together for some time in the same familiar manner as in by-gone times. Then returning to his attendants, Henry said that he found the arch-

bishop in the best possible disposition, and that it would be sinful in him to nourish rancour any longer.

The primate came up, accompanied by the Archbishop of Sens and other priests, and the forms of reconciliation were completed; always, however, excepting the kiss of peace, which, according to some, Henry promised he would give in England, where they would soon meet.⁴ The king, however, condescended to hold Becket's stirrup when he mounted. By their agreement, Becket was to love, honour, and serve the king in as far as an archbishop could "render in the Lord service to his sovereign;" and Henry was to restore immediately all the lands and livings, and privileges of the church of Canterbury, and to furnish Becket with funds to discharge his debts, and make the journey into England. These terms were certainly not all kept: the lands were not released for four months; and, after many vexatious delays, Becket was obliged to borrow money for his journey. While tarrying on the French coast, he was several times warned that danger awaited him on the opposite shore. This was not improbable, as many resolute men had been suddenly driven from the church lands on which they had fattened for years, and as he was known to carry about his person letters of excommunication from the pope against the Archbishop of York, and the Bishops of London and Salisbury, whom he held to be his chief enemies, and who were men likely to adopt strong measures to prevent his promulgating the terrible sentence. He was even assured that Ranulf de Broc, a knight of a family who all hated him to the death, and who had himself boasted that he would not let the archbishop live to eat a single loaf of bread in England, was lying with a body of soldiers between Canterbury and Dover, in order to intercept him. But nothing could move Becket, who said seven years of absence were long enough both for the shepherd and his flock, and that he would not stop though he were sure to be cut to pieces as soon as he landed on the opposite coast. The only use he made of the warnings he received, was to confide the letters of excommunication to a skilful and devoted messenger, who, preceding him some short time, stole into England without being suspected, and actually delivered them publicly to the three bishops, who were as much startled as if a thunderbolt had fallen at their feet. This last measure seems to have had as much to do with Becket's death as any anger of the king's. As he was on the point of embarking, a vessel arrived from England. The sailors were asked what were the feelings of the good English people

¹ *Vita S. Thomæ; Script. Rer. Franc.; Gervase; Epist. S. Thomæ.*

² See a curious discourse on kisses of peace in Duango, Gloss. in voc. *Oculum Pacis*.

³ *In prato ananiasimo. Script. Rer. Franc.*

⁴ *Fitz-Stephen; Epist. S. Thomæ.*

towards their archbishop. They replied, that the people would hail his return with transports of joy. This was a good omen, and he no doubt relied much more on the popular favour than on the protection of John of Oxford, one of the royal chaplains, and some others whom Henry had sent to accompany him. He sailed from France in the same gloomy month of the year in which he had begun his exile, and, avoiding Dover, landed at Sandwich on the 1st of December. At the news of his arrival, the mariners, the peasants, and the working people generally, and the English burgesses flocked to meet him; but none of the rich and powerful welcomed him; and the first persons of rank he saw presented themselves in a menacing attitude. These latter were a sheriff of Kent, Reginald de Warenne, Ranulf de Broc (who had ridden across the country from Dover), and some relatives and allies of the three excommunicated bishops, who carried swords under their tunics, and drew them when they approached the primate. John of Oxford conjured them to be quiet, lest they should make their king pass for a traitor; but it is probable that the determined countenance of the English multitude made more impression on them than his peaceful words. They retired to their castles, and spread a report among their feudal compeers that Becket was liberating the serfs of the country, who were marching in his train, drunk with joy and hopes of vengeance. At Canterbury, the primate was received with acclamations; but still it was only the poor and lowly that welcomed him. A few days after he set out for Woodstock, to visit the king's eldest son, Prince Henry, who had formerly been his pupil. Becket counted much on his influence over the young prince, but the party opposed to him succeeded in preventing his having an opportunity to exert that influence. A royal messenger met him on his journey, and ordered him, in the name of the prince, not to enter any of the royal towns or castles, but to return and remain within his own diocese. The primate obeyed, and returning, spent some days at Harrow-on-the-Hill, which belonged to the church of Canterbury a considerable time before the Norman conquest. During his stay at Harrow, Becket kept great hospitality; but this virtue was probably exercised in regard to persons of a condition resembling those whom he had bidden to his memorable feast at Northampton, and the only ecclesiastic of rank mentioned as doing him honour, was the abbot of the neighbouring monastery of St. Alban's. Two of his own clergy, Nigellus de Sackville, who was called "the usurping rector of Harrow," and Robert de Broc, the vicar, a relation of his determined foe, Ranulf de Broc, treated him with great disrespect, and when he was departing, maimed the horse which car-

ried his provisions—an offence which was not forgotten by one who presumed to hurl the thunderbolts of damnation. Becket returned to Canterbury, escorted by a host of poor people, armed with rustic targets and rusty lances. On Christmas Day he ascended the pulpit in the great cathedral church, and delivered an eloquent sermon on the words, "Venio ad vos mori inter vos" (I come to die among you). He told his congregation that one of their archbishops had been a martyr, and that they would probably soon see another; "but," he added, "before I depart hence I will avenge some of the wrongs my church has suffered during the last seven years;" and he forthwith excommunicated Ranulf and Robert de Broc, and Nigellus, the rector of Harrow.¹ This was Becket's last public act. As soon as his messenger from the French coast had delivered his letters, the three bishops excommunicated by them hastened to Prince Henry, to complain of his insatiate thirst of revenge, and to accuse him of a fixed plan of violating all the royal privileges and the customs of the land; and almost immediately after they crossed over to the Continent, to demand redress from the king. "We implore it," said the bishops, "both for the sake of royalty and the clergy—for your own repose as well as ours. There is a man who sets England on fire; he marches with troops of horse and armed foot, prowling round the fortresses, and trying to get himself received within them." The exaggeration was not needed; Henry was seized with one of his most violent fits of fury. "How!" cried he, "a fellow that hath eaten my bread—a beggar that first came to my court on a lame horse—dares insult his king and the royal family, and tread upon the whole kingdom; and not one of the cowards I nourish at my table—not one will deliver me from this turbulent priest!"² There were four knights present, who had probably injuries of their own to avenge, and who took this outburst of temper as a sufficient death-warrant; and, without communicating their sudden determination to the king (or, at least, there is no evidence that they did), hurried over to England. Their names were Reginald Fitz-Urse, William Tracy, Hugh de Morville, and Richard Brito; and they are described by a contemporary as being barons, and servants of the king's bed-chamber. Their intention was not suspected, nor was their absence noticed; and while they were riding with loose rein towards the coast, the king was closeted with his council of barons, who, after some discussion, which seems to have occupied more than one day, ap-

¹ *Fitz-Steph.*; *Vita S. Thomæ*; *Gereuse*; *Rog. Hove.*; *Matt. Paris.*

² *Script. Rer. Franc.*

³ *Vita Quadripart.*

pointed three commissioners to go and seize, according to the forms of law, the person of Thomas à Becket, on the charge of high treason.

temporal rights to the king." "How! is it not the king that hath given you all?" Becket's decided negative was received with murmurs, and

But the conspirators, who had bound themselves together by an oath, left the commissioners nothing to do. Three days after Christmas Day they arrived secretly at Saltwood, in the neighbourhood of Canterbury, where the De Broc family had a house; and here, under the cover of night, they arranged their plans. On the 29th of December, having collected a number of adherents to quell the resistance of Becket's attendants and the citizens, in case any should be offered, they proceeded to the monastery of St. Augustine's, at Canterbury, the abbot of which, like nearly all the superior churchmen, was of the king's party. From St. Augustine's they went to the archbishop's palace, and entering his apartment abruptly, about two hours after noon, seated themselves on the floor without saluting him, or offering any sign of respect. There was a dead pause—the knights not knowing how to begin, and neither of them liking to speak first. At length Becket asked what they wanted; but still they sat gazing at him with haggard eyes. There were twelve men of the party, besides the four knights. Reginald Fitz-Urse, feigning a commission from the king, at last spoke. "We come," said he, "that you may absolve the bishops whom you have excommunicated, re-establish the bishops whom you have suspended, and answer for your offences against the king." Becket replied with boldness and with great warmth, not sparing taunts and invectives. He said that he had published the Papal letters of excommunication with the king's consent; that he could not absolve the Archbishop of York, whose heinous case was reserved for the pope alone; but that he would remove the censures from the two other bishops, if they would swear to submit to the decisions of Rome. "But of whom then," demanded Reginald, "do you hold your archbishopric—of the king, or of the pope?" "I owe the spiritual rights to God and the pope, and the



REMAINS OF THE ST. AUGUSTINE MONASTERY, Canterbury.¹—Britton's Canterbury.

the knights furiously twisted their long gloves. Three out of the four cavaliers had followed Becket in the days of his prosperity and vain-glory, and vowed themselves his liege men. He reminded them of this, and observed, it was not for such as they to threaten him in his own house; adding also, that if he were threatened by all the swords in England, he would not yield. "We will do more than threaten," replied the knights, and then departed. When they were gone, his attendants loudly expressed their alarm, and blamed him for the rough and provoking tone by which he had inflamed, instead of pacifying his enemies; but the prelate silenced the latter part of their discourse by telling them he had no need of their advice, and knew what he ought to do. The barons, with their accomplices, who seem to have wished, if they could, to avoid bloodshed, finding that threats were ineffectual, put on their coats of mail, and taking each a sword in his hand, returned to the palace; but finding that the gate had been shut and barred by the terrified servants, Fitz-Urse tried to break it open, and the sounds of his ponderous axe rang through the building. The gate might have offered some considerable resistance, but Robert de Broc showed

¹ St. Augustine, having converted King Ethelbert from paganism to the Christian faith, obtained of him both permission and lands for the erection of a monastery, which was also to be the future burial-place of the Kings of Kent and Archbishops of Canterbury. For this purpose Ethelbert granted him his palace, which stood on the east side of the city of Canterbury, and just without the walls. Here St. Augustine founded his monastery, A.D. 605. It was first dedicated to the apostles Peter and Paul, but Archbishop Dunstan (A.D. 957) added St. Augustine, by

which name it has been since commonly called. In 1011 the house was plundered by the Danes; in 1168 the church was almost destroyed by fire; and in 1271 the monastery was nearly ruined by floods, occasioned by a prodigious storm. In the year 1612 the back part of the building adjoining the great gate was repaired with brick. At this place it is said Charles I. consummated his marriage with the Princess Henrietta of France (anno 1625), at which time it was the mansion of the Lord Wotton of Becton-Malherbe.—Gosse's *Antiquities*.

them the way in at a window. The people about Becket had in vain urged him to take refuge in the church; but at this moment the voices of the monks, singing vespers in the choir, striking his ear, he said he would go, as his duty called him thither; and, making his cross-bearer precede him with the crucifix elevated, he traversed the cloister with slow and measured steps, and entered the church. His servants would have closed and fastened the doors, but he forbade them, saying that the house of God was not to be barricaded like a castle. He had passed through the north transept, and was ascending the steps which led to the choir, when Reginald Fitz-Urse appeared at the other end of the church, waving his sword, and shouting, "Follow me, loyal servants of the king!" The other conspirators followed him closely, armed like himself from head to foot, and brandishing their swords. The shades of evening had fallen, and in the obscurity of the vast church, which was only broken here and there by a lamp glimmering before a shrine, Becket might easily have hid himself in the dark and intricate crypts under ground, or beneath the roof of the old church. Each of these courses was suggested by his attendants, but he rejected them both, and turned boldly to meet the intruders, followed or preceded by his cross-bearer, the faithful Edward Gryme, the only one who did not flee. A voice shouted, "Where is the traitor?" Becket answered not; but when Reginald Fitz-Urse said, "Where is the archbishop?" he replied, "Here am I, an archbishop, but no traitor, ready to suffer in my Saviour's name." Tracy pulled him by the sleeve, saying, "Come hither, thou art a prisoner." He pulled back his arm in so violent a manner, that he made Tracy stagger forward. They advised him to flee or to go with them; and, on a candid consideration, it seems to us that the conspirators, after all, are entitled to a doubt as to whether they really intended a murder, or were not rather hurried into it by his obstinacy and provoking language. Addressing Fitz-Urse, he said, "I have done thee many pleasures; why comest thou with armed men into my church?" They told him that he must instantly absolve the bishops. "Never, until they have offered satisfaction," was his answer; and he applied a foul vituperative term to Fitz-Urse. "Then die!" exclaimed Fitz-Urse, striking at his head. The faithful Gryme interposed his arm to save his master; the arm was

broken, or nearly cut off, and the stroke descended on the primate's head, and slightly wounded him. Then another voice cried, "Flee, or thou diest;" but still Becket moved not, but with the blood running down his face, he clasped his hands, and bowing his head, exclaimed, "To God, to St. Mary, to the holy patrons of this church, and to St. Denis, I commend my soul and the church's cause." A second stroke brought him to the ground, close to the foot of St. Bennet's altar; a third, given with such force that the sword was broken against the stone pavement, cleft his skull, and his brains were scattered all about. One of the conspirators put his foot on his neck, and cried, "Thus perishes a traitor!"¹ The conspirators



ASSASSINATION OF BECKET.²—From an ancient painting on a board hung at the head of the tomb of Henry IV. in Canterbury Cathedral.

then withdrew, without encountering any hindrance or molestation; but when the fearful news spread through Canterbury and the neighbouring country, the excitement was prodigious; and the then inevitable inference was drawn that Becket was a martyr, and miracles would be wrought at his tomb. For some time, however, the superior orders rejected this faith, and made

¹ *Gerouse; Fitz-Steph.; Gryme* (who was present, and suffered on the occasion); *Neubrig*.

² The piece represents the sufferer on his knees after the first stroke he received from Tracy, who is represented by the figure with the shield and the uplifted sword tinged with blood. The knight who is plunging his sword into the prelate's brains appears to be Fitz-Urse, by the bears depicted on his surcoat. The other, distinguished by the muzzled bears' or bears' heads, with

the horizontal sword, must be Morville, as the lower figure, by the position of his sword and apparent inactivity, certainly is Brito, the last actor in this bloody tragedy. Edward Gryme, with terror strongly marked in his countenance, appears behind the altar with the episcopal cross in his hand, which history mentions to have been carried before our prelate as he entered the church, and his cap besprinkled with blood lies on the middle step of the altar. —*Millner's Account of the Murder of Thomas à Becket.*

efforts to suppress the veneration of the common people. An edict was published, prohibiting all men from preaching in the churches or reporting in the public places that Becket was a martyr. His old foe, the Archbishop of York, ascended the pulpit to announce his death as an infliction of Divine vengeance, saying that he had perished in his guilt and pride like Pharaoh.¹ Other ecclesiastics preached that the body of the traitor ought not to be allowed to rest in consecrated ground, but ought to be thrown into a ditch, or hung on a gibbet. An attempt was even made to seize the body, but the monks, who received timely warning, concealed it, and hastily buried it in the subterranean vaults of the cathedral. But it was soon found that the public voice, echoed, for its own purposes, by the court of France, was too loud to be drowned in this manner. Louis, whom Henry had so often humbled, wrote to the pope, imploring him to draw the sword of St. Peter against that horrible persecutor of God, who surpassed Nero in cruelty, Julian in apostasy, and Judas in treachery. He chose to believe, and the French bishops believed with him, that Henry had ordered the murder.

On receiving the intelligence of Becket's assassination, Henry expressed the greatest grief and horror, shut himself up in his room, and refused to receive either food or consolation for three days; and if he took care to have a touching detail of his distressed feelings transmitted to the pope, in which he declared his innocence in the strongest terms, and entreated that censure might be suspended till the facts of the case were examined, such a measure is not to be taken, in itself, as indicating the insincerity of his grief and horror. He must have felt that his own hasty exclamations had led to the deed, and that all the penalties of a deliberate crime would be exacted at his hand.

When Henry's envoys first appeared at Rome—for the pope (Alexander) was no longer a dependent exile—they were coldly received, and everything seemed to threaten that an interdict

would be laid upon the kingdom, and the king excommunicated by name. In the end, however, Alexander rested satisfied with an excommunication, in general terms, of the murderers and the abettors of the crime. It is said that Henry's gold was not idle on this occasion; but the employment of it is rather a proof of the notorious rapacity of the cardinals, than of his having a bad cause to plead. In the month of May, 1172, in a council held at Avranches, at which two legates of the pope attended, Henry swore, on the holy gospels and sacred relics—a great concourse of the clergy and people being present—that he had neither ordered nor desired the murder of the archbishop. This oath was not demanded from him, but taken of his own free will. As, however, he could not deny that the assassins might have been moved to the deed by his wrathful words, he consented to maintain 200 knights during a year, for the defence of the Holy Land; and to serve himself, if the pope should require it, for three years against the infidels, either the Saracens in Palestine or the Moors in Spain, as the church should appoint. At the same time, he engaged to restore all the lands and possessions belonging to the friends of the late archbishop; to permit appeals to be made to the pope in good faith, and without fraud, reserving to himself, however, the right of obliging such appellants as he suspected of evil intentions to give security that they would attempt nothing abroad to the detriment of him or his kingdom. To these conditions he made an addition too vague to have any practical effect—that he would relinquish such customs against the church as had been introduced in his time. The legates then fully absolved the king; and thus terminated this quarrel, less to Henry's disadvantage than might have been expected.²

In the short interval of this negotiation he had added a kingdom to his dominions. The year that followed the death of Becket was made memorable by the conquest of Ireland.

¹ *Epist. Joan. Sarrab.*

² *Hoveden; Epist. S. Thom.; Epist. Joan. Sarrab.; Gervase.*

CHAPTER VI.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1064—1189.

HENRY II., SURNAMED PLANTAGENET.—ACCESSION, A.D. 1154—DEATH, A.D. 1189.

Summary of Irish history to the time of Henry II.—Slight connection between England and Ireland—Adrian IV. grants Ireland to Henry II. by a Papal bull—The King of Leinster driven from his throne—He applies to Henry for aid—Obtains assistance from the Earl of Pembroke—The conquest of Ireland commenced by the English—They take Wexford—Their successes—Pembroke arrives in Ireland—Takes Waterford by storm—The Irish everywhere defeated—Henry arrives to secure Ireland to the English crown—The Irish chiefs tender their submission—The whole country except Ulster conquered—Disensions in the family of Henry II.—Prince Henry, his eldest son, commences a rebellion—His brothers join him—They are aided by the King of France and other foreign princes—The Scots invade England—Henry II., in his distress, does penance at the tomb of Becket—The King of Scots taken prisoner—Henry subdues his sons and their allies—Wisdom and promptitude of Henry's proceedings—His sons again rebel—Conflicts on the Continent—Prince Henry dies—Bertrand de Born, the head of the confederacy, taken prisoner—Death of Geoffrey, Henry's second son—Richard, the third son, compelled to submit—Commencement of the Crusades—Preparations in France and England—French rebellion of Richard, son of Henry II.—Its cause—He is denounced by Philip of France—Henry II. obliged to submit to humiliating conditions—He dies broken-hearted at Chinon—Richard's conduct at his father's funeral—Character of Henry II.—His family—The story of "Fair Rosamond."

IN the preceding Book, the sketch of Irish history was brought down to the reign of Turlogh, the commencement of which is assigned to the year 1064. Turlogh, however, like his uncle Donchad, whom he had succeeded, and Donchad's father, the great O'Brien, is scarcely acknowledged by the old annalists as having been a legitimate king, not being of the blood of the O'Neills of Ulster, in which line, say the rather inventive Irish historians, the supreme sceptre had been transmitted, with scarcely any interruption, till its seizure by Brien, from the time of O'Neill or Nial of the Nine Hostages, who flourished in the beginning of the fifth century. The long acquiescence of the other provincial regal houses in the superiority thus assumed by that of Ulster was broken by the usurpation of the Munster O'Briens, and we shall find that ere long both the O'Connors of Connaught and the MacMurroughs of Leinster made their appearance on the scene, as competitors for the prize of chief dominion, along with the other two families. The whole history of the country from this date is merely the history of these contests for the crown, of which contests we confine ourselves to the following summary.

Turlogh, who kept his court in the palace of his ancestors, the Kings of Munster, at Kinkora, in Clare, died there in July, 1086. His second son, Murtach or Murkertach, acquired the sole possession of the throne of Munster by the death of one of his two brothers, and the banishment of the other; but his attempt to retain the supreme monarchy in his family was resisted by the other provincial kings, who united in sup-

porting, against his claims, those of Domnal MacLochlin, or Donald MacLachlan, the head of the ancient royal house of O'Neill. At last, after much fighting, it was arranged, at a solemn convention held in 1094, that the island should be divided between the two competitors—the southern half, called Leath Mogh, or Mogh's Half, remaining subject to Murtach, and the northern, called Leath Cuinn, or Conn's Half, being resigned to the dominion of MacLochlin. This was a well-known ancient division, which, in former times, even when the nominal sovereignty of the whole country was conceded to the Kings of Ulster, had often left those of Munster in possession not only of the actual independence, but of a share of the supremacy over both Connaught and Leinster; for the line of partition was drawn right across the island from the neighbourhood of the town of Galway to Dublin, and consequently cut through each of these provinces. With this real equality in extent of dominion and authority between the two houses, one circumstance chiefly had for a long period held in check the rising fortunes of that of Munster, the law or custom, namely, of the succession to the crown in that province, which was divided into two principalities, Desmond or South Munster, and Thomond or North Munster, the reigning families of which, by an arrangement somewhat similar to that which has been described as anciently subsisting in the Scottish monarchy,¹ enjoyed the supreme sovereignty alternately. The two lines of princes derived this right of equal participation from the will of their common ancestor Ollih Ollum; those

¹ See vol. I. p. 144.

of Desmond, which comprehended the present counties of Kerry, Cork, and Waterford, being descended from that king's eldest son Eogan, whence the people of that principality were called Eoganacths or Eugenians; while the princes of Thomond, which consisted of Clare, Limerick, and the greater part of Tipperary, were sprung from his second son Cormac Cas, whence their subjects took the name of Dalgaiss or Dalcassians. But Brien Boru, himself of the Dalcassian family, had begun his course of inroad upon the ancient institutions of his country by setting at defiance the rights of his Eugenic kindred, and had possessed himself, by usurpation, of the provincial throne of Munster, before he seized upon the supreme power. The Munster kings had ever since continued to be of his race.

The compact between MacLochlin and Murtach did not put an end to their contention. Several more battles were fought between them, till at length, in 1103, Murtach sustained a defeat at Cobha, in Tyrone, which so greatly weakened his power as to prevent him from ever after giving his adversary any serious annoyance. They continued to reign, however—MacLochlin at Aileach or Alichia, in Donegal, Murtach at Cashel—till the death of the latter, in 1119, after he had spent the last three or four years of his life in a monastery, the management of affairs having been meanwhile left in the hands of his brother Dermot. From the date of the death of Murtach, MacLochlin is regarded as having been sole monarch; but he also died in 1121.

Fifteen years of confusion followed, during which a contest between various competitors for the supreme authority spread war and devastation over every part of the country. At last, in 1136, Turlogh or Tordelvac O'Connor, King of Connaught, was acknowledged monarch of all Ireland; the ancient sceptre of the O'Neills thus passing a second time into a new house. O'Connor, however, had to maintain himself on the throne he had thus acquired by a great deal of hard fighting with his neighbours and rivals. Connor O'Brien, the King of Munster, who had vigorously opposed his elevation, and his successor Turlogh O'Brien, did not cease to dispute his power, till the overthrow of the latter at the great battle of Moimnor, fought in 1151, placed Munster for the moment completely under the tread of the victor. O'Brien was driven from his kingdom, and the territory was again divided into two principalities, over which O'Connor set two princes of the Eugenic house, that had some time before joined him in his contest with the Dalcassians. A few years after, however, the expelled king was restored by the interference of Murtoth O'Lochlin, or Murtach MacLachlan, O'Niell, the King of Ulster, and the

legitimate heir of the ancient monarchs of Ireland, who now also took arms to recover for himself the throne of his ancestors. With this new rival, O'Connor, for whom his martial reign has procured from the annalists the title of The Great, continued at war during the remainder of his life; and at his death, in 1156, O'Lochlin was acknowledged supreme king. Some opposition was made to his accession by Roderick O'Connor, the son of the late king, and his successor to the provincial throne of Connaught; but he also, at last, as well as the Princes of Munster and Leinster, acquiesced in the restoration of the old sovereign house, and submitted to O'Niell.

The rule of Murtoth O'Lochlin was distinguished by vigour and ability; but its close was unfortunate. He was killed along with many of his nobility, in 1166, in a battle with some insurgent chiefs of his own province of Ulster; to whom he had given abundant cause for taking up arms against him, if it be true that, after having been professedly reconciled to one of them, with whom he had had a quarrel, and sealing the compact by the acceptance of hostages, he had suddenly seized the unfortunate chief, together with three of his friends, and caused his eyes to be put out, and them to be put to death. On his decease the sovereignty of Ireland devolved upon his rival, Roderick O'Connor, of Connaught, the son of its former possessor, O'Connor the Great.

Up to this time almost the only connection between England and Ireland was that of the commerce carried on between some of the opposite ports; scarcely any political intercourse had ever taken place between the two countries. Her church, indeed, attached Ireland to the rest of Christendom; and some correspondence is still preserved, that passed between her kings and prelates and the English archbishops Lanfranc and Anselm, relating chiefly to certain points in which the latter conceived the ecclesiastical discipline of the neighbouring island to stand in need of reformation. The bishops also of the Danish towns in Ireland appear to have been usually consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury. But almost the single well-authenticated instance of any interference by the one nation in the civil affairs of the other since the Norman conquest, was in the rebellion of Robert de Belesme, in the beginning of the reign of Henry I., when that nobleman's brother, Arnulph de Montgomery, is said by some of the Welsh chroniclers to have passed over to Ireland, and to have there obtained from King Murtach O'Brien, both supplies for the war and the hand of his daughter for himself. It is said, indeed, that both the Conqueror and Henry I. had meditated the subjugation of Ireland; and Malmesbury affirms

that the latter English king had Murtach and his successors so entirely at his devotion, that they wrote nothing but adulation of him, nor did anything but what he ordered.

It would appear that a project of conquest had been entertained by Henry II., from the very commencement of his reign. The same year in which he came to the throne, witnessed the elevation to the popedom of the only Englishman that ever wore the triple crown—Nicholas Breakspear, who assumed the name of Adrian IV. Very soon after his coronation, Henry sent an embassy to Rome, at the head of which was the learned John of Salisbury, ostensibly to congratulate Adrian on his accession, but really to solicit the new pope for his sanction to the scheme of the conquest of Ireland. Adrian granted a bull, in the terms or to the effect desired, and before the end of the same year, the matter was submitted by Henry to a great council of his barons; but the undertaking was opposed by many of those present, and especially by his mother, the empress; and in consequence it was for the time given up.

Henry's attention was not recalled to the subject till many years after. The course of the story now carries us back again to Ireland, and to another of the provincial kings of that country of whom we have yet said nothing—Dermond MacMurrough, or Dermot MacMurchad, King of Lagena or Leinster. This prince had early signalized himself by his sanguinary ferocity, even on a stage where all the actors were men of blood. So far back as the year 1140, in order to break the power of his nobility, he had seventeen of the chief of them seized at once, all of whom that he did not put to death he deprived of their eyes. His most noted exploit, however, was of a different character. Dervorgilla, a lady of great beauty, was the wife of Tiernan O'Ruarc, the Lord of Breffny, a district in Leinster, and the old enemy of MacMurrough. The sworn foe of her husband, however, was the object of Dervorgilla's guilty passion; and, at her own suggestion, it is said, when her husband was absent on a military expedition, the King of Leinster came and carried her off. This happened in the year 1153, when the supreme sovereignty was in the possession of Turlogh O'Connor. To him O'Ruarc applied for the means of avenging his wrong, and received from him such effective assistance as to be enabled to recover both his wife and the property she had carried off with her. But from this time MacMurrough and O'Ruarc kept up a spiteful contest, with alternating fortunes, for many years. So long as Turlogh lived, O'Ruarc had a steady ally in the common sovereign, and the King of Leinster was effectually kept in check by their united power. The suc-

ceeding reign of O'Lochlin, on the other hand, was, for the whole of the ten years that it lasted, a period of triumphant revenge to MacMurrough. But the recovery of the supremacy, on O'Lochlin's death, by the house of O'Connor, at last put an end to the long and bitter strife. A general combination was now formed against the King of Leinster; King Roderick, the Lord of Breffny, and his father-in-law, the Prince of Meath, united their forces for the avowed purpose of driving him from his kingdom; they were joined by many of his own subjects, both Irish and Danish, to whom his tyranny had rendered him odious; and O'Ruarc put himself at the head of the whole. MacMurrough made some effort to defend himself; but finding himself deserted by all, he sought safety in flight, and left his kingdom for the present to the disposal of his conquerors. They set another prince of his own family on the vacant throne. Meanwhile the deposed and fugitive king had embarked for England, to seek the aid of King Henry, in return for which he was ready to acknowledge himself the vassal of the English monarch. On landing at Bristol, some time in the summer of 1167, he found that Henry was on the Continent, and thither he immediately proceeded. Henry, when he came to him in Aquitaine, was "busied," says Giraldus, "in great and weighty affairs, yet most courteously he received him and liberally rewarded him. And the king, having at large and orderly heard the causes of his exile, and of his repair unto him, he took his oath of allegiance and swore him to be his true vassal and subject, and thereupon granted and gave him letters-patent in manner and form as followeth: 'Henry, King of England, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and Earl of Anjou, unto all his subjects, Englishmen, Normans, Scots, and all other nations and people being his subjects, sendeth greeting. Whosoever these our letters shall come unto you, know ye that we have received Dermond, Prince of Leinster, into our protection, grace, and favour; wherefore, whosoever within our jurisdiction will aid and help him, our trusty subject, for the recovery of his land, let him be assured of our favour and license in that behalf.'"¹

It would scarcely appear, from the tenor of these merely permissive letters, that Henry looked forward to any result so important as the conquest of Ireland; the other "great and weighty affairs" had long withdrawn his thoughts from that project; and embarrassed both by his war with the French king, and his more serious contest with

¹ *Giraldus Cambrensis* (Gerald the Welshman). This writer's real name was Gerald Barry. He was nearly related to some of the chief personages who figure in the story of the conquest of Ireland, and he was living in Ireland at the time.

Becket at home, he was at present as little as ever in a condition to resume the serious consideration of it. MacMurrough, however, returned to England, well satisfied with what he had got. "And by his daily journeying," proceeds Giraldus, "he came at length unto the noble town of Bristow (Bristol), where, because ships and boats did daily repair, and come from out of Ireland, he, very desirous to hear of the state of his people and country, did, for a time, sojourn and make his abode; and whilst he was there, he would oftentimes cause the king's letters to be openly read, and did then offer great entertainment and promised liberal wages to all such as would help or serve him; but it served not." At length, however, he chanced to meet Richard de Clare, Earl of Pembroke, surnamed Strongbow, with whom he soon came to an agreement. Strongbow, on the promise of the hand of Dermond's eldest daughter, Eva, and the succession to the throne of Leinster, engaged to come over to Ireland, with a sufficient military force to effect the deposed king's restoration, in the following spring. A short time after this, Dermond, having gone to the town of St. David's, there made another engagement with two young noblemen, Maurice Fitz-Gerald and Robert Fitz-Stephen, both sons of the Lady Nesta, a daughter of one of the Welsh princes, who, after having been mistress to Henry I., married Gerald, governor of Pembroke Castle, and Lord of Carew, and finally became mistress to Stephen de Marisco or Maurice, constable of the castle of Cardigan: Fitz-Gerald was her son by her marriage, and Fitz-Stephen by her last-mentioned connection. To these two half-brothers, in consideration of their coming over to him with a certain force at the same time with Strongbow, Dermond engaged to grant the town of Wexford, with two cantreds (or hundreds) of land adjoining, in fee for ever. These arrangements being completed, "Dermond," continues the historian, "being weary of his exiled life and distressed estate, and therefore the more desirous to draw homewards for the recovery of his own, and for which he had so long travelled and sought abroad, he first went to the church of St. David's to make his orisons and prayers, and then, the weather being fair and wind good, he adventured the seas about the middle of August, and having a merry passage, he shortly landed in his ungrateful country; and, with a very impatient mind, hazarded himself among and through the middle of his enemies; and, coming safely to Ferns, he was very honourably received of the clergy there, who after their ability did refresh and succour him. But he for a time dissembling his princely estate, continued as a private man all that winter following among them." It would appear, however, that he was rash enough to show himself in

arms in the beginning of the year 1169, before any of his promised English succours had arrived; and that the result of this premature attempt was, that he was again easily beaten by King Roderick and O'Ruarc.

His allies in England meanwhile did not forget him. Robert Fitz-Stephen was the first to set out about the beginning of May, accompanied with thirty gentlemen of his own kindred, sixty men in coats of mail, and 300 picked archers; they shipped themselves in three small vessels, and sailing right across from St. David's Head, landed at a creek now called the Bann, about twelve miles to the south of the city of Wexford. Along with them also came the paternal uncle of Strongbow, Hervey de Montemurice or Mountmaurice. On the day following, two more vessels arrived at the same place, bearing Maurice of Prendergast, "a lusty and a hardy man, born about Milford, in West Wales," with ten more gentlemen and sixty archers. MacMurrough was not long in hearing of their arrival, and he instantly sent 500 men to join them, under his illegitimate son Donald, and "very shortly after, he himself also followed with great joy and gladness."¹

It was now determined to march upon the town of Wexford. "When they of the town," proceeds the narrative, "heard thereof, they being a fierce and unruly people, but yet much trusting to their wonted fortune, came forth about 2000 of them, and were determined to wage and give battle." On beholding the imposing armour and array of the English, however, they drew back, and, setting the suburbs on fire, took refuge within the walls of the town. For that day all the efforts of the assailants to effect an entrance were vain. The next morning, after the solemn celebration of mass, they made ready to renew the assault upon the town; but the besieged, seeing this, lost heart, and saved them further trouble by offering to surrender. Four of the chief inhabitants were given up to MacMurrough as pledges for the fidelity of their fellow-citizens; and he, on his part, immediately performed his promise to his English friends, by making over to Fitz-Stephen and Fitz-Gerald the town that had thus fallen into his hands, with the territories thereunto adjoining and appertaining. To Hervey de Mountmaurice he also gave two cantreds, lying along the seaside between Wexford and Waterford.

This first exploit was followed up by an incursion into the district of Ossory, the prince of which had well earned the enmity of MacMurrough by having some years before seized his eldest son, and put out his eyes. The Ossorians at first boldly stood their ground, and as long as they

¹ *Giraldus Cambrensis.*

kept to their bogs and woods, the invading force, though now increased by an accession from the town of Wexford to about 3000 men, made little impression upon them; but at last they were imprudent enough to allow themselves to be drawn into the open country, when Robert Fitz-Stephen fell upon them with a body of horse, and threw down the ill-armed and unprotected multitude, or scattered them in all directions; those that were thrown to the ground the foot-soldiers straight despatched, cutting off their heads with their battle-axes. Three hundred bleeding heads were laid at the feet of MacMurrough, "who, turning every of them, one by one, to know them, did then for joy hold up both his hands, and with a loud voice thanked God most highly. Among these there was the head of one whom especially and above all the rest he mortally hated; and he, taking up that by the hair and ears, with his teeth most horribly and cruelly bit away his nose and lips!" So nearly did an Irish king of the twelfth century resemble a modern savage chief of New Zealand. After this disaster, the people of Ossory made no further resistance; they suffered their invaders to march across the whole breadth of their country, murdering, spoiling, burning, and laying waste wherever they passed.

All this had taken place before anything was heard of MacMurrough's old enemies, King Roderick and O'Ruarc, whom surprise and alarm seem to have deprived at first of the power of action. But news was now brought that the monarch was levying an army, and that the princes and nobility of the land were, at his call, about to meet in a great council at the ancient royal seat of Tara, in Meath. On receiving this intelligence, MacMurrough and his English friends, withdrawing from Ossory, took up a position of great natural strength in the midst of the hills and bogs in the neighbourhood of Ferus. Their small force was speedily surrounded by the numerous army of King Roderick, and it would seem that, if they could not have been attacked in their stronghold, they might have been starved into a surrender, at no great expense of patience. But, notwithstanding the inferiority of their numbers, Roderick appears to have been a good deal more afraid of them than they were of him: disunion had broken out in the council, which, after assembling at Tara, had adjourned to Dublin; and the Irish king had probably reason to fear that, if he could not bring the affair to a speedy termination, he would soon be left in no condition to keep the field at all.

In this feeling he attempted, by presents and promises, to seduce Fitz-Stephen; failing in that, he next tried to persuade MacMurrough to come over and make common cause with his countrymen against the foreigners; at last, when there

was reason to apprehend that the enemy, encouraged by these manifestations of timidity, were about to come out and attack him, he actually sent messengers to sue for peace; on which, after some negotiation, it was agreed that MacMurrough should be reinstated in his kingdom.

It does not appear what terms MacMurrough professed to make in his treaty for his English allies. It is affirmed, that it was agreed between him and Roderick, that he should send them all home as soon as he had restored his kingdom to order, and in the meantime should procure no more of them to come over. But other forces were already on their way from England, and those in Ireland looked to remain there. This was soon proved by the arrival at Wexford of two more ships, bringing over Maurice Fitz-Gerald, with an additional force of ten gentlemen, thirty horsemen, and about 100 archers and foot soldiers. On receiving this accession of strength, MacMurrough immediately cast his recent engagements and oaths to the winds. His first movement with his new auxiliaries was against the city of Dublin, which had not fully returned to its submission: he soon compelled the citizens to sue for peace, to swear fealty to him, and to give hostages. He then sent a party of his English friends to assist his son-in-law, the Prince of Limerick, whose territory had been attacked by King Roderick. The royal forces were speedily defeated.

From this time MacMurrough and the English adventurers seem to have raised their hopes to nothing short of the conquest of the whole country. By their advice, he despatched messengers to England to urge the Earl of Pembroke to come over with his force immediately. All Leinster, he said, was completely reduced, and there could be no doubt that the earl's presence, with the force he had engaged to bring with him, would soon add the other provinces to that conquest.

Strongbow deemed it prudent, before he took any decided step, to inform King Henry of the proposal, and obtain the royal sanction to comply with it. Henry, with his usual deep policy, would only answer his request evasively; but the earl ventured to understand him in a favourable sense, and returned home with his mind made up for the venture. As soon as the winter was over, he sent to Ireland, as the first portion of his force, ten gentlemen and seventy archers, under the command of his relations, Raymond Fitz-William, surnamed, from his corpulency, *Le Gros*, or the Gross, afterwards altered into the Anglo Irish name of Grace. He and his company landed at a rock about four miles east from the city of Waterford, then called Dundonolf, afterwards the site of the castle of Dundorogh, in the beginning of May, 1170. They had scarcely time to

cast a trench and to build themselves a temporary fort of turf and twigs, when they were attacked by a body of 3000 of the people of Waterford; but this mob were scattered with frightful slaughter. Five hundred of them were cut down in the pursuit; and then, as Giraldus asserts, the "victors, being weary with killing, cast a great number of those whom they had taken prisoners headlong from the rocks into the seas, and so drowned them."

The Earl of Pembroke did not set sail till the beginning of September. He then embarked at Milford Haven, with a force of 200 gentlemen, and 1000 inferior fighting men, and on the vigil of St. Bartholomew, landed in the neighbourhood of the city of Waterford, which still remained unreduced. On the following day, Raymond le Gros came with great joy to welcome him, attended by forty of his company. "And on the morrow, upon St. Bartholomew's Day, being Tuesday, they displayed their banners, and in good array they marched to the walls of the city, being fully bent and determined to give the assault." The citizens, however, defended themselves with great spirit; and the assailants were

together with a piece of the town wall; and then, a way being thus opened, they entered into the city, and killed the people in the streets without pity or mercy, leaving them lying in great heaps; and thus, with bloody hands, they obtained a bloody victory." MacMurrough arrived along with Fitz-Gerald and Fitz-Stephen while the work of plunder and carnage was still proceeding; and it was in the midst of the desolation which followed the sacking of the miserable city, that, in fulfilment of his compact with Strongbow, the marriage ceremony was solemnized between his daughter Eva and that nobleman.

Immediately after this they again spread their banners, and set out on their march for Dublin. The inhabitants of that city, who were mostly of Danish race, had taken the precaution of stationing troops at different points along the common road from Waterford; but MacMurrough led his followers by another way among the mountains, and, to the consternation of the citizens, made his appearance before the walls ere they were aware that he had left Waterford. A negotiation was attempted, but, while it was still going on, Raymond and his friend, Miles

or Milo de Cogan, "more willing to purchase honour in the wars than gain it in peace, with a company of lusty young gentlemen, suddenly ran to the walls, and, giving the assault, brake in, entered the city, and obtained the victory, making no small slaughter of their enemies." Leaving Dublin in charge of Milo de Cogan, Strongbow next proceeded, on the instigation of MacMurrough, to invade the district of Meath, anciently considered the fifth province of Ireland, and set apart as the peculiar territory of the supreme sovereign, but which King Roderick



REGINALD'S OR THE RING TOWER, Waterford. ¹—From the Picturesque Annual.

twice driven back from the walls. But Raymond, who, by the consent of all, had been appointed to the command, now "having espied a little house of timber, standing half upon posts without the walls, called his men together, and encouraged them to give a new assault at that place; and having hewed down the posts whereupon the house stood, the same fell down, to-

rick had lately made over to his friend O'Ruarc. The Anglo-Norman chief, although he seems to have met with no resistance from the inhabitants, now laid it waste from one end to the other. While all this was going on, the only effort in behalf of his crown or his country that Roderick is recorded to have made, was the sending a rhetorical message to MacMurrough, commanding him to return to his allegiance and dismiss his foreign allies, if he did not wish that the life of his son, whom he had left in pledge, should be sacrificed. To this threat MacMurrough at once replied that he never would desist from his enterprise until he had not only subdued all Connaught, but won to himself the monarchy of all Ireland. Infu-

¹ The Irish name of this tower is Dundery, or the King's Fort. Its history is briefly recorded in the following inscription placed over the doorway:—"In the year 1003, this Tower was erected by Reginald the Dane—in 1171, was held as a fortress by Strongbow, Earl of Pembroke—in 1463, by statute 34 of Edward IV., a mint was established here—in 1819, it was re-edified in its original form, and appropriated to the police establishment by the corporate body of the city of Waterford."

riated by this defiance, the other savage instantly gave orders to cut off MacMurrough's son's head.

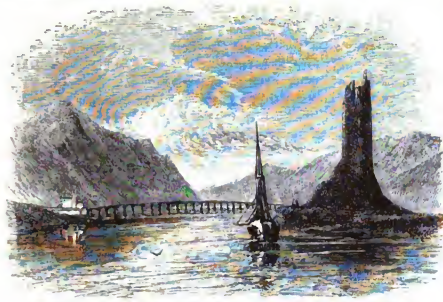
But now the adventurers were struck on a sudden with no little perplexity by the arrival of a proclamation from King Henry, prohibiting the passing of any more ships from any port in England to Ireland, and commanding all his subjects now in the latter country to return from thence before Easter, on pain of forfeiting all their lands and being for ever banished from the realm. A consultation being held in this emergency, it was resolved that Raymond le Gros should be despatched to the king, who was in Aquitaine, with letters from Strongbow reminding Henry that he had taken up the cause of Dermot MacMurrough (as he conceived) with the royal permission; and acknowledging for himself and his companions, that whatever they had acquired in Ireland, either by gift or otherwise, they considered not their own, but as held for him their liege lord, and as being at his absolute disposal. The immediate effect of the proclamation was to deal a heavy blow at their cause, by the discouragement it spread among their adherents, and by cutting off the supplies both of men and victuals they had counted upon receiving from England.

Things were in this state when a new enemy suddenly appeared—a body of Danes and Norwegians brought to attack the city of Dublin by its former Danish ruler, who had made his escape when it was lately taken, and had been actively employed ever since in preparing and fitting out this armament. They came in sixty ships, and as soon as they had landed proceeded to the assault. "They were all mighty men of war," says the description of them in Giraldus, "and well appointed after the Danish manner." The attack was made upon the east gate of the city, and Milo de Cogan soon found that the small force under his command could make no effective resistance. But the good fortune that had all along waited upon him and his associates was still true to them. His brother, seeing how he was pressed, led out a few men by the south gate, and attacking the assailants from behind, spread such confusion through their ranks, that after a short effort to recover themselves, they gave way to their panic and took to flight. Great numbers of them were slain, and their leader himself, being taken prisoner, so exasperated the Anglo-Norman commander when he was brought into his presence, that Milo de Cogan ordered his head to be struck off on the spot.

It would appear to have been not long after this that Dermot MacMurrough died, on which it is said that Strongbow took the title and assumed the authority of King of Leinster in right of his wife. Raymond le Gros had now also returned from Aquitaine; he had delivered the

letter with which he was charged, but Henry had sent no answer, and had not even admitted him to his presence. Meanwhile, on the side of the Irish, there was one individual, Laurence, Archbishop of Dublin, who saw that the moment was favourable for yet another effort to save the country. Chiefly by his exertions, a great confederacy was formed of all the native princes, together with those of Man and the other surrounding islands, and a force was assembled around Dublin, with King Roderick as its commander-in-chief, of the amount, it is affirmed, of 30,000 men. Strongbow and Raymond, and Maurice Fitz-Gerald had all thrown themselves into the city, but their united forces did not make twice as many hundreds as the enemy numbered thousands. For the space of two months, however, the investing force appears to have sat still in patient expectation. Their hope was, that want of victuals would compel the garrison to surrender; and at length a message came from Strongbow, and a negotiation was opened; but before any arrangement was concluded, an extraordinary turn of fortune suddenly changed the whole position of affairs. While the besieged were anxiously deliberating on what it would be best for them to do, Donald Kavenagh, a son of the late King MacMurrough, contrived to make his way into the city, and informed them that their friend, Fitz-Stephen, was besieged by the people of Wexford in his castle of Carrig, near that place, and that, if not relieved within a few days, he would assuredly, with his wife and children, and the few men who were with him, fall into the hands of the enemy. Fitz-Gerald proposed, and Raymond seconded the gallant counsel, that, rather than seek to preserve their lives with the loss of all besides, they should make a bold attempt to cut their way to their distressed comrades, and, at the worst, die like soldiers and knights. The animating appeal nerved every heart. With all speed each man got ready and buckled on his armour, and the little band was soon set in array in three divisions. All things being thus arranged, about the hour of nine in the morning, they suddenly rushed forth from one of the gates, and threw themselves upon the vast throng of the enemy, whom their sudden onset so bewildered and confounded, that, while many were killed or thrown to the ground, the bold assailants scarcely encountered any resistance, and in a short time the scattered host was flying before them in all directions. King Roderick himself escaped with difficulty, and almost undressed, for he had been regaling himself with the luxury of a bath. Great store of victuals, armour, and other spoils was found in the deserted camp, with which the victors returned at night to the city, and there set everything in

order, and left a garrison well provided with all necessities, before setting out the next morning to the relief of their friends at Wexford.



SITE OF CARRICK OR CARRIO CASTLE, NEAR WEXFORD. 1.—From Hall's *Ireland*.

The earl and his company marched on unopposed till they came to a narrow pass in the midst of bogs, in a district called the Odrone or Idrone. Here they found the way blocked up by a numerous force, but after a sharp action, in which the Irish leader fell, they succeeded in overcoming this hinderance, and were enabled to pursue their journey. They had nearly reached Wexford when intelligence was received that Fitz-Stephen and his companions were in the hands of the enemy. After standing out for several days against the repeated attacks of 3000 men, he and those with him, consisting of only five gentlemen and a few archers, had been induced to deliver up the fort, on receiving an assurance, solemnly confirmed by the oaths of the Bishops of Kildare and Wexford, and others of the clergy, that Dublin had fallen, and that the earl, with all the rest of their friends there, were killed. They promised Fitz-Stephen that, if he would surrender, they would conduct him to a place of safety, and secure him and his men from the vengeance of King Roderick. But as soon as they had got possession of their persons, "some," according to Giraldus, "they killed, some they beat, some they wounded, and some they cast into prison." Fitz-

Stephen himself they carried away with them to an island called Beg-Eri, or Little Erin, lying not far from Wexford, having fled thither, after setting that town on fire, when they heard that Strongbow had got out of Dublin, and was on his march to their district. They now sent to inform the earl that, if he continued his approach, they would cut off the heads of Fitz-Stephen and his companions. Deterred by this threat, Strongbow deemed it best to turn aside from Wexford, and to take his way to Waterford.

Meanwhile, it had been determined to make another application to Henry; and Hervey of Mountmaurice had been despatched to England for that purpose. On reaching Waterford, Strongbow found Hervey there, just returned, with the king's commands that the earl should repair to him without delay. He and Hervey accordingly took ship. As soon as they landed, they proceeded to where Henry was, at Newnham, in Gloucestershire. He had returned from the Continent about two months before, and had ever since been actively employed in collecting and equipping an army and fleet, and making other preparations for passing over into Ireland. When Strongbow presented himself, he at first refused to see him; but after a short time he consented to receive his offers of entire submission. It was agreed that the earl should surrender to the king, in full possession, the city of Dublin, and all other towns and forts which he held along the coast of Ireland; on which condition he should be allowed to retain the rest of his acquisitions under subjection to the English crown. This arrangement being concluded, the king, attended by Strongbow and other lords, embarked at Milford. His force consisted of 500 knights or gentlemen, and about 4000 common soldiers. He landed at a place now called the Crook, near Waterford, on the 18th of October, 1171.

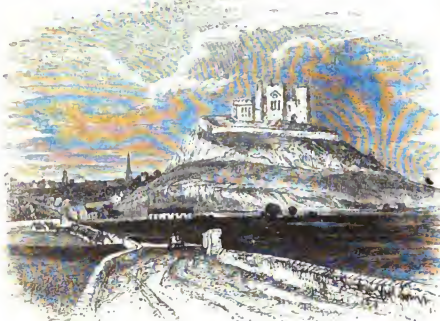
In the short interval that had elapsed since the departure of Strongbow, another attack had been made upon Dublin by Tiernan O'Ruarc; but the forces of the Irish prince were dispersed with great slaughter in a sudden sally by Milo de Cogan. This proved the last effort, for the present, of Irish Independence. When the English king made his appearance in the country, he found its conquest already achieved, and nothing remaining for him to do except to receive the eagerly-offered submission of its various princes

1 "A little farther on and we arrive at a most interesting relic of ancient days—the site of Carrick Castle, the first castle that was built by the Anglo-Normans in Ireland—not the small antique tower which, situated on the pinnacle of a rock, forms one of the most strikingly picturesque objects in the kingdom, and which has long usurped the name and 'honours' of the fortress of Fitz-Stephen. The true castle of the first Anglo-Norman 'adventurer and conqueror'—was on the opposite side of the river, a stately pile that crowned the summit of a rugged hill, barely enough of which now remains to mark the space it occupied—for the plough has passed over nearly the whole of it."—Hall's *Ireland*.

and chieftains. The first that presented themselves were the citizens of Wexford, who had so treacherously obtained possession of the person of Fitz-Stephen; and they endeavoured to make a merit of this discreditable exploit—bringing their prisoner along with them as a rebellious subject, whom they had seized while engaged in making war without the consent of his sovereign. Before Henry removed from Waterford, the King of Cork, or Desmond, came to him of his own accord, and took his oath of fealty. From Waterford he proceeded with his army to Lismore, and thence to Cashel, near to which city, on the banks of the Suir, he received the homage of the other chief

the monarch," it is added, "came no nearer than to the side of the river Shannon, which divideth Connaught from Meath, and there Hugh de Lacy and William Fitz-Aldelm, by the king's commandment, met him, who, desiring peace, submitted himself, swore allegiance, became tributary, and did put in (as all others did) hostages and pledges for the keeping of the same. Thus was all Ireland, saving Ulster, brought in subjection." After this, Henry kept his Christmas in Dublin, the feast being held in a temporary erection, constructed, after the Irish fashion, of wicker work, while the Irish princes, his guests, were astonished at the sumptuousness of the entertainment.

Henry remained in Ireland for some months longer, and during his stay, called together a council of the clergy at Cashel, at which a number of constitutions or decrees were passed for the regulation of the church, and the reform of the ecclesiastical discipline, in regard to certain points where its laxity had long afforded matter of complaint and reproach. He is also said, by Matthew Paris, to have held a lay council at Lismore, at which provision was made for the extension to Ireland of the English laws. Henry employed all his arts of policy to attach Raymond le Gros, and the other principal English adventurers settled in Ireland, to his



CASHEL.—Drawn by J. S. Prout, from his sketch on the spot.

Munster prince, the King of Thomond or Limerick. The Prince of Ossory, and the other inferior chiefs of Munster, hastened to follow the example of their betters; and Henry, after receiving their submission, and leaving garrisons both in Cork and Limerick, returned through Tipperary to Waterford. Soon after, leaving Robert Fitz-Bernard in command there, he set out for Dublin. Wherever he stopped on his march, the neighbouring princes and chiefs repaired to him, and acknowledged themselves his vassals. Among them was Tiernan O'Ruarc. "But Roderick,

interest, that he might thereby the more weaken the Earl of Pembroke and strengthen himself. At last, about the middle of Lent, ships arrived both from England and Aquitaine, and brought such tidings as determined the king to lose no time in again taking his way across the sea. So, having appointed Hugh de Lacy to be governor of Dublin, and, as such, his chief representative in his realm of Ireland, he set sail from Wexford at sunrise on Easter Monday, the 17th of April, 1172, and about noon of the same day, landed at Portlennan, in Wales.

¹ On the rock of Cashel, which rises boldly from a fertile plain, formerly was situated the residence of the Kings of Munster. Here, in 1666, we are informed by Sir James Ware (Ware's works), that he has seen the stone on which those reguli were inaugurated, and where they are said to have received their subordinate toparcha. The town, now much decayed, is chiefly planted round the southern and eastern sides of a mass of limestone. A remarkable stone-roofed chapel, and a round tower adjoining, are ascribed to Cormac, son of Cullenan, King of Munster and Bishop of Cashel, about the beginning of the tenth century, whose ancestor, Angus, was a disciple of the famous Patric at the period of the introduction of Christianity into Ireland; but the chapel is considered, upon better authority, to

have been founded by Cormac MacCarthy, King of Munster and Bishop of Cashel, in the eleventh century. Both the chapel and the round tower were evidently erected prior to the foundation of the cathedral, which was built by Donald O'Brien, King of Limerick, immediately before the arrival of the English, towards the latter part of the twelfth century. The cathedral is cruciform, the choir and southern transept embracing Cormac's chapel on two sides. The abbey of the rock of Cashel, of which some remains still exist, was founded by David MacCarwell about 1260. A wall, intended for defence, surrounds the platform on which the ruins stand. Some of the bastions belonging to this wall were standing at the beginning of the present century.

It is probable that Henry's very imperfect occupation of Ireland did not greatly increase his resources, but it added to his reputation both in England and on the Continent. The envy that accompanied his successes, and the old jealousy of his power, might have failed to do him any serious injury, or touch any sensitive part, but for the dissensions existing in his own family. At this period the king had four sons living—Henry, Richard, Geoffrey, and John—of the respective ages of eighteen, sixteen, fifteen, and five years. He had been an indulgent father, and had made a splendid, and what he considered a judicious provision, for them all. His eldest son was to succeed, not only to England, but to Normandy, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine; Richard was invested with the states of his mother, Aquitaine and Poitou; Geoffrey was to have Brittany, in right of his wife, the daughter of Conan; and Ireland was destined to be the appanage of John.

At the coronation of Prince Henry by the Archbishop of York, which had already occasioned much trouble, his consort, the daughter of the French king, was not allowed to be crowned with him; and this omission being resented by Louis, led to fresh quarrels. The king at last consented that the ceremony should be repeated; and Margaret was then crowned as well as her husband. Soon after this, the young couple visited the French court, where Louis stimulated the impatient ambition of his youthful son-in-law, and incited him to an unnatural rebellion against his own father. It had been the practice in France, ever since the establishment of the Capetian dynasty, to crown the eldest son during the father's lifetime, without giving him any present share of the territories or government; but young Henry was persuaded by Louis, that by being crowned, he obtained a right of immediate participation; and, as soon as he returned, he expressed his desire that the king, his father, would resign to him either England or Nor-

mandy. Henry rejected this strange demand, telling the youth to have patience till his death, when he would have states and power enough. His son expressed astonishment at the refusal, used very unedifying language, and never more exchanged words of real love or sincere peace with his parent. The vindictive Eleanor gave encouragement to her son, and fomented his horrible hatred; and the "elder king,"¹ as Henry was now called, was punished for the infidelities which had long since alienated the affections of his wife. Being at Limoges, Raymond, the Earl of Toulouse, who had quarrelled with the King of France, and renounced his allegiance, went suddenly to Henry, and warned him to have an eye on his wife and son, and make sure of the castles of Poitou and Aquitaine. Without showing his suspicions to young Henry, who was with him, the king contrived to provision his fortresses, and assure himself of the fidelity of the commanders. On their return from Aquitaine, he and his son stopped to sleep at the town of Chinon; and during the night the son fled. The father pursued, but could not overtake the fugitive, who reached Argenton, and thence passed by night into the territories of the French king.

A few days
A.D. 1173 (March).

after the flight of Henry, his brothers, Richard and Geoffrey, also fled to the French court, and Queen Eleanor herself, who had urged them to the step, absconded from her husband. Though not for any love that he bore her, the king was anxious to recover his wife; and at his orders the Norman bishops threatened her with the censures of the church, unless she returned and brought her sons with her. She was seized as she was trying to find her way to the French court (where she must have met her former husband), dressed in man's clothes. Henry, the husband of her old age, was not so soft and meek towards her as Louis, the consort of her youthful years. He committed



ELEANOR, QUEEN OF HENRY II.
From the effigy at Fontevraud.

¹ Rex senior.

² It was commonly understood that the royal effigies at Fontevraud were destroyed during the French revolution. The depository of our early kings was found by Stothard, in the course of his researches, in a state of ruin; but proceeding further, he found the whole of the effigies in a cellar of one of the buildings adjoining the abbey. When the fury of the Revolution had subsided, they were removed from the ruined church to a building called the Tour d'Evraud, where they remained

for eighteen years; but this being converted into a prison, they were again removed to the place where they were discovered by Stothard. The effigies are four in number:—Henry II., his queen Eleanor de Guienne, Richard I., and Isabel d'Angoulême, the queen of John. They have all been painted and gilt three or four times; and from the style of the last painting, it is probable that it was executed when the effigies were removed from their original situation in the choir.—Stothard's *Monumental Effigies of Great Britain*.

her to the custody of one of his most trustworthy chateaux; and with the exception of a few weeks, when her presence was necessary for a political object, she was kept in confinement for sixteen years,¹ and not liberated till after his death. Before matters came to extremities, Henry despatched two bishops to the French court to demand, in the name of paternal authority, that his fugitive sons should be delivered up to him. Louis received these ambassadors in a public manner, having at his right hand young Henry, who wore his crown as King of England; and when they recapitulated, as usual, the titles and style of their employer, they were told that there was no other King of England than the one beside him. In fact, young Henry was recognized as sole King of England in a general assembly of the barons and bishops of the kingdom of France. King Louis swore first, and his lords swore after him, to aid and assist the son with all their might to expel his father from his kingdom; and then young Henry swore first, and his brothers swore after him, in the order of their seniority, that they would never conclude peace or truce with their father without the consent and concurrence of the barons of France.² A great seal, like that of England, was manufactured, in order that young Henry might affix it to his treaties and charters. By the feast of Easter the plans of the rebellious boy and his confederates were matured. The scheme was bold and extensive; the confederates were numerous, including, besides the King of France, whose reward was not committed to a written treaty, William, King of Scotland, who was to receive all that his predecessors had possessed in Northumberland and Cumberland, in payment of his services, and Philip, Earl of Flanders, who was to have a grant of the earldom of Kent, with the castles of Dover and Rochester, for his share in the partricial war.

Like the great Conqueror under similar circumstances, Henry saw himself deserted even by his favourite courtiers, and by many of the men whom he had taught the art of war, and invested with the honours of chivalry with his own hands. According to a contemporary, it was a painful and desolating sight for him to see those whom he had honoured with his confidence, and intrusted with the care of his chamber, his person, his very life, deserting him, one by one, to join his enemies; for nearly every night some of them stole away, and those who had attended him in the evening did not appear at his call in the morning.³ But Henry's strength of character and consummate abilities were quite equal to the difficulties of his situation, and in the midst of his greatest trouble

he maintained a cheerful countenance, and pursued his usual amusements, hunting and hawking, even more than his wont, and was more gay and affable than ever towards the companions that remained with him.⁴ His courtiers and knights might flee, but Henry had a strong party, and wise ministers and commanders, selected by his sagacity, in most of his states, and in England more than all; he had also money in abundance; and these circumstances gave him confidence, without relaxing his precaution and exertions. Twenty thousand Brabançons, who sold their services to the best bidder, flocked to the standard of the richest monarch of the west of Europe. Not relying wholly on arms, he sent messengers to all the neighbouring princes who had sons, to interest them in his favour; and, as his case might be their own, should encouragement and success attend filial disobedience, their sympathy was tolerably complete. In addressing the pope, he worked upon other feelings; and here his present object hurried him into expressions of submission and vassalage, which contributed no doubt to form the grounds of future and dangerous pretensions. He declared that the kingdom of England belonged to the jurisdiction of the pope, and that he, as king thereof, was bound to him by all the obligations imposed by the feudal law; and he implored the pontiff to defend with his spiritual arms the *patrimony of St. Peter*. The rebellious son applied to the court of Rome as well as his father; and it may be stated generally, that if the popes meddled largely with the secular affairs of princes, it was not without their being tempted and invited so to do. The letter of the "junior king," as the young Henry was called, was a composition of singular impudence and falsehood. He attributed his quarrel with his father to the interest he took in the cause of Becket, and his desire of avenging his death. "The villains," he said, "who murdered within the walls of the temple my foster-father, the glorious martyr of Christ, St. Thomas of Canterbury, remain safe and sound; they still strike their roots in the earth, and no act of royal vengeance has followed so atrocious and unheard-of a crime. I could not suffer this criminal neglect, and such was the first and strongest cause of the present discord; the blood of the martyr cried to me; I could not render it the vengeance and honours that were due to him, but at least I showed my reverence in visiting the tomb of the holy martyr in the view and to the astonishment of the whole kingdom. My father was wrathful against me therefore, but I fear not offending my father when the cause of Christ is concerned."⁵ The youthful hypocrite made most

¹ Hoved.: R. Dictio; Neub.; Script. Rer. Franc.

² Gervase.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Hoved.: Matt. Par.; Gerv. Dorob.

⁵ Script. Rer. Franc.

liberal offers to the church; but the pope rejected his application, and even confirmed the sentence of excommunication pronounced by the bishops of Normandy against the king's revolted subjects. At the same time a legate was despatched across the Alps with the laudable object of putting an end to the unnatural quarrel by exhortation and friendly mediation; but before he arrived, the sword was drawn which it was difficult to sheathe; for national antipathies, and popular interests and passions were engaged, that would not follow the uncertain movements of paternal indulgence, on one side, or filial repentance on the other. In the month of June, the war began on several points at once. Philip, Earl of Flanders, entered Normandy, and gained considerable advantages; but his brother and heir being killed at a siege, he thought he saw the hand of God in the event, and he soon left the country, most bitterly repenting having engaged in such an impious war. The King of France, with his loving son-in-law, Prince Henry of England, were not more successful than the Earl of Flanders, and were first checked and then put to rapid flight by a division of the Brabançons. Prince Geoffrey, who had been joined by the Earl of Chester, was equally unfortunate in Brittany, and the cause of the confederates was covered with defeat and shame. King Louis, according to his old custom, soon grew weary of the war, and desired an interview with Henry, who condescended to grant it. This conference of peace was held on an open plain, between Gisors and Trie, under a venerable elm of "most grateful aspect," the branches of which descended to the earth,¹ the centre of the primitive scene where the French kings and the Norman dukes had been accustomed for some generations to hold their parleys for truce or peace.

Instead of leading to peace, the present conference embittered the war, and ended in a disgraceful exhibition of violence. The Earl of Leicester, who attended with the princes, insulted Henry to his face, and, drawing his sword, would have killed or wounded his king had he not been forcibly prevented. Hostilities commenced forthwith; but when Louis was a principal in a war against Henry, it was seldom prosecuted with any vigour, and the rest of that year was spent on the Continent in insignificant operations. In England, however, some important events took place; for Richard de Lucy repulsed the Scots, who had begun to make incursions, burned their town of Berwick, ravaged the Lothians, and, on his return from this victorious expedition, defeated and took prisoner the great Earl of Leicester, who had recrossed the Channel, and, in alliance with Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, was

attempting to light the flames of civil war in the heart of England. It is honourable alike to Henry and his government and the people, that the insurgents never had a chance of success in England.

The allies now showed more resolution than during the preceding

A.D. 1174. year, and acted upon a plan which was well calculated to embarrass Henry. Louis, with the junior King of England, attacked the frontiers of Normandy. Geoffrey tried his fortune again in Brittany. Prince Richard, who began his celebrated warlike career by fighting against his own father, headed a formidable insurrection in Poitou and Aquitaine. Relying on the Norman barons for the defence of Normandy and Brittany, Henry marched against his son Richard, and soon took the town of Saintes and the fortress of Taillebourg, drove the insurgents from several other castles, and partially restored order to the country. Returning then towards Anjou, he devastated the frontier of Poitou, and was preparing to reduce the castles there, when the Bishop of Winchester arrived with news which rendered the king's presence indispensable on the other side of the sea. The Scots, as had been preconceived, were again pouring into the northern counties, and had already taken several towns. Roger de Mowbray had raised the standard of revolt in Yorkshire; Earl Ferrers, joined by David, Earl of Huntingdon, brother to the Scottish king, had done the same in the central counties. In the east, Hugh Bigod, with 700 knights, had taken the castle of Norwich; and at the same time a formidable fleet, prepared by his eldest son and the Earl of Flanders, was ready on the opposite coast to attempt a descent on England, where endeavours were again making to alienate the affections of the people by the old story of the king being guilty of Becket's murder. The bishop had scarcely finished his dismal news ere the king, with his court, was on horseback for the coast, and, embarking in the midst of a storm, he sailed for England, taking with him, as prisoners, his own wife Eleanor, and his eldest son's wife Margaret, who had not been able to follow her husband to the court of her father. Although he had still maintained an outward appearance of tranquillity, his heart was aching at the rebellion of his children and the treachery of his friends. Sorrow disposes the mind to devotional feelings, and Henry's high powers of intellect did not exempt him from the superstition of the times. Some sincerity may possibly have mingled in the feelings and motives that dictated the extraordinary course he now pursued, though, seeing the political expediency of resorting to a striking measure to remove all doubts from the people, and bring their devotional feelings to his

¹ *Ulmus erat visa gratissima, ramis ad terram redeuntibus.*—*Script. Rer. Franc.*

side, we would not venture to affirm that this sincerity was very great, or was the sole motive of his conduct. All attempts to depress the fame of Becket had failed—the pope had recently inscribed his name in the list of saints and martyrs—the miracles said to be worked over his festering body were now recognized by bishops and priests, and reported with amplifications which grew in proportion to their distance from the spot, by the credulous multitude. The English had not had a native saint for a long time, and they determined to make the most of him. It was on the 8th of July that Henry landed at Southampton. He had scarcely set foot on shore, when, without waiting to refresh himself after the fatigues and discomforts of a rough sea voyage, he mounted his horse and took the nearest road to Canterbury, performing his pilgrimage in a manner far from being so agreeable as those jocund expeditions described by Chaucer a century and a half later. He took no refreshment save bread and water, and rode on his way by night. As the day dawned he came in sight of the towers of Canterbury Cathedral, still at the distance of some miles, and instantly dismounting from his horse, he threw off his royal dress, undid his sandals, and walked the rest of his way barefoot like the veriest penitent. The roads were rough, and as the king passed through the gateway of Canterbury, his subjects were touched and edified by the sight of his blood, which fell at every step he took from his wounded feet. When he arrived at the cathedral, he descended at once into the crypt, and, while the bells tolled slowly, he threw himself with sobs and tears upon the grave of Becket, and there remained with his face pressed to the cold earth in the presence of many people; an attitude more affecting and convincing perhaps than the discourse of the bishop overhead. Gilbert Foliot, formerly Bishop of Hereford, now of London, and the same who, three years and a half before, had proposed to throw the body of Becket into a ditch, or hang it on a gibbet, but who now, with the rest, acknowledged him to be a blessed and glorious martyr, ascended the pulpit and addressed the multitude. "Be it known to you, as many as are here present, that Henry, King of England, invoking, for his soul's salvation, God and the holy martyrs, solemnly protests before you all that he never ordered, or know-

ingly caused, or even desired the death of the saint; but, as possibly the murderers took advantage of some words imprudently pronounced, he has come to do penance before the bishops here assembled, and has consented to submit his naked flesh to the rods of discipline." The bishop conjured the people to believe the assertions of their king; and, as he ceased speaking, Henry arose like a spectre, and walked through the church and cloisters to the chapter-house, where, again prostrating himself, and throwing off the upper part of his dress, he confessed to the minor offence, and was scourged by all the ecclesiastics present, who amounted to eighty persons. The bishops and abbots, who were few, handled the knotted cords first, and then followed the monks, every one inflicting from three to five lashes, and saying, as he gave them, "Even as Christ was scourged for the sins of men, so be thou scourged for thine own sin." The blows, no doubt, were dealt with a light hand, but the whole show was startling, and such as had never before been heard of. Nor was the penance of the king yet over. He returned to the subterranean vault, and again prostrating himself by Becket's tomb,



CRYPT OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL, looking north-west.—Britton's Canterbury.

he spent the rest of the day and the following night in prayers and tears, taking no nourishment, and never quitting the spot; "but as he came so he remained, without carpet or any such thing beneath him."¹ At early dawn, after the service of matins, he ascended from the vault and made the tour of the upper church, praying before all the altars and relics there. When the sun rose he heard mass, and then, having drunk some holy water blessed by the martyr himself,

¹ *Gene. Dorob.*

and having filled a small bottle with the precious fluid, he mounted his horse and rode to London with a light and joyous heart. A burning fever, however, followed all this fatigue and penance, and confined him for several days to his chamber.¹ On the fifth night of his malady, a messenger arrived from the north, and announced himself to the suffering monarch as the servant of Ranulf de Glanville, a name memorable in the history of our laws and constitution, and a most dear friend of Henry. "Is Glanville in health?" said the king. "My lord is well," replied the servant, "and your enemy, the King of Scots, is his prisoner." Starting upright, Henry cried, "Repeat those words." The man repeated them, and delivered his master's letters, which fully informed the overjoyed king of the fact. On the morning of the 12th of July, Glanville had surprised William the Lion as he was tilting in a meadow near Alnwick Castle, with only sixty Scottish lords near him, and had made the whole party captives. By a remarkable coincidence, this signal advantage was gained on the very day (it was said by some on the very hour) on which Henry achieved his reconciliation with the martyr at Canterbury.²

Indisposition, and the languor it leaves, soon departed, and Henry was again on horseback, and at the head of a numerous and enthusiastic army; for the people of England flocked to his standard, and filled the land with an indignant cry against the leaders and abettors of an unnatural revolt. The insurgents did not wait the coming of the king, but dispersed in all directions, their chiefs purchasing their pardon by the surrender of their castles. According to a French chronicler, so many were taken that it was difficult to find prisons for them all.³ The Scots, disheartened by the capture of their sovereign, retreated beyond the border, and peace being restored at home, the active Henry was enabled, within three weeks, to carry the army which had been raised to subdue the revolt in England, across the seas to Normandy.

When the Earl of Flanders, who was now the soul of the confederacy, had made ready to invade England, he counted on the absence of the king, whose prompt return disconcerted that measure. Changing his plan, therefore, he repaired to Normandy, and joining his forces with those of King Louis and Henry's eldest son, laid siege to Rouen, the capital. But he was scarcely there when the King of England was after him, and surprised

all his stores and provisions. In a few days the allied army was not only obliged to raise the siege, but also to retreat out of Normandy. Humbled by the rapidity, the genius, and good fortune of the English monarch, the confederates, following the advice of Louis, the very king of conferences, requested an armistice and a meeting for the arrangement of a general peace. Of his rebellious children, Henry and Geoffrey offered to submit to these arrangements; but young Richard, who had begun to taste the joys of war, and the "raptures of the fight," which were to be his greatest pleasures till the hour of his death—and who was supported by the restless nobility of Aquitaine, and was led by the counsels of the indefatigable lord who held Hautefort,⁴ the famous Bertrand de Born—refused to be included, and persisted in open war against his father. But the rash boy lost castle after castle, and, at the end of six weeks, was fain to throw himself at the feet of his forgiving parent, and accompany him to the congress or conference.

The conditions of the peace were made easy by the mildness and moderation of Henry. He received from the French king and the Flemish earl all the territories they had overrun since the commencement of the war, and he restored to those princes whatever he had conquered or occupied himself. With one important exception, he also set at liberty all his prisoners, to the number of 969 knights. To his eldest son he assigned, for present enjoyment, two castles in Normandy, and a yearly allowance of £15,000 Angevin money; to Richard, two castles in Poitou, with half the revenue of that earldom; to Geoffrey, two castles in Brittany, with half the rents of the estates that had belonged to his father-in-law elect (for the marriage was not yet consummated) Earl Conan, with a promise of the remainder. With these conditions the impatient youths professed themselves satisfied, and they engaged henceforth to love, honour, and obey their father. Richard and Geoffrey did homage, and took the oaths of fealty; but Henry, the eldest son, was exempted from these ceremonies. The exception made in liberating the prisoners, was in the important person of the Scottish king, who had been carried over to the Continent, and thrown into the strong castle of Falaise, where he was kept until the following month of December, when he obtained his enlargement by kneeling to Henry, and acknowledging himself, in the set forms of vassalage, his "liege man against all men." By the degrading treaty of Falaise, the independence of Scotland was nominally sacrificed; and from the signing of it in December, 1174, to the accession of Richard I., in December,

¹ *Ger vase; Hen. Hunt.; Girald.; Diceto; Hoved.; Neub.* Previous to this pilgrimage to Canterbury, Henry had done penance for Becket's murder in the cathedral of Avranches in Normandy. The church is now a ruin, but according to tradition, a flat stone, with a cup engraved upon it, still marks the spot of kingly humiliation.—*Stothard's Tour in Normandy.*

² *Newb.; Hoved.; Ger vase.*

³ *Script. Rer. Franc.*

⁴ "Colui che già tenne Altaforte."—*Dante's Inferno.*

1189, when a formal release from all obligations was granted for the sum of 10,000 marks, she may be said to have figured as a dependent province of England.¹

A.D. 1175. Henry now enjoyed about eight years of profound peace; but, as active in civil affairs as in those of war, he devoted this time, and all his energies, to the reform of the internal administration of his dominions. His reputation for wisdom, judicial ability, and power, now stood so high in Europe, that Alfonso, King of Castile, and his uncle, Sancho, King of Navarre, who had been disputing for some years about the boundaries of their respective territories, turning from the uncertain arbitrament of the sword, referred their difference to the decision of the "just and impartial" English monarch, binding themselves in the most solemn manner to submit to his award, be it what it might. And in the month of March, 1177, Henry, holding his court at Westminster, attended by the bishops, earls, barons, and justices, both of England and Normandy, heard and discussed the arguments proposed on the part of King Alfonso by the Bishop of Palencia, and on the part of King Sancho by the Bishop of Pampluna; and, after taking the opinion of the best and most learned of the court, pronounced a wise and conciliating award, with which both ambassadors expressed their entire satisfaction.²

We have some curious evidence of Henry's personal activity, as evinced by his rapid change of residence, just at this period of peace and tranquillity, in a letter addressed to him, in the most familiar terms, by his confidential friend, Peter of Blois. Peter, who was not a timid, loitering wayfarer, or a luxurious, ease-loving churchman, but a bold and experienced traveller himself, seeing that, in the discharge of his duty, he had fought his way more than once across the then pathless Alps, in the heart of winter, braving the snow hurricane and the tremendous avalanches, seems to have been lost in amazement at the incessant and untiring progresses of the king. He had just returned from a royal mission to King Louis, the results of which he was anxious to report. He tells Henry that he has been hunting after him up and down England, but in vain!—that when Solomon set down four things as being too hard for him to discover, he ought to have added a fifth—and that was, the path of the King of England! Poor Peter goes on to say, that he really knoweth not whither he is going—that he has been laid up with the dysentery at Newport, from fatigue in travelling after his majesty, and has sent scouts and messengers on all sides to look for him. He proceeds to express

an earnest wish that Henry would let him know where he is to be found, as he really has important affairs to treat of, and the ambassadors of the Kings of Spain have arrived with a great retinue, in order to refer the old quarrel of their masters to his majesty.

The moment was now approaching when those energies, as yet undiminished by age or the premature decay which they probably caused in the end, were again to be called into full exercise; for foreign jealousies and intrigues, the name and history of his captive wife Eleanor, and the unpopularity of the Anglo-Norman rule in the provinces of the South, contributed, with their own impatience, turbulence, and presumption, to drive his children once more into rebellion.

A.D. 1183. Richard, who was the darling of his imprisoned mother, and who, on account of the more general unpopularity of his father in Aquitaine and Poitou, was stronger than his brothers, was the first to renew the family war. When called upon by his father to do homage to his elder brother, Henry, for the duchy of Aquitaine, which he was to inherit, he arrogantly refused. Upon this, young Henry, or the junior king, allied himself with Prince Geoffrey, and marched with an army of Bretons and Brabançons into Aquitaine, where Richard had published his ban of war. The king flew to put an end to these disgraceful hostilities, and having induced his two sons to come into his presence, he reconciled them with one another. But the reconciliation was rather apparent than real, and Prince Geoffrey had the horrible frankness to declare, shortly after, that they could never possibly live in peace with one another, unless they were united in a common war against their own father. The recorded gallantries, and the worse whispered offences of Eleanor, did not alienate the affections of the people of Poitou and Aquitaine, among whom she had been born and brought up. In their eyes she was still their chieftainess—the princess of their old native stock; and Henry had no right over them except what he could claim *through* her, and by his affectionate treatment of her. Now, he had kept her for years a prisoner, and in their estimation it was loyal and right to work for her deliverance, and punish her cruel husband by whatever means they could command, even to the arming of Eleanor's sons against their sire. In the fervid heads and hearts of these men of the South such feelings became absolute passions; and the graces as well as the ardour of their popular poetry were engaged in the service of their captive princess. The troubadours, with Bertrand de Born at their head, never tired of this theme; and even the local chroniclers raised their monkish Latin into a sort of poetical prose,

¹ Allen's *Vindication of the Ancient Independence of Scotland*.

² *Rymer; Rog. Hoved.*

whenever they touched on the woes and wrongs of Eleanor—for in Poitou and Aquitaine the manifold provocations she had given her husband were all unknown or forgotten.

With the exception of Richard, whose fiery nature now and then, for transitory intervals, gave access to the tenderer feelings, the ambitious young men seem to have cared little about their mother; but they could raise no such good excuse for being in arms against one parent as that of their anxiety to procure better treatment for the other; and Henry, and Geoffrey, and Richard, at times in unison, and at times separately, continued to take the name of Eleanor as their *cri de guerre* in the South. These family wars were more frequent, of longer duration, and of far greater importance than would be imagined from the accounts given of them in our popular English histories.

The reconciliation which took place in 1183-4 was speedily interrupted; for Bertrand de Born, nearly indifferent as to which prince he acted with, but who, of the three, rather preferred Henry, on seeing that Richard was inclined to keep his oaths to his father, renewed his intrigues with the eldest son, and got ready a formidable party in Aquitaine, who pressed Prince Henry to throw himself among them. Henry consequently revolted again, and his brother Geoffrey soon followed his example. The French sovereign openly announced himself as the ally of the junior king and the nobles of Aquitaine. As Richard continued steady for a while, the King of England joined his forces with his, and they marched together to lay siege to Limoges, which had opened its gates to Henry and Geoffrey. In little more than a month, however, the younger Henry deserted his partizans of Aquitaine, and submitted to his father, who forgave him as he had forgiven him before, and once more accepted his oath of fealty. Geoffrey did not on this occasion follow his eldest brother's example; and the men of Aquitaine and Poitou, now regarding him as their chief, confirmed him in his resistance, apprehending that the King of England would not extend the remarkable clemency he had shown to his children, to men who were strangers to his blood, and who had incensed him by repeated revolt. Prince Henry kept up a private correspondence with Bertrand de Born and others of the insurgents, and this enabled him to arrange a meeting for the purpose of conciliation. The King of England rode to Limoges, which was still in the hands of the insurgents, to keep his appointment with his son Geoffrey and the Aquitaine barons: to his surprise he found the gates of the town closed against him, although he had taken only a few knights with him, and when he applied for admittance,

he was answered by a flight of arrows and cross-bow bolts from the ramparts, one of which pierced his cuirass, while another of them wounded a knight at his side. This treacherous-looking occurrence was explained away as being a mere mistake on the part of the soldiery, and it was subsequently agreed that the king should have free entrance into the town. He met his son Geoffrey in the midst of the market-place of Limoges, and began the conference for peace; but here again he was saluted by a flight of arrows from the battlements. One of these arrows wounded the horse he rode. He ordered an attendant to pick up the arrow, and presenting it to Geoffrey with sobs and tears, he said—"O, son! what hath thy unhappy father done to deserve that thou shouldst make him a mark for thine arrows?"¹

This foul attempt at assassination is laid by some writers to the charge of Geoffrey himself; but it is quite as probable that the bows were drawn without any order from the prince, by some of the fiery spirits of Aquitaine, labouring under the conviction that their interests were about to be sacrificed in the accommodation between father and son. Prince Henry, who accompanied his father, expressed horror at the attempt, and disgust at the obstinacy of the men of Aquitaine; and he declared he would never more have alliance, or peace, or truce with them.² Not many days after, he once more deserted and betrayed his sire, and went to join the insurgents, who then held their head-quarters at Dorat, in Poitou. The bishops of Normandy, by command of the pope, fulminated their excommunications; but as Prince Henry had been excommunicated before this, it was probably not the thunders of the church, but other considerations, that induced him to abandon the insurgents at Dorat as suddenly as he had abandoned his father, and to return once more to the feet of the king, who, with unexampled clemency or weakness, once more pardoned him, and not only permitted him to go at large, but to meddle again with political affairs. Having persuaded his father to adopt measures which cost him the lives of some of his most faithful followers, this manifold traitor, or veriest wheel-about that ever lived, again deserted his banner, and prepared, with his brother Geoffrey and the insurgent barons of the South, to give him battle. A short time after this revolt, which was destined to be his last, and before his preparations for aiming at his father's life or throne, or both, were completed, a messenger announced to the king that his eldest son had fallen dangerously sick at Chateau-Marcel, near Limoges, and desired most earnestly that his father would for-

¹ Script. Rer. Franc.² Hoved.

give him and visit him. The king would have gone forthwith, but his friends implored him not to hazard his life again among men who had proved themselves capable of so much treachery and cruelty; and they represented that the accounts he had received might be all a feigned story, got up by the insurgents of Aquitaine and Poitou, for the worst of purposes. Taking, then, a ring from his finger, he gave it to the Archbishop of Bordeaux, and begged that prelate to convey it with all speed to his repentant son, as a token of his forgiveness and paternal affection. He cherished the hope that the youth and robust constitution of the invalid would triumph over the disease; but soon there came a second messenger, to announce that his son was no more.

Prince Henry died at Chateau-Marcel, on the 11th of June, 1183, in the twenty-seventh year of his age.¹ In his last agony he expressed the deepest contrition; he pressed to his lips his father's ring, which had mercifully been delivered to him; he publicly confessed his undutifulness to his indulgent parent, and his other sins, and ordered the priests to drag him by a rope out of his bed, and lay him on a bed of ashes, that he might die in an extremity of penance.²

The heart of the king was divided between grief at the death of his first-born and rage against the insurgents, whom he held to have been not only the cause of his son's decease, but the impediment which had prevented him from seeing and embracing him in his last moments. The feeling of revenge, however, allying itself with the sense of his immediate interests, soon obtained entire mastery, and he proceeded with all his old activity against the barons of Aquitaine and Poitou. The very day after his son's funeral he took Limoges by assault; then castle after castle was stormed and utterly destroyed; and at last Bertrand de Born—the soul of the conspiracy, the seducer of his children—fell into his hands. Never had enemy been more persevering, insidious, and dangerous—never had vassal so outraged his liege lord, or in such a variety of ways; for Bertrand, like Luke de Barré, was a poet as well as knight, and had cruelly satirized Henry in productions which were popular wherever the *langue d'Oc*³ was understood. All men said he must surely die, and Henry said so himself. The troubadour was brought into his presence, to hear his sentence; the king taunted him with a boast he had been accustomed to make—namely, that he had so

much wit in reserve as never to have occasion to use one-half of it, and told him he was now in a plight in which the whole of his wit would not serve him. The troubadour acknowledged he had made the boast, and that not without truth and reason. "And I," said the king—"I think thou hast lost thy wits." "Yes, sire," replied Bertrand, mournfully; "I lost them that day the valiant young king died!—then, indeed, I lost my wits, my senses, and all wisdom." At this allusion to his son, the king burst into tears, and nearly swooned. When he came to himself his vengeance had departed from him. "Sir Bertrand," said he, "Sir Bertrand, thou mightest well lose thy wits because of my son, for he loved thee more than any other man upon earth; and I, for love of him, give thee thy life, thy property, thy castle."⁴ The details of this singular scene may have been slightly over-coloured by the warm poetical imagination of the South, but that Henry pardoned his inveterate enemy is an historical fact.

If Bertrand de Born was a villain, he was a most accomplished one; he appears to have excelled all his contemporaries in insinuation, elegance, and address—in versatility of talent, and abundance of resource.⁵ Attempts have been made by M. Thierry to set off his patriotism against his treachery; and it has been hinted, that while labouring to free his native country from the yoke of the English king, he was justifiable in making use of whatever means he could. It is perhaps difficult to fix precise limits to what may be done in such a cause; but though we may affect to admire the conduct of the elder Brutus, who slew his own son for the liberties of Rome, we doubt whether the sympathies of our nature will not always be against the man who armed the sons of another against their father's life. Such appears to have been the sentiment of the time; and Dante, who wrote about 120 years after the event, and who merely took up the popular legend, placed Bertrand de Born in one of the worst circles of hell.⁶

Prince Geoffrey sought his father's pardon soon after the death of his brother Henry, and abandoned the insurgents of Aquitaine, who then saw themselves opposed to a united family (for Richard was as yet true to his last oaths) whose unnatural divisions had hitherto proved their main strength

¹ *Poésies des Troubadours*, Collection de Raynouard; Millot, *Hist. Littéraire des Troubadours*.

² We learn from Dante, who seems to have been forcibly impressed with his strange character, that besides poems on other subjects, Sir Bertrand "treated of war, which no Italian poet had yet done"—[*Arma vero nullum Italum adhuc poetasse invenio*].—*De Vulg. Eloq.* Bertrand left a son of the same name, who was also a poet, and who satirized King John.

³ *Inferno*, canto xxviii. The passage is terrific, and one of the most characteristic in the whole poem.

¹ *Reg. Henrici*.

² *Ibid.*; also *Dieta*.

³ The dialect spoken in the south of France, where, instead of *oui* [*yes*], they said *oc*; hence the name of the part of this district, still called *Languedoc*. The rest of France was called *Langued'out*, or *Langued'Loz*.

and encouragement. The confederacy, no longer formidable, was partly broken up by the victorious arms of the king, and partly dissolved of itself. A momentary reconciliation took place between Henry and Eleanor, who was released for a short time to be present at a solemn meeting, wherein "peace and final concord" was established between the king and his sons, confirmed by "writing and by sacrament."¹ In this transaction Prince John was included, who had hitherto been too young to wield the sword against his father. The family concord lasted only a few months, when Geoffrey demanded the earldom of Anjou; and on receiving his father's refusal, withdrew to the French court, to prepare for another war. But soon after (in August, 1186), his turbulent career was cut short at a tournament, where he was dismounted and trampled to death under the feet of the horses. Louis VII., the soft and incompetent rival of Henry, had now been dead several years, and his son, Philip II., a young and active prince, sat on the throne of France. He buried Geoffrey with great pomp, and then invited to his court his brother Richard, the Lion-hearted, who was to hate him with a deadly hatred in after years, but who now accepted his invitation, and lived with him on the most affectionate terms, "eating at the same table and out of the same dish by day, and sleeping in the same bed by night."² King Henry well knew that this friendship betokened mischief to him, and he sent repeated messages to recall Richard, who always replied that he was coming, without hastening his departure. At last he moved, but it was only to surprise and seize a treasure of his father's, deposited at Chinon, and then to raise the banner of revolt once more in Aquitaine. But this time his standard failed to attract a dispirited people, and he was fain to accept his father's pardon. Henry, who had seen so many others disregarded, made him swear fealty, upon this occasion, on a copy of the Holy Evangelists, in the presence of a great assembly of churchmen and laymen.

A.D. 1188. The misfortunes of the Christians in the Holy Land were the means of producing a brief peace between Henry and Philip, who had been waging an insignificant war with each other, and preparing for more decisive hostilities. Jerusalem had fallen again before the Mahometan crescent, in the September of the preceding year; the reigning pontiff was said to have died of grief at the news; and the new pope called upon all Christian princes to rescue the tomb of Christ and the wood of the true cross, which latter, it was said, had been carried away

by the victorious Saladin. No one responded to the appeal more promptly and enthusiastically than Henry, who at once declared himself willing to proceed with an army to Asia. A well-settled peace with France was, however, an indispensable preliminary; and Philip being also pressed by the pope to take the cross, an interview for the settlement of all differences was easily arranged. The two kings met in the month of January, at the usual place between Trie and Gisors, near to the old elm-tree. William, the eloquent and enthusiastic Archbishop of Tyre, attended the meeting, with many bishops and priests, of whom some had witnessed the reverses of the Christians in Palestine. Henry and Philip swore to be "brothers in arms for the cause of God;" and in sign of their voluntary engagement, each took the cross from the hands of the Archbishop of Tyre, and attached it to his dress, swearing never to quit it or neglect the duties of a soldier of Christ, "either upon land or sea, in town or in the field," until his victorious return to his home. Many of the great vassals of both monarchs followed their masters' example, and took the same oaths.³

The crosses given to the King of France and his people were red; those distributed to the King of England and his people were white. Richard, who was to connect his name inseparably with the subject of the Crusades, had neither waited for his father's example nor permission, but had taken the cross some time before.⁴ The old elm-tree witnessed another *solemn* peace, which was about as lasting as its predecessors; and Henry returned to England, evidently with a sincere desire of keeping it on his part, and making ready for the Holy War. In the month of February he called together a great council of the kingdom at Gidington, in Northamptonshire, to provide the means of such a costly expedition. The barons, both lay and ecclesiastic, readily enacted that a tenth of all rents for one year, and a tenth of all the moveable property in the land, with the exception of the books of the clergy, and the arms and horses of the knights, should be levied to meet the expenses. The lords of manors who engaged to accompany the king in person were permitted to receive the assessments of their own vassals and tenants; but those of all others were to be paid into the royal exchequer. It appears that no more than £70,000 was raised in this manner. To make up the deficiency, Henry had

¹ *Reg. Hoved.* *Script. Rer. Franc.*

² Nor was this the first time the king talked of going to the Holy Land. Several years before, the Patriarch of Jerusalem offered him that kingdom, with the keys of the city and of the holy sepulchre. Henry, who was not then carried away by the popular enthusiasm, referred the matter to an assembly of his bishops and barons, who, *most wisely*, determined that "for the good of his own soul," he would do much better by remaining at home and taking care of his own subjects.

³ *Scripto et sacramento.—Reg. Hoved.*

⁴ *Singulis diebus in una mensa ad unum catinum manducabant, et in noctibus non separabat eos lectus.—Reg. Hoved.*

recourse to extortion and violent measures against the Jews, whom he had hitherto treated with leniency; and from that oppressed fragment of an unhappy people he procured £60,000, or almost as much money as he got from all the rest of his kingdom put together. Another council of bishops, abbots, and lay barons, held at Mans, regulated the tax for Henry's continental dominions.

But the money wrung from Jew and Gentile was never spent against the Turk. "The malice of the ancient enemy of mankind," says the honest chronicler, "was not asleep;" and he goes on to deplore how that infernal malice turned the oaths of Christian princes into a mockery, and relit the flames of war among Christian people on the continent of Europe. The fiery Richard appears to have been the first cause of this new commotion, in which the French king soon took a part. Another conference was agreed upon, and the two kings again met under the peaceful shadow of the elm; they could not, however, agree as to terms of accommodation; and Philip, venting his spite on the tree, swore by all the saints of France, that no more parleys should be held there, and cut it down.¹ Had causes of dissension been wanting, the ingenuity of the King of France, and the jealous impatience of Richard, would have raised imaginary wrongs; but unfortunately for the fame of Henry, there *was* a real existing cause, and one singularly calculated to excite and combine those two princes against him. Richard, when a child, had been affianced, as already mentioned, to the infant Aliz, or Adelaïs, of France. Henry had obtained possession of the person of the royal infant, and of part of her dowry, and had kept both. By the time the parties were of proper age for the completion of the marriage, Richard was at open war with his father; but it is curious to remark, that at none of the numerous peaces and reconciliations was there any deep anxiety shown, either by her affianced spouse Richard, or her father King Louis, or her brother Philip, about the fate of the fair Adelaïs, who remained some time *ostensibly* as a hostage, but, of late years, in a very ambiguous situation, at the court of Henry. A report, true or false, had got abroad that the king was enamoured of her person; and when he made an unsuccessful application to the Church of Rome for a divorce from Richard's mother, Eleanor, it was believed that he had taken the step in order to espouse Richard's affianced bride. Of late, however, King Philip, feeling that the reputation of his sister was committed, had repeatedly urged that Adelaïs should be given to Richard, and the marriage completed; and the Church of Rome had even threatened

Henry with its severest censures in case of his resisting this demand. An air of mystery involves the whole story and every part of it: how Henry evaded the demand we know not, but of this we are perfectly well informed, that he had detained the lady—that no consequences had ensued therefrom on the part of the pope—and that Philip had even made peace more than once, and had vowed eternal friendship to him while he was thus detaining her. If Richard credited the worst part of the current reports (as he afterwards averred he did), he was not likely to feel anything but the strongest aversion to the marriage. Affection for his affianced bride was, however, a very colourable pretext; and as he was now haunted by a more real and serious uneasiness—namely, by the belief that his father destined the English crown for his youngest son John—he set this plea forward in justification of his rebellion, and co-operated heart and hand with the French king. In the month of November in this same year (A.D. 1188) another conference was held, not, however, between Trie and Gisors, but near to Bonsmoulins in Normandy. Philip proposed that Adelaïs should be given up to Richard, and that Henry should declare that prince heir, not only to his kingdom of England, but also to all his continental dominions, and cause his vassals immediately to swear fealty to Richard. Henry, who could not forget the miseries he had suffered in consequence of elevating his eldest son in this manner, resolutely refused the latter proposition. A violent altercation ensued, and ended in a manner which sufficiently proved that Richard was thinking little of the first proposition or of his bride. Turning from his father, he furiously exclaimed, "This forces me to believe that which I before deemed impossible" (that is, the report concerning his younger brother John). He then ungirded his sword, and kneeling at the feet of King Philip, and placing his hands between his, said, "To you, sire, I commit the protection of myself and my hereditary rights, and to you I do homage for all my father's dominions on this side the sea." Philip ostentatiously accepted his homage, and made him a present grant of some towns and castles he had captured from his father. Henry, violently agitated, rushed from the scene, and, mounting his horse, rode away to Saumur, to prepare for the further prosecution of the interminable war.² But his iron frame now felt the inroads of disease and grief; his activity and decision at last forsook him, and, relying on exertions making in his favour by the pope's legate, he remained supine while Philip and Richard took several of his towns and se-

¹ *Rog. Hoved.*² *Ibid.; Script. Rer. Franc.*³ *Hoved.; Dicto; Script. Rer. Franc.*

duced many of his knights. Even at this extremity the good people of Normandy were faithful to him, and, wishing to secure that duchy for his favourite son, of whose love and faith he had never doubted, he was careful to procure an oath from the seneschal of Normandy, that he would deliver the fortresses of that province to John in case of his death. The church was on this occasion zealously engaged on the side of Henry; Richard and the French king were menaced with excommunication, and though elated by unusual success, Philip was obliged to consent to another conference. The meeting took place in the month of June in the following year (A.D. 1189), at La Ferté-Bernard; and Richard, John of Anagni, cardinal and legate, the Archbishops of Canterbury, Rouen, Rheims, and Bourges, were present. Philip proposed the same conditions as at the conference of Bonsmoulins seven months before; Henry, who had been hurt in every feeling by Richard, in the interval, rejected them, and proposed that Adelais should be united to his dutiful son John—an overture that tends to shake the credibility of the existing scandal even more than does the circumstance of Henry's advanced age. Should Philip agree to this arrangement, he declared his readiness to name Prince John heir to his continental dominions—a distribution which he seems to have long contemplated. But Philip would not enter into the new plan, or abandon Richard, who was present, and who joined the French king in violent abuse of his father. John of Anagni, the cardinal-legate, then threatened to put the kingdom of France under an interdict; but these menaces depended much for their effect on circumstances and the character of the princes to whom they were addressed. Philip had boldness enough to despise them: he even accused the legate of partial and venal motives; telling him it was easy to perceive he had already scented the pounds sterling of the English king.¹ Richard, who was never exemplary for command of temper, went still further: he drew his sword against the cardinal, and would have cut him down but for the timely interposition of some more moderate members of the party.

Henry again rode away from the conference, and this time with a desponding heart. The people of Aquitaine, Poitou, and Brittany were induced to rise in mass against their now falling master; and, under the command of Richard, they fell upon him on the west and south, while the French king attacked him in Anjou, on the north. He had, on former occasions, made head against almost equally formidable confederacies; but the strength of frame, the eagle-glance, and

the buoyancy of spirits which had then carried him through a victor, were now crippled and dimmed by sickness and sorrow. His barons continued their open desertions or secret treachery; and at last he was induced to solicit peace, with the offer of resigning himself to whatever terms Philip and Richard should propose.² The two monarchs met on a plain between Tours and Azay-sur-Cher. It appears that Richard did not attend to witness the humiliation of his father, but expected the issue of the negotiations at a short distance. While the kings were conversing together in the open field and on horseback, a loud peal of thunder was heard, though the sky appeared cloudless, and the lightning fell between them, but without hurting them. They separated in great alarm, but after a brief space met again. Then a second peal of thunder, more awful than the first, rolled over their heads. The state of Henry's health rendered him more nervous than his young and then triumphant rival; he dropped the reins, and, reeling in his saddle, would have fallen from his horse had not his attendants supported him.³ He recovered his self-possession, but he was too ill to renew the conference, and the humiliating conditions of peace, reduced to writing, were sent to his quarters for his signature. It was stipulated that Henry should pay an indemnity of 20,000 marks to Philip, renounce all his rights of sovereignty over the town of Berry, and submit in all things to his decisions;⁴ that he should permit all his vassals, both English and continental, to do homage to Richard; that all such barons as had espoused Richard's party should be considered the liege men and vassals of the son, unless they voluntarily chose to return to the father; that he should deliver Adelais to one out of five persons named by Richard, who, at the return of Philip and Richard from the crusade, on which they proposed to depart immediately (there was no longer any talk of Henry's going), would restore her in all honour, either to her brother or her affianced; and, finally, that he should give the kiss of peace to Richard, and banish from his heart all sentiments of anger and animosity against him.⁵ The envoys of the French king read the treaty, article by article, to Henry as he lay suffering on his bed. When they came to the article which regarded the vassals who had deserted him to join Richard, he asked for a list of their names. The list was given him, and the very first name upon it which struck his eye was that of his darling son John, of whose

² Roger Hoved.; *Script. Rer. Franc.*

³ Rog. Hoved.

⁴ "Ex toto se pœnit in voluntate regis Francie," says Roger of Hoveden. Except in one clause the name of England seems hardly to have been mentioned; and this submission was evidently limited to the continental dominions, over which (at least in theory) the authority of the French crown was always extensive.

⁵ Rog. Hoved.; *Script. Rer. Franc.*

¹ Jam sterlingos regis Anglie offceat.—Rog. Hoved.; *Matt. Par.*

base treachery he had hitherto been kept happily ignorant. The broken-hearted king started up from his bed and gazed wildly around. "Is it true," he cried, "that John, the child of my heart

behind me?" Some priests exhorted the disordered, raving man to retract these curses, but he would not. He was sensible, however, to the affection and unwearied attentions of his natural son, Geoffrey, who had been faithful to him through life, and who received his last sigh. As soon as the breath was out of his body, all the ministers, priests, bishops, and barons, that had waited so long, took a hurried departure, and his personal attendants followed the example of their betters, but not before they had stripped his dead body, and seized everything of any value in the apartment where he died.

The disrespect and utter abandonment which had followed the demise of the great Conqueror 102 years before, were repeated towards the corpse of his great-grandson. It was not without delay and difficulty that people were found to wrap the body in a winding-sheet, and a hearse and horses to convey it to the abbey of Fontevraud.³ While it was on its way to receive the last rites of se-



CASTLE OF CHINON.—Toucheard Lafosse, *La Loire Historique, Pittoresque, &c.*

—he whom I have cherished more than all the rest, and for love of whom I have drawn down on mine own head all these troubles, hath verily betrayed me?" They told him it was even so. "Now, then," he exclaimed, falling back on his bed, and turning his face to the wall, "let everything go as it will—I have no longer care for myself or for the world!"¹

Shortly after, he caused himself to be transported to the pleasant town of Chinon;² but those favourite scenes made no impression on his profound melancholy and hopelessness of heart, and in a few days he laid himself down to die. In his last moments, as his intellects wandered, he was heard uttering unconnected exclamations. "O shame!" he cried, "a conquered king! I, a conquered king! . . .

. . . Cursed be the day on which I was born, and cursed of God the children I leave



ABBAY OF FONTEVRAUD.—Mrs. Stothard's *Normandy*.

pulture, Richard, who had learned the news of his father's death, met the procession and accom-

¹ *Script. Rer. Franc.* "Iterum se lecto reddens, et faciem suam ad parietem vertens," &c.

² Chinon, beautifully situated on the river Loire, was the French Windsor of our Norman kings; and Fontevraud, at the distance of about seven miles, their favourite place of burial.

³ *Script. Rer. Franc.*; *Gaufrid.*; *Ann. Sic.*; *Reg. Henr.*

⁴ Fontevraud, or Fontevraud (anciently Fons Ebraudi), a town of France, in the department of the Maine and Loire. The abbey, to which it owes its origin, was most richly endowed, and was the head of an order in which the men of the

establishment were subservient to the women. It was founded in 1099, by Robert d'Arbrissel, a celebrated preacher in Brittany, charged by Pope Urban II. to preach in favour of the second crusade. His popularity induced so many of all classes to follow him, that he resolved to choose a spot where he might establish them in regular order. The wild forest of Fontevraud, watered by a pure fountain that issued from a rock, was selected as a suitable retreat, and a lady named Aramburge gave them the valley in which the great church was afterwards erected.—*Mrs. Stothard's Tour in France.*

panied it to the church. Here, as the dead king lay stretched on the bier, his face was uncovered, that his son might look upon it for the last time. Marked as it was with the awful expression of a long agony, he gazed on it in silence and shuddered. He then knelt and prayed before the altar, but only for "a modicum of time, or about as long as it takes to say the Lord's Prayer;" and when the funeral was over he quitted the church, and entered it not again until that hour when, cut off in the full strength and pride of manhood, he was carried thither a corpse to be laid at the feet of his father.¹ It was a popular superstition which both Normans and Anglo-Saxons had derived from their common ancestors, the Scandinavians, that the body of the dead would bleed in presence of its murderer; and more than one chronicler of the time avers that this miracle was seen at the church of Fontevraud, where (say they), from the moment that Richard entered until that in which he departed, the king never ceased to bleed at both nostrils.² On the day of Henry's death (July 6, 1189), he was in the fifty-seventh year of his age, and he had reigned over England thirty-four years, seven lunar months, and five days, counting from the day of his coronation.³ This long reign had been highly beneficial to the country. With a few brief exceptions, peace had been maintained in the interior, and there is good evidence to show that the condition of the people generally had been elevated and improved. "The king's personal character has been differently represented, some dwelling only on its bright qualities, and others laying all their emphasis on his vices, which, in truth, were neither few in number nor moderate in their nature, although, for the most part, common attributes to the princes of those ages, few of whom had his redeeming virtues and splendid abilities. To say, with Hume, that his character, in private as well as in public life, was

almost without a blemish, is a manifest defying of the testimony and authority of contemporary history; but yet, when every fair deduction is made, he will remain indisputably an illustrious prince, and a man possessed of many endearing qualities.⁴

Besides his five legitimate sons, of whom three preceded him to the grave, Henry had three daughters by his wife Eleanor. Matilda, the eldest, was married to Henry, Duke of Saxony, Bavaria, Westphalia, &c.; and from her is descended the present royal family of Great Britain: Eleanor, the second daughter, was married to Alfonso the Good, King of Castile; and Joan, the youngest, was united to William II., King of Sicily, a prince of the Norman line of Guiscard. Two of his natural children have obtained the general notice of history on account of the celebrity of their mother, and of their own eminent qualities. The first, who was born while Stephen was yet on the throne of England, was William, surnamed "Longsword," who married the heiress of the Earl of Salisbury, and succeeded to the high titles and immense estates of that baron; the second was the still better known Geoffrey, who was born about the time when Henry became king, and who was made Bishop of Lincoln at a very early age. He had much of Henry's spirit and ability, and, if an indifferent prelate, he was a bold and successful warrior in his *non-age*, when (during the first insurrection promoted by his father's legitimate sons) he gained in the north some signal advantages for the king, to whom he and his brother, William Longsword, were ever faithful and affectionate. Geoffrey was subsequently made chancellor, when, like Becket in the same capacity, he constantly accompanied the king. In his dying moments, Henry expressed a hope or a wish that he might be made Archbishop of York, a promotion which, as we shall find, he afterwards obtained.

¹ *Script. Rer. Franc.*

² *Benadict. Abbas; Script. Rer. Franc.; Hoved.; Speed, Chron.*

³ *Dietio; Hoved.; Sir Harris Nicolas' Chronology of History.*

⁴ "If we seek the character of the founder of the Common Law in the pages of the justiciar (Glanville), we shall view him as greater and more powerful than any king who had hitherto borne sway in England. Just, discreet, and merciful—a lover of peace, but whose humanity did not degenerate into indolence or supineness—mighty, but who never allowed his strength to tempt him into tyranny. By the force of his right hand he crushed the violence of the proud and intractable, while he extended his sceptre to the indigent and lowly. None of the judges of his court could dare to deviate, however slightly, from the path of righteousness, nor to utter a sentence contrary to the dictates of truth. In his supreme tribunal, the power of the adversary oppressed not the poor man; neither could favour or credit drive the lowly from the seat of judgment. Such are the sentences which preface the earliest treatise on the Law. But, in the portrait which we receive from the ecclesiastic, every virtue disappears: unchaste, greedy, avaricious, capricious, and cruel, he abolished all the old and rightful laws of the country, by the new ordinances termed '*assises*,' which he promulgated

every year. Severe beyond example, his jurisprudence was subversive both of natural justice and of the laudable customs of the realm. Attacking, with an even hand, the honour, the privileges, and the property of the aristocracy, and the franchises of the clergy; no individual was so exalted as to be above the reach of his arbitrary power; no one so insignificant as to be sheltered by obscurity from his searching tyranny. This strange discrepancy between the minister and the monk may be attributed in part to the difference of their respective stations. The persecutor of Becket could find little favour from the churchman; and the charge preferred against him that 'he kept the guilty priest in fetters, making no distinction between the clerk and the churl,' may not be considered as a proof of the impartiality of the complainant; but the fiscal extortions of Henry, together with the abuses resulting from the sale of right and justice, have been faithfully recorded. In opposition to the praises of his equity, so loudly bestowed by Glanville, we can quote the declaration of the suitor, who counts the bribes which he paid to the monarch; and the testimony afforded by the justiciar is rendered suspicious by his known perversion of the law to answer his own sinister designs."—*Palgrave, Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth.*

The history of their mother, the "Fair Rosamond," has been enveloped in romantic traditions which have scarcely any foundation in truth, but which have taken so firm a hold on the popular mind, and have been identified with so much poetry, that it is neither an easy nor a pleasant task to dissipate the fanciful illusion, and unpeep the "bower" in the sylvan shades of Woodstock. Rosamond de Clifford was the daughter of a baron of Herefordshire, the beautiful site of whose antique castle, in the valley of the Wye, is pointed out to the traveller between the town of the Welsh Hay and the city of Hereford, at a point where the most romantic of rivers, after foaming through its rocky, narrow bed in Wales, sweeps freely and tranquilly through an open English valley of surpassing loveliness. Henry became enamoured of her in his youth, before he was king, and the connection continued for many years; but

long before his death, and even long before his quarrel with his wife and legitimate sons (with which, it appears, she had nothing to do), Rosamond retired, to lead a religious and penitent life, into the "little nunnery" of Godestow, in the "rich meadows of Evenlod near unto Oxford." As Henry still preserved gentle and generous feelings towards the object of his youthful passion, he made many donations to the "little nunnery," on her account; and when she died (some time, at least, before the first rebellion) the nuns, in gratitude to one who had been both directly and indirectly their benefactress, buried her in their

choir, hung a silken pall over her tomb, and kept tapers constantly burning around it. These few lines, we believe, comprise all that is really known of the Fair Rosamond. The legend, so familiar to the childhood of all of us, was of later and gradual growth, not being the product of one imagination. The chronicler Brompton, who wrote in the time of Edward III., or more than a century and a half after the event, gave the first description we possess of the secret bower of Rosamond. He says, that in order that she might not be "easily taken unawares by the queen," Henry constructed, near "Wodestoke,"

a bower for this "most slightly maiden," of wonderful contrivance, and not unlike the Dædalean labyrinth; but he speaks only of a device against surprise, and intimates, in clear terms, that Rosamond died a natural death. The clue of silk, and the poison-bowl forced on her fair and gentle rival by the jealous and revengeful Eleanor, were additions of a still more modern date.

The adventures of the amiable frail one's unoffending bones are better authenticated. A rigid bishop caused them to be cast out of the church, and interred in the common cemetery, observing to the nuns, that the tomb of a harlot was no fit object for a choir of virgins to contemplate, and that religion made no distinction between the mistress of a king and the mistress of any other man. But gratitude rebelled against this salutary doctrine, and the virgin sisterhood of Godestow



REMAINS OF THE NUNNERY OF GODESTOW.¹—From an old view in the British Museum.

gathered up the remains, perfumed the dry bones, laid them again in their church, under a fair, large gravestone, and set up a cross hard by, with an inscription, imploring requiem or rest for Rosamond.

¹ It appears that John de St. John has the best claim to be considered the founder of the monastery of Godestow. In the latter end of the reign of King Henry I., he gave some ground here to a religious matron called Editha, or Edira, who built thereon an abbey for Benedictine nuns, which was consecrated at the latter end of December, 1138, to the honour of the Virgin Mary and St. John Baptist.—*Monasticon*. The remains of Godestow consist of ranges of wall on the north, south, and east sides of an extensive area, and a small building at one of the angles.

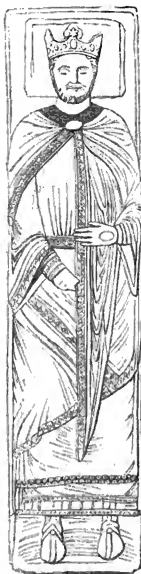
CHAPTER VII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.

RICHARD I., SURNAMED CŒUR DE LION.—ACCESSION, A.D. 1189—DEATH, A.D. 1199.

Richard I. succeeds to the crown—Massacre of the Jews at his coronation—His expedients to raise money for the crusade—Appoints a regency and departs on the expedition—His adventures during the voyage—His quarrels and aggressions in Sicily—His misunderstandings with his ally, Philip of France—Richard's marriage to Berengaria—He is driven by a storm to Cyprus—His war with the sovereign of the island—His landing at Acre—Acre taken from the Saracens—Disagreements between Richard and Philip—Philip returns to France—Massacre of the Saracen hostages at Acre—March of the crusaders towards Jerusalem—They are compelled to winter at Ascalon—Quarrels among the crusaders and failure of the crusade—Richard's victory over the Saracens at Jaffa—He embarks for England—His dangerous land journey—He is taken prisoner by the Duke of Austria—The Emperor of Germany claims and imprisons him—Troubles in England during King Richard's absence—Jewish massacres—Quarrels between the chiefs of the regency—Quarrels between Prince John and the chancellor, Longchamp—Longchamp defeated, and obliged to leave England—John assumes the government—He aims at the crown in his brother's absence—The emperor compelled to liberate Richard on ransom—Richard's return to England—His treacherous welcome from Prince John—Longbeard's rebellion in London—He is executed—War between England and France—The Bishop of Beauvais captured—Defeat of the French at the river Epte—Richard besieges Chaluz—He is mortally wounded—His behaviour in his last moments.



AS soon as his father was buried, Richard laid hands on Stephen of Tours, the seneschal of Anjou and treasurer to Henry II. This unfortunate officer was loaded with chains, and thrown into a dungeon, from which he was not released until he delivered up, not only the funds of the late king, but his own money also, to the last penny he possessed. Letters were sent over to England for the immediate enlargement of the queen-dowager; and, on quitting her prison, Eleanor was invested for a short time with the office of regent, and especially charged to have an eye on the monies in England. Her misfortunes seem for awhile to have had a beneficial effect on her imperious character; for, during her brief authority, she relieved the people by many works of mercy; releasing those who were arbitrarily detained in prison, pardoning offences against the crown, moderating the severity of the forest laws, and reversing several attainders. She also distributed bountiful alms to the poor, that they might pray for the soul of the husband whom she, more than any one, had contrived to send with sorrow to the grave. She hastened to Winchester, where the royal treasure was deposited, and having made sure of that city, summoned thither the barons and prelates of the realm, that they might recognize and receive their



Effigy of Richard I.—From the tomb at Fontevraud.

The state of affairs, however, detained Richard on the Continent for nearly two months. At last he crossed the Channel, accompanied by his brother John, and landed at Portsmouth, whence he repaired to Winchester. Henry had left in his treasury there a large sum in gold and silver, besides plate, jewels, and precious stones. All these Richard caused to be weighed and examined in his presence, and carefully inventoried. His soul was occupied by an enterprise that was likely to absorb all the money he could possibly procure; and, to find means for a most lavish expenditure, he resorted to the cares and expedients that more properly characterize avarice. It was this enterprise, however, that gave him the benefit of an undisputed succession to all his father's dominions; for John, expecting to be left in full authority by the immediate departure of his brother for Palestine, and hoping that he would never return alive from the perils of the Holy War, submitted to what he considered would be a very brief arrangement, and made no effort to dispute Richard's right. But for these circumstances it is very clear, from the character of the crafty and ambitious John, that the old story of a disputed succession would have been repeated. As it was, it was wiser for him to wait awhile for the chance of getting peaceful possession of the whole,

than to risk life or failure for a part. The confidence reposed in him may excite some surprise, and the more, perhaps, because one of Richard's first acts as a sovereign, was to discard and persecute all those who had plotted against his father, not excepting even his own most familiar friends, who had plotted for his own advantage; thus reading a good lesson to those who embark their fortunes in the family quarrels of princes. On the 3d of September, the coronation festival was held at Westminster with unusual magnificence; the abbots, and bishops, and most of the lay barons attending on the occasion. The unction over, and the king being royally arrayed, he was led up to the altar, where the archbishop adjured him, in the name of Almighty God, not to assume the royal dignity unless he fully proposed to keep the oaths he had sworn. Richard repeated his solemn promises, and with his own hands taking the ponderous crown from off the altar, "in signification that he held it only from God," he delivered it to the archbishop, who instantly put it on his head, and so completed all the ceremonies of coronation.¹ "Which act," says old Speed, with a cold-bloodedness less excusable than his superstition, "was accidentally hanelled and auspicated by the blood of many Jews (though utterly against the king's will), who, in a tumult raised by the multitude, were furiously murdered, which, though it was afterwards punished by the laws, might seem a presage, that this lion-hearted king should be a special destroyer of the enemies of our Saviour." The modern historian cannot permit these atrocities to pass off so easily. We have mentioned the Jews under the preceding reign; and our cursory allusion to them has shown that they were already in possession of great wealth in England, where they were persecuted by the government, though most useful, and indeed essential to it; and hated by the whole nation, though nearly all the comforts, and, without exception, all the ornaments and luxuries of civilized life, brought from foreign markets, were introduced by their commercial enterprise. Their wealth seems to have had as much to do in rendering them odious as the religious faith to which they heroically adhered; and the advance they had made in the rate of interest on their loans to men who were about departing on the dangerous expeditions to the Holy Land—though the necessary consequence of the great and sudden demand for money, and of the augmented risk incurred by the lenders—had recently the effect of exasperating many of the noble but needy cru-

saders, and had increased that rancour against them which was always a prevalent feeling among the superstitious and ignorant populace—if the populace deserve these distinguishing epithets when ignorance and superstition were so prevalent among all classes. At the accession of Philip to the throne of France, all the Jews had been banished that kingdom, their property confiscated, the obligations of their numerous debtors annulled; and though Henry II. had declined taking this iniquitous course, it was expected by many that Richard, on coming to the throne of England, would follow the example of his friend Philip. The Jews probably expected something of the sort; they assembled in London from all parts of the kingdom, "meaning to honour the coronation with their presence, and to present to the king some honourable gift, whereby they might declare themselves glad for his advancement, and procure his friendship towards themselves, for the confirming of their privileges and liberties, according to the grants and charters made to them by the former king."² On the day before the coronation, Richard being "of a zealous mind to Christ's religion, abhorring their nation, and doubting some sorcery by them to be practised, issued a proclamation forbidding Jews and women to be present at Westminster, either within the church when he should receive the crown, or within the hall whilst he was at dinner."³ A few, however, persevering in a custom sanctioned by remote antiquity among all Oriental people, ventured, on this day of general grace and joy, to lay their offerings at the king's feet. Their humble suit was heard—their rich presents were accepted, "gladly enough;" but a Christian raised an outcry, and struck a Jew that was trying to enter the gate with the rest of the crowd. The courtiers and king's servants, catching the contagion of the quarrel, then fell on the wealthy Jews who had obtained admittance, and drove them out of the hall. A report spread among the multitude gathered outside the palace that the king had commanded the destruction of the unbelievers, and therefore, following up an example already set them by their superiors, the people cruelly beat the Jews and drove them with "staves, bats, and stones, to their houses and lodgings." This violence being left unchecked, and the rumour of the king's intention still spreading, fresh crowds of fanatic rioters collected, and after barbarously murdering every Jew they found in the streets, they assaulted the houses they occupied and in which they had barricaded themselves. As many of these houses were strongly built they set fire to them, and burned men, women, and children, with

¹ Hoveden and Diceto, who were both present. At the coronation feast, which immediately followed, the citizens of London were the king's butlers, and the citizens of Winchester served up the meats.

² *Holinshed*.

³ *Ibid.*

everything they contained. In some cases they forced their way into the apartments, and hurled their victims, not excepting even the aged, the sick, and bed-ridden, out of the windows into fires which they had kindled below. The king, alarmed at length by the riot, sent Ranulf de Glanville, the lord-justiciary, and other officers, to appease it; but the authority of these high functionaries was despised, their own lives were threatened, and in the end they were obliged to flee back to Westminster Hall, where the banquet still continued. When night set in, the "rude sort" were lighted in their horrid work of plunder and murder by the flames that rose from the Jewish houses, and that, at one time, threatened a general conflagration of the town. The magazines and shops of the Jews were plundered; the defenceless wretches who attempted to escape from their burning dwellings "were received upon the points of spears, bills, swords, and gleaves of their adversaries, that watched for them very diligently." These atrocities continued from about the hour of noon on one day till two o'clock in the afternoon of the next, when the infuriated populace seem to have ceased plundering and butchering out of sheer weariness. One or two days after, Richard hanged three men, not because they had robbed and murdered the Jews, but because (at least so it was declared in the public sentence) they had burned the houses of Christians, some of which were indeed unintentionally consumed by the spreading of the flames. He then issued a proclamation, in which, after stating that he took the Jews under his own immediate protection, he commanded that no man should personally harm them, or rob them of their goods and chattels; and these were the only judicial measures that followed the terrific outrage.¹ All that the new king could think of at this moment, was how he should go to Palestine

with a splendid army, and leave the care of his kingdom and of all his subjects to others. To raise money he had recourse to expedients similar to those which ruined Stephen and the nation under him. He alienated the demesne lands, publicly selling, by a sort of auction, royal castles, fortresses, and towns; and, together with estates that were his own, not a few that were the property of other men. When some friends ventured to remonstrate, he swore he would sell London itself if he could only find a purchaser for it.² Thus most of those royal lands, which his father with so much prudence and address had recovered out of powerful private hands and re-annexed to the crown, were again detached from it. In the same way places of trust and honour—the highest offices in the kingdom—were publicly sold to the highest bidder. "Richard's presence chamber," says a recent writer, "was a market overt, in which all that the king could bestow—all that could be derived from the bounty of the crown or imparted by the royal prerogative—was disposed of to the best chapman. Hugh Pudsey, the Bishop of Durham, purchased the earldom of Northumberland, together with the lordship of Sadburgh. For the chief justiciarship he paid, at the same time, the sum of 1000 marks. In the bargain was included a dispensation to the bishop, or at least such dispensation as the king could grant, from his vow or promise of joining in the crusade."³ The new king also hastily filled all the vacant bishoprics and abbacies, exacting a heavy fee from each prelate and abbot he appointed. In consideration of 20,000 marks received from the Scottish king, he granted to him a release from all the obligations which had been extorted from him and from his subjects during his captivity, and gave back to him all the charters and documents of his servitude, with this

¹ *Flower; Diceto; Neeb.; Hemmingford.* "This impunity, however, encouraged the enemies of the Israelites; and the crusaders, in their way to the coast, were careful to imitate their brethren in the capital. The excoimes at Lynn, Norwich, Stamford, Edmundsbury, and Lincoln, seem to have been caused by the impulse of the moment; those at York were the result of an organized conspiracy. Before sunset a body of men entered the city, and in the darkness of the night they attacked the house of Bennet, a wealthy Jew who had perished in the riot in London. His wife and children were massacred, his property was pillaged, and the building was burned. The house marked for destruction the following night belonged to Jocan, another Jew, equally wealthy, but who had escaped from the murder of his brethren in the metropolis. He had, however, the wisdom to retire into the castle with his treasures and family, and was imitated by most of the Jews in York and the neighbourhood. Unfortunately, one morning the governor left the castle; at his return, the fugitives, who amounted to 500 men, independently of the women and children, mistrusting his intentions, refused him admission. In conjunction with the sheriff, he called the people to his assistance; the fortress was besieged night and day; a considerable ransom was offered and rejected; and the Jews, in their despair, formed the horrible resolution of disappointing, with their own hands, the malice of their enemies. They buried their gold and silver, threw

into the flames everything that was combustible, cut the throats of their wives and children, and consummated the tragedy by stabbing each other. The few who had not the courage to join in this bloody deed told the tale from the walls to the assaillants, and, to save their lives, implored permission to receive baptism. The condition was accepted; and the moment the gates were thrown open they were massacred. The conquerors then marched to the cathedral, extorted from the officers the bonds which the Jews had deposited with them for greater security, and making a bonfire, burned them in the middle of the nave. These outrages brought the chancellor to York; but the principal offenders fled into Scotland, and he contented himself with deposing the sheriff and governor, and taking the recognizances of the city to appear and answer in the king's court. In narrating so many horrors, it is a consolation to find them uniformly reprobated by the historians of the time. If the ring-leaders endeavoured to inflame the passions of the populace by religious considerations, it was merely as a cloak to their real design of sharing among themselves the spoils of their victims, and of extinguishing their debts by destroying the securities, together with the persons of their creditors."—*Lingard's History of England.*

² *William of Neebury.*

³ Introduction to *Rotuli Curie Regie* (published by the Record Commission), by Sir Francis Palgrave.

proviso, that he should nevertheless duly and fully perform all the services which his brother Malcolm had performed, or ought of right to have performed, to Richard's predecessors.¹ For the sum of 3000 marks he granted his peace to his half-brother, Geoffrey, who had been elected Archbishop of York, according to the wish expressed by his father Henry on his death-bed; and other sums of money were obtained by means much less justifiable.

It was now necessary to nominate a regency. At this step Prince John saw his hopes disappointed; but he remained perfectly quiet, being anxious, no doubt, that nothing should occur to prevent or delay his formidable brother's departure. A great council was held at the monastery of Pipwell, in Northamptonshire. Here the king formally announced the appointment of Hugh Pudsey, the Bishop of Durham, to be Rector Regni and Procurator Regni; but he included with him, in the commission of justiciarship, William de Mandeville, Earl of Albemarle. This great earl, however, quitted England soon after, leaving the bishop in full possession of the high office; but he did not retain it long, for his authority was first of all weakened and subdivided by Richard before he began his journey, and finally during the king's absence; but while he was yet in Normandy, it was wrenched from him altogether by the much abler hands of Longchamp, Bishop of Ely and chancellor of England. To satisfy his brother John, besides the earldom of Moreton or Moretaine, in Normandy, Richard gave him the earldoms of Cornwall, Dorset, Somerset, Gloucester, Nottingham, Derby, and Lancaster, in England, forming together not less than a third part of the whole kingdom. To gratify his mother, he added to the estates she already possessed all the lands that had been enjoyed by Matilda, the Saxon wife of Henry I., or by Alice, the French widow of the same monarch. She was also to be consulted in sundry matters of government; and at a subsequent period, during Richard's confinement in Germany, Eleanor exercised considerable authority with the consent of the king, though whatever power in the state his brother John acquired was usurped and against his will.

Richard had proceeded with a most arbitrary haste; but Philip of France, being ready before him, and doubting he might delay, sent messengers to remind him that the time of departure for the Holy Land was unchangeably fixed at the coming festival of Easter. At the arrival of these messengers, Richard, with a vast number of the earls, barons, and knights who had taken the cross with him, swore he would be

ready by the time appointed, and Philip's envoys took a like oath on behalf of themselves. The form of these oaths was somewhat unusual, the Frenchmen swearing by the soul of the King of France, the Englishmen by the soul of the King of England. By this time Richard had got all the money he could on this side of the Channel; and towards the end of the year, and a little more than three months after his coronation, he crossed over to his continental dominions to see what money he could raise and extort there.

In the month of February following, Richard held a great council in Normandy, which was attended by the queen-dowager, by his brother John, and by various bishops, who are stated to have crossed the Channel by the king's command. At this meeting there was an abundant pledging of oaths, which were but indifferently kept in the sequel. Soon after the two kings made a compact of alliance and fraternity of arms, swearing that each would defend the life and honour of the other—that neither would desert the other in his danger—that the King of France would cherish and protect the rights of the King of England, even as he would protect his own city of Paris; and that the King of England would do the like by his majesty of France, even as he would protect his own city—of Rouen!²

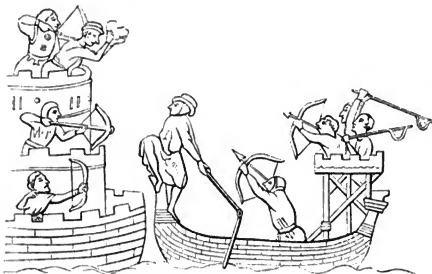
Owing to the death of Philip's young queen, their departure was postponed from the feast of Easter till Midsummer. At last they met in the plains of Vezelai, each accompanied by a gallant and a numerous army; for their forces, when united, are said to have amounted to 100,000 men. They marched in company from Vezelai to Lyons, and the people, though much distressed by the passage of such a host, comforted themselves with the thought that the Paynim could never withstand them, and that the city of the Lord, with the whole of Palestine, would be recovered by their swords and lances. At Lyons the two kings separated, with the mutual understanding that they should meet again in the port of Messina, in Sicily. Philip, with his forces, took the nearest road to Genoa; for he had no fleet of his own, and that flourishing commercial republic had agreed with him for the furnishing of transports and some ships of war. From the time of his expedition to Ireland, Henry II. had paid great attention to maritime affairs, and an English royal navy had gradually grown up. We do not possess much information on this interesting subject, but we learn from the chroniclers that he had some vessels which would be considered, even now, of a large size, and that one of the "chiefest and newest," was capable of

¹ Allen, *Vindie. Anc. Ind. Scot.*; *Fadera*; *Benedict. Abb.*

² Roger of Hoveden.

carrying 400 persons. Some time before his death, he began to build vessels expressly for the voyage to Palestine; and when his son succeeded, he found these preparations so far advanced, that he was soon able to launch or equip fifty galleys of three banks of oars, and many other armed galleys inferior in size to them, but superior to those generally in use at the period. He had also selected transports from the shipping of all his

his absence, discipline was at a low ebb among the forces embarked, in spite of the severe, and, in some respects, singular scale of punishment he had drawn up for the preservation of order. Two prelates, Gerard, Archbishop of Aix, and Bernard, Bishop of Bayeux, and three knights, Robert de Saville, Richard de Camville, and William de Fortz, were intrusted with the command of the fleet, with the title of "constables."



SHIPS OF THE TIME.—Cambridge, Matt. Parla.

ports; and perhaps there is not much danger in assuming that, in size and strength of ships, this was the most formidable naval armament that had as yet appeared in modern Europe.¹ Having thus a fleet of his own, Richard was not dependent, like Philip, on arrangements with the maritime Italians, and, instead of crossing the Alps, he kept his course by the beautiful valley of the Rhone towards Marseilles—a free trading city, belonging neither to the English nor the French king,² where he had ordered that his ships should meet him, to convey him and his army thence across the Mediterranean to Sicily, and then to Palestine.

When Richard reached the coast, he found his fleet had not arrived. After passing eight impatient days at Marseilles, he hired twenty galleys and ten great busses or barks there, and proceeded coastwise with some of his forces to Genoa, where he again met the French king. His English ships, for which he left orders at Marseilles to follow him to Sicily, had met with some strange adventures, even before reaching the Straits of Gibraltar and entering the Mediterranean. In

martyr, and St. Nicholas, the protector of distressed seamen, and told the crew that God and our Lady had instructed him and his beatified companions to watch King Richard's fleet, and see it safe. Many of the ships put into the Tagus and anchored at Lisbon, where the crews behaved in a very tumultuous manner; and the Portuguese, glad to be rid of such visitors, promised to aid and succour all future pilgrims bound for the Holy War that might put into their ports.³ The crusaders then sailed from Lisbon. At the mouth of the Tagus they were joined by thirty-three vessels; and, with a fleet now amounting to 106 sail, they steered for the Straits of Gibraltar. Passing those straits, and hugging the coast of Spain and Southern France, they reached, in less than four weeks from the time they had quitted Lisbon, the prosperous city of Marseilles, where they found their impatient king was gone. According to his orders, the fleet took on board the mass of the army which he had left behind at that port, and made sail again with all expedition for Messina, which city it reached several days before either the French or English king.⁴

¹ In this quaint but characteristic illumination we see a vessel fitted with a stage or tower raised on scaffolding at the poop, on which are men discharging arrows and missiles from the bow, and from slings. A figure at the prow fights with a sail. The castle or vessel—for which it is seems uncertain—is defended by men throwing stones and shooting with the bow and cross-bow. This illumination is strikingly illustrative of the various modes of assault and defence of the period.

² Southey, *Nav. Hist.*

³ Marseilles was not even nominally under Philip, but acknowledged the suzerainty of the King of Arragon. The same appears to have been the case with all the French ports on the Mediterranean, from the Pyrenees to the Maritime Alps.

⁴ Southey, *Nav. Hist.*

⁵ The English fleet sailed from Marseilles on the 30th of August, and entered the port of Messina on the 14th of Sep-

Richard, in the meanwhile, had had several adventures of his own. After coasting the Riviera of Genoa and a part of Tuscany, he entered the river Arno, and visited the splendid city of Pisa. Continuing his voyage along the coast from the mouth of the Arno, he came to the desolate spot where the Tiber pours his brown waters into the sea. His galley required some repairs, and he brought her to anchor in the famous river where the galleys of the Cæsars had once lain. He was there within a few miles of Rome; but though a liberal curiosity and devotion would alike have suggested a pilgrimage to the Eternal City, he did not go thither. The cardinal Bishop of Ostia, a town close to the mouth of the Tiber, went to welcome him to the patrimony of St. Peter; but, availing himself of the opportunity, he pressed the irascible Richard for the payment of certain fees due to the see of Rome. Instead of money, Richard gave this prince of the church abuse, reproaching the Papal court with simony, rapacity, and gross corruption; and for this reason, it is said, he refused to visit Rome.¹ When his galley was repaired, he made his way to Naples, where he again landed, and whence he determined to continue his journey to the Straits of Messina by land—his active body and restless mind being, no doubt, alike wearied with the close confinement of ship-board, and the slow progress made during the dead calms of summer in the Mediterranean. While at Naples, he visited the sanctuary of St. Januarius, the protector of that city, and told his orisons in a crypt, where the bodies

but arrayed in their usual dresses, and otherwise looking as if they were still alive. The beauties of Naples or some other inducements made him loiter several days in that city; but he then mounted his horse, and, taking the picturesque pass of the Apennines which leads by Nocera, the Benedictine abbey of La Cava, and Vietri, he went to Salerno, then celebrated for its school of medicine, the foundation of which had been laid by the Arabs as early as the eighth century, and which had been carried to its height of fame (by Orientals, or by persons who had travelled and studied in the East) under the reign and by the liberal patronage of Robert Guiscard, the Norman conqueror of the south of Italy. But the city of Salerno, which the lances of the Normans had won from the Saracen invaders, and which the bold Guiscard had made for a time his capital, was redundant with Norman glory, and crowded with objects to interest Richard. The Normans had built the cathedral in the plain, and rebuilt the noble castle on the hill. Princes, descended, like himself, from the first Duke Rollo, slept in sculptured tombs in the great church; and goodly epitaphs, with many a Leonine (or rhyming Latin) verse—that favourite measure of the Normans—recorded their praise. Every castle that met his eye on the flanks and crests of the neighbouring mountains was occupied by the descendant of some Norman knight; for the time, though approaching, was not yet come, when the dynasty of Swabia made a fresh distribution, and introduced a new race of Northern lords into the most glowing regions of the South. Salerno, too, then one of the most civilized, as always one of the most beautifully situated towns of Italy, had other schools besides that of medicine, though it was held not unworthy of a king, and a fitting accomplishment in a true knight, to know something of the healing art. Moral and natural philosophy, such as they were, geometry, astronomy, dialectics, rhetoric, and poetry, were all cultivated; and Richard himself was a professed poet, being one of the troubadours.² After staying at this interesting spot several



CRYPT OF THE SANCTUARY OF ST. JANUARIUS, Naples.—From Bollermann, die ältesten christlichen Begräbnisstätten.

of the dead stood up in niches, dry and shrivelled,

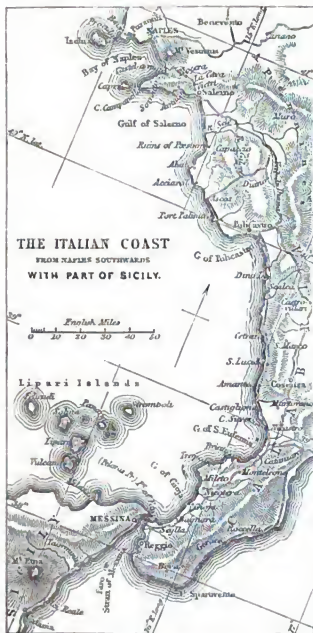
tember, without having lost a single vessel in the Mediterranean. The French fleet from Genoa arrived on the 16th, having lost several ships.

¹ Baronius speaks at some length, and with great emphasis, of this singular interview on the Tiber.—*Annal. Eccles.*

days, during which the galleys he had hired at Marseilles came round to him from Naples, he

² He was born a poet—if not in the sense of Horace, at least genealogically—for his mother Eleanor, as well as his maternal grandfather, were troubadours, and the rank was made hereditary in some families. He merited it by his compositions.

mounted his horse, and left Salerno on the 13th of September. He rode across the Pastan plain, and through the luxuriant district of Cilento, into Calabria, his galleys following along shore, from which his own path was seldom very distant.



Roads there were none; and as it was the commencement of the rainy season, he must have encountered great difficulties in crossing the mountain-streams, for he did not reach Mileto till the 21st. From that town he spurred on with only one knight to accompany him. At last he reached the shore of the narrow strait, commonly called the Faro, which separates Calabria from Sicily, and passed the night in a tent hard by the famed rocks and caverns of Scylla. The next morning (September 23), being either advised by signal, or by some one of the Marseilles galleys, the mass of his fleet crossed over from the island to receive him. He embarked, and scorning, or being ignorant of the Homeric dangers of Scylla and Charybdis, was presently wafted over to the noble

harbour of Messina, which he entered with so much splendour and majesty, and such a clangour of horns and trumpets, and other warlike instruments, that he astonished and alarmed the Sicilians, and the French also, who had reached that port with a shattered fleet a week before him. The first feelings of the allies and confederates in the Holy War towards each other were not of an amicable nature; and Philip, foreseeing, it is said, that dissensions would be inevitable if the two armies passed much time together in inactivity, got ready his fleet as soon as he could, and set sail for the East. But contrary winds and storms drove him back to Messina; and it was then resolved, for the misfortune of the country, that the two kings should winter there together, and find supplies for their armies as best they could.

The kingdom of Sicily, which then comprised Calabria and Apulia, and all those parts of Lower Italy now included in the Neapolitan realm, was in a distracted state. A few years before, under the reign of William I., or of his heroic father, Ruggiero, when the kingdom was united, and their powerful fleets of galleys gave the law in both seas (the Tyrrhenian and the Adriatic), the Sicilians might have been able to defend themselves against the insolent crusaders, numerous as they were; but Richard, who had a private account to settle with their king, well knew their present weakness, and determined to take advantage of it. The King of Sicily, who had scarcely been ten months on the throne, and who reigned by a disputed title, was Tancred, a prince of the Norman line, of great valour and ability. Richard's sister, Joan, who had been wedded when a mere child, had borne her husband no children; and, after nine years' marriage with her, King William II., commonly called "The Good," became uneasy about the succession, and resorted to curious measures in order to keep it in the legitimate line. The only legitimate member of the family living was an aunt about the same age as himself—a posthumous child of his grandfather, the great Ruggiero. The Princess Constance had been brought up from her infancy in religious retirement, and was living in a convent—some writers say she had taken the veil and the vows of a nun long before—when her nephew, the king, fixed his eyes upon her for his successor. Notwithstanding her acknowledged legitimacy, William the Good knew it would be worse than useless to propose a single woman to his warlike barons as their queen; for in their eyes a female sovereignty, notwithstanding their chivalrous devotedness to the fair sex, was an absolute absurdity. William therefore looked abroad for a powerful husband that might assert her rights; or, considering the age of the parties, he

might reasonably have hoped to live to see a son of his aunt's grow up before he died. He, therefore, negotiated a marriage with Henry, the son and heir of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa. Considering the country and climate, and the juvenile age at which royal ladies were then given in marriage, Constance was rather in advanced life, for she was thirty-two years old! The dower and the hope of succession, were, however, brilliant and tempting; and Henry espoused her with great pomp and magnificence, in 1186, in the city of Milan. In the month of November, 1189—little more than three years after this marriage, and between nine and ten months before the arrival of the crusaders at Messina—William the Good died at Palermo, in the thirty-sixth year of his age, leaving his childless widow, Joan, the sister of Richard, who was only in her twenty-fourth year, to the care of his successor. This successor was declared by his will to be his aunt Constance, to whom, and to her husband Henry, some time before his decease, he had, according to the practice of the age, made the barons of the kingdom, on both sides the Faro, take an anticipatory oath of allegiance, at the town of Troja, in Apulia. But he was no sooner dead than his will and the oaths he had exacted were alike disregarded. The prejudice against a female succession was as strong as ever; and it was not prejudice, but laudable policy, in the people of the South to be adverse to the rule of the German emperors, who were already formidable in the north of Italy, which they had deluged with blood, and who threatened the independence of the whole peninsula. By the insular portions of the kingdom, or in Sicily proper, the notion of being governed by Henry, a foreign prince, was held in abhorrence. Constance and Henry were both far away at the time, and, encouraged by these feelings and circumstances, several of the great barons, more or less closely connected with the royal family, advanced claims to the crown. It was difficult, and in part impossible, to reconcile these pretensions; but at length the mass of the people and a large majority of the nobles agreed to elect Tancred, Count of Lecce, cousin to the deceased king, William the Good, but reputed of illegitimate birth, though avowedly born of a lady of the noblest rank. In Sicily, as in England, the church had made great advances in the establishment of the rights of legitimacy; but these rights were, as yet, far from being imperative or sacred in the eyes of the people, who, in all circumstances, would have preferred a bastard to a woman, and whose choice on the present occasion fell on a prince of ripe manhood and mature experience, who had many qualities to recommend him, besides that of his descent from the great Ruggiero, the found-

der of the dynasty. Tancred was, therefore, hailed king by public acclamation,¹ and solemnly crowned at Palermo, in the beginning of the year 1190. His election by the nobles and people, or his right, was acknowledged by the court of Rome, just as that of Stephen had been in England, and the reigning pope (Clement III.) sent him the usual bulls of investiture and the benediction. Though acceptable and dear to the people, Tancred's throne was immediately disturbed by his disappointed competitors, and by Archbishop Walter, and some of the Apulian barons, who declared for Constance, and armed in her cause. In the island of Sicily this insurrection was defeated by the unanimity of the people; and passing over to the continent in person, Tancred presently reduced most of the Apulian barons to his obedience. But the civil war had weakened him: plots and conspiracies were forming against him; and Henry of Swabia, now emperor, by the death of his father, Barbarossa, was on his march to the south with a powerful army, to claim the throne for Constance, when Richard, received as a guest, commenced his course of aggressions.²

The question of Tancred's legitimacy was not, in itself, likely to claim much of the Lion-heart's attention; his quarrel had a more private ground. When the late king, William the Good, married his sister Joan, in the first impulse of love and generosity, he gave her a magnificent dower—the cities of Monte Sant' Angelo and Vesi; the towns and tenements of Ischitella, Peschici, Vico, Caprino, Castel Pagano, and others, with their several castles; Lesina and Varano, with their lakes and the forests adjoining; two stately monasteries, with their pastures, woods, and vineyards—in short, in one extensive and solid mass, the whole of the beautiful country comprised in the great promontory of Monte Gargano, between the provinces of Apulia and the Abruzzi, was allotted to the fair daughter of our Henry II. Tancred, on his accession, had withheld this splendid dower, and had even, it was said, deprived the young queen-dowager of her personal liberty.³ Richard's first demand was for the enlargement of his sister; and, whether she had been a prisoner or not, it is quite certain that Tancred sent her immediately to her brother, from Palermo to Messina, escorted by the royal galleys. The impetuous King of England then demanded her dower, which, under circumstances, it would not have been easy for Tancred to put her in possession of, as the territories lay in the

¹ Giannone says, "Tancredi adunque non altro titolo più plausibile poteva allegar per sé, se non la volontà de' Popoli." This great writer, no doubt, thought the "will of the people" one of the best of rights, but he durst not say so, when and where he wrote.

² Angelo di Costanza: Giannone; Fazello; Muratori.

³ This fact is not admitted by the oldest Sicilian historians.

very heart of the great fiefs of the continental barons, who were again in revolt. Without waiting the result of peaceful negotiations, into which Tancred readily entered, Richard, embarking part of his army, crossed the Straits of Messina, and took possession, by force of arms, of the town and castle of Bagnara, on the opposite coast of Calabria. Leaving his sister Joan with a good garrison in this castle, he returned to Messina to commit another act of aggression. There was a monastery on the sea-shore (a little beyond the port of Messina) that covered one of the flanks of his army, which was encamped outside the town. The place was capable of being strongly fortified, and was otherwise well suited to his purpose; so he drove the monks out of it, and, garrisoning it for himself, converted it into a place of arms and military storehouse. Whether the poor Sicilians loved these monks¹ or not, the honour of their wives and daughters was dear to them, and they were probably as jealous as at the time of the "Vespers," a century later; and when Richard's disorderly soldiers of the cross, the very day after this seizure of the monastery, "strolled licentiously through the city, with much lasciviousness,"² the town's-people set upon them in the streets, killed several of them, and then closed the gates of the town. On this, the whole camp armed, and English, Normans, Angevins, Poitevins, with the rest that followed Richard's standard, rushed to the walls, and would have scaled them then, had not their king ridden among them, and commanded them to desist, beating them the while with his truncheon as hard as he could.³ He then went to the quarters of the King of France, whither the magistrates of the town soon repaired. After mutual complaints, promises of redress were made on both sides, and the king drew off his men to their tents and ships. On the following morning a solemn meeting was held, with a view of providing for future tranquillity and concord among all parties; for Richard's men and the followers of the French king regarded each other with evil eyes, and had already shed some blood in brawls. The prelates and chief barons of the two nations, and the principal men of Messina, went with Philip to the quarters of Richard. While they were deliberating, a troop of incensed Sicilians gathered on the hills above the English camp, with the intention, it is said, of attacking the king. A Norman knight was wounded by these people, and so great an uproar arose, that Richard rushed from the conference, and called all his men to arms. The English and Normans rushed

up the hill-side; but the French did not move, and Philip at one moment seemed inclined to take part with the Sicilians. Richard drove the multitude from the hill and followed them at sword-point to the city. Some of the English entered pell-mell with the fugitives, but the gates were then closed, and the citizens prepared to defend their walls. Five knights and twenty men-at-arms were killed before the walls, but Richard, having brought up nearly the whole of his force, took the town by storm, and planted his banner on its loftiest tower, as if it had been his own town, or one taken in regular warfare. At this exhibition Philip was greatly incensed; but an open rupture between the two sworn brothers in arms was avoided for the present, by Richard's consenting to lower his banner, and commit the city to the keeping of the Knights Hospitallers and Templars, till his demands upon Tancred should be satisfied.

Two of Tancred's nobles and prime favourites—his admiral and another—commanded at Messina at the time of Richard's arrival. Seeing that resistance was vain, and feeling that their dignity was committed by remaining in a town where a foreign prince gave the law, they both retired with their families and moveable property; upon which, Richard seized their houses, galleys, and whatever else they had not been able to carry off with them. He made a complete castle of the monastery on the sea-side, digging a broad and deep ditch round it, and he built a new fort on the hills above the town.⁴ These, and other proceedings, excited the envy and disgust of Philip; but they probably hastened the conclusion of a treaty with Tancred, who, in the difficulties under which he was labouring, could hardly contend with so fierce and powerful a disputant. Richard demanded for his sister all the territories before-mentioned, together with a golden chair, a golden table, twelve feet long, and a foot and a half broad, two golden trestles for supporting the same, twenty-four silver cups, and as many silver dishes—to all which, it appears, she as queen was, by the custom of that kingdom, entitled. After all this, he demanded for himself, as representative and heir of his father, a tent of silk, large enough to accommodate 200 knights sitting at meals, 60,000 measures of wheat, and 60,000 of barley, with 100 armed galleys equipped and provisioned for two years. In the end, Richard either proposed or agreed to a compensation in money. Twenty thousand golden oncie⁵ were paid in satisfaction of all Joan's demands, and 20,000 more were paid to

¹ From some accounts it appears that the monastery was occupied by Greek monks. If that were the case, they were not likely to be very dear to the Messinese.

² Fazello: *Ist. de Sic.*

³ Hoved.: *Vinesauf.*

⁴ This castle, called Mattagrifone, after having been enlarged and repaired at different periods, still crowns over Messina.

⁵ An oncia is a Sicilian gold coin; the present value is about ten shillings English.

Richard himself, but not in satisfaction for his claim, which he waived (caring little, probably, on what ground he obtained the money, so long as he got it), but on a treaty of marriage which he concluded.¹ He affianced his young nephew Arthur, who was his heir presumptive,² to an infant daughter of Tancred, and engaged, in case the marriage should be prevented by the death of either of the parties, that he or his heirs would repay to Tancred or his heirs the 20,000 oncie then received by him, as the dower of the infant. But the treaty went further than this; for Richard guaranteed to Tancred the possession of Apulia, which was partly in revolt, and of the important city of Capua, which had never submitted to the new king. He, indeed, contracted with him what we now call an alliance offensive and defensive—a league he had cause to regret when his evil fortune threw him into the power of Tancred's competitor, the Emperor Henry. The treaty was sent to Rome, to be placed in the hands of the pope, who was invited, both by Richard and by Tancred, to enforce its observance, should any want of faith be shown by either of the contracting parties in the sequel. The money obtained was lavished by Richard in a manner which appeared thoughtless and wild; but his liberality had the effect of increasing his popularity with the crusading host. Such a multitude of men collected on one point had greatly raised the price of provisions; and Richard's treasure, and his table too, were open to the crossed knights of all countries, who complained of the expensiveness of their sojourn at Messina. On the feast of Christmas he gave a splendid banquet, to which he invited every man of the rank of a knight or gentleman, in both armies; and when the dinner was over, he made a present in money to each, the amount being more or less, according to the rank of the parties. A little army of troubadours and minstrels, who had followed him from Aquitaine and the rest of the south of France, constantly sang his praises. Part of the winter months were spent in repairing the ships, and in preparing catapults, manginalls, and other warlike engines, wherewith to batter the walls of the infidel towns in Syria and Palestine, the timber for which was cut on the mountains of Sicily and in the extensive forests of Calabria. But still time hung heavily on the hands of the impatient Richard. In a period of

inactivity he was seized with a fit of devotion and penitence. He called all the prelates together that were then with his host at Messina, into the chapel of Reginald de Moiac, in whose house he then resided; and there, in presence of them all, falling down upon his knees, he confessed his sins and the profligate life which he had hitherto led, humbly received the penance enjoined him by the bishops; "and so," adds an old historian, who did not sufficiently bear in mind the deeds of his after life, "he became a new man, fearing God, and delighting to live after his laws."

A short time after these exercises, Richard mounted his horse, and rode to the flanks of the towering and smoking Mount Etna, which had recently been in active eruption. At the city of Catania he was met, by appointment—and it appears for the first time—by Tancred. The two kings embraced, and, walking in splendid procession to the cathedral church (another work of the Normans), prayed, kneeling side by side, before the shrine of St. Agatha. They lived in great cordiality, and each seemed to entertain a high respect for the valour and character of the other. Like the heroes of Homer, they exchanged presents, Tancred giving Richard a ring, and Richard giving Tancred a sword, reputed to be the enchanted blade, Excalibur, or Caliburn, of the British King Arthur. But his Sicilian majesty also gave, as a contribution to the Holy War, four large ships and fifteen galleys. On his return to Messina, he accompanied his guest for many miles, even as far as the town of Taormina; and before they parted there, it is said, he gave to Richard a letter, wherein the French king declared his majesty of England to be a traitor, who meant to break the peace and treaty he had concluded with the King of Sicily, and offered to assist Tancred to drive him and his English out of the island. Cœur de Lion, after a furious explosion, expressed a doubt whether Philip, his liege and sworn comrade in that pilgrimage, could be guilty of so much baseness. Tancred declared that the letter had really been delivered to him, as from the King of France, by the Duke of Burgundy; and he vowed that, if the duke should deny having so delivered it, he would make good his charge upon him, in the lists, by one of his barons.³ When he arrived at the camp, Richard met Philip with a clouded brow,

chosen that which appears most natural. If there was any deceit about the letter, it was practised by Tancred. It is said that before Richard's arrival the Sicilian prince had offered one of his daughters to Philip for his infant son, and that the French king had rejected the alliance. But, again, it is said, that, a few hours after Richard had left him at Taormina, Tancred met Philip at the same town, and passed the night with him in a friendly manner. The native historians are provokingly silent on nearly all the transactions of the crusaders in Sicily.

¹ The Sicilian historians mention only one payment of 20,000 oncie, and this they put down to the account of the dota, or dower of Tancred's daughter.

² In the treaty, Richard styled him his "most dear nephew and heir," mentioning, however, the condition of his dying without children—"Si forté sine prole nos obire contingeret."—*Recueil des Historiens de France*; Daru, *Hist. de la Bretagne*. The unfortunate Arthur was little more than two years old at the time of this contract.

³ *Holinshed*.

⁴ There are several versions of this mysterious story; we have

and a day or two after, in the course of one of their many altercations, he produced the letter, and asked the French king if he knew it? Philip pronounced it to be a vile forgery, and, changing defence into attack, accused Richard of seeking a pretext for breaking off his marriage with the French princess. All the clamour Richard had raised for his affianced bride, in the last months of his father's reign, was merely for political purposes: as soon as Henry died he dropped all mention of the Lady Aliz; and at this very moment, as Philip no doubt well knew, he had contracted a very different alliance, and was every day expecting another wife. "I see what it is," said Philip; "you seek a quarrel with me, in order not to marry my sister, whom, by oath, you are bound to marry; but of this be sure, that if you abandon her, and take another, I will be all my life the mortal enemy of you and yours." Richard replied that he could not and never would marry the princess, as it was of public notoriety that his own father, Henry, had had a child by her; and, according to the minute relater of these curious passages, he produced many witnesses to prove to Philip the dishonour and shame of his own sister. True or false, this exposure was a cruel and degrading blow, not likely ever to be forgotten or forgiven.¹ For the present, however, Philip bartered his sister's honour for a pension, agreeing to release Richard from his previous matrimonial contract, and permit him to marry whatsoever wife he chose, for 2000 marks a-year, to be paid for the term of five years. Besides promising this money, Richard engaged to restore the Princess Aliz, together

with the fortresses received as her marriage portion, as soon as he should return from the Holy Land.—[Eventually the lady was not restored till some years after that event, when she espoused the Count of Ponthieu.]—This precarious arrangement, and the settlement of other

differences, were confirmed on both sides by fresh oaths. Philip then got ready for sea, and, after receiving some vessels and stores bountifully given him by Richard, he set sail on the 30th of March, 1191, for Acre. Richard, with a few of his most splendid galleys, accompanied him down the Straits of Messina, and returning the same evening to Reggio, on the Calabrian coast, took on board his new bride, who had been for some time in the neighbourhood, waiting only for the departure of the French king. This lady was Berengaria, the beautiful daughter of the King of Navarre. Richard had seen her in her own country a year or two before his father's death, and was passionately enamoured of her at the moment when, to annoy Henry, he was raising such a clamour for the Princess Aliz. His passion was disinterested; for he gained no territories by the union, and seems to have stipulated for no political advantages, when he despatched his mother Eleanor to ask the hand of Berengaria. It is said that the fair maiden partook of his generous passion, and that, without being deterred by the many dangers and privations to which she exposed herself, she joyfully consented to travel with her mother-in-law from the Pyrenees

to the Alps and Apennines, and thence to follow her husband beyond sea to the land of Paynim. Leaving Navarre with a suitable escort of barons, knights, and priests, the young Beren-



EFFIGY OF BERENGARIA, Queen of Richard I.²

¹ According to an old French writer the insult was "a nail stuck in and driven through the heart of Philip."—De Serres, *Inventory Général de l'Hist. de France*. Roger of Hoveden gives the fullest account of this quarrel. See also *Dietrich*.

² The architectural parts of Queen Berengaria's tomb, from which this effigy is derived, were discovered in the ruined church of the abbey of L'Esper, near Mans, which had been converted into a barn. The effigy itself was concealed beneath a considerable quantity of wheat. Beside the effigy were lying the bones of the queen. Three men, who had assisted in the work of destruction, stated that the monument with the figure upon it stood in the centre of the aisle at the east end of the church; that there was no coffin found within it, but a small square box containing bones, pieces of linen, some stuff embroidered with gold, and a slate on which was an inscription. The slate alluded to in this statement was found in the possession of a canon of the church of St. Julien, at Mans. Upon it was engraved the in-

scription following:—"Mausoleum Istud Serenissime Berengarie Anglorum Regine hujus Canonici Fundatrix Inclite restauratum et in augustiorum locum hunc translatum fuit in eoq. recondita sunt omnia hec quae reperta fuerunt in antiquo tumulo die 27 Maii Anno Domini 1672." The effigy represents the queen with her hair unconfined, but partly concealed by the coverchief, over which is placed an elegant crown. Her mantle is fastened by a narrow band crossing her breast; a large perrail or brooch richly set with stones confines her tunic at the neck. To an ornamented girdle which encircles her waist, is attached a small almshouse or purse to contain alms. The queen holds in her hands a book, singular from the circumstance of having embossed on the cover a second representation of herself as lying on a bier, with waxen torches burning in candelsticks by her side.—*Stothard's Monumental Effigies of Great Britain*. The tomb and effigy are supposed to belong to the commencement of the thirteenth century.

garia and Eleanor, whose activity was not destroyed by age, travelled by land to Naples, and from that gay city on through the passes of Monteforte and Bovino, and across the vast Apulian plain, to the ancient city of Brindisi, there to wait until the French king should be out of the way. As the expedition of Richard was so nearly ready for sea when the royal travellers arrived, it was not thought proper to delay its sailing, and, as the penitential season of Lent was not quite over, the marriage was not celebrated at Messina; and the queen-mother, having placed the bride under the matronly care of her own daughter Joan, the dowager queen of Sicily, embarked for England four days after.

The day after Eleanor's departure the whole fleet set sail for Acre. As a rapid current carried it through the Straits of Messina, it presented an imposing appearance, that called forth the involuntary admiration of the people of either shore—the Sicilians saying that so gallant an armament had never before been seen there, and never would be seen again. The size and beauty of the ships excited this admiration not less than their number. The flag of England floated over fifty-three galleys, thirteen dromones, "mighty great ships with triple sails,"¹ one hundred carikes or busses, and many smaller craft. Thirty busses from England had arrived just before, bringing out fresh stores and men. The mariners of England, however, were not then what centuries of struggle and experience have made them; and when a great tempest arose, soon after leaving the Sicilian sea, the whole navy was "sore tossed and turmoiled," and scattered in all directions, not a few of the ships being foundered or cast on shore.² After a narrow escape himself on the coast of Candia or Crete, Richard got safely into Rhodes; but the ship which bore his sister and his bride was not with him, and he passed several days in distressing anxiety as to their fate. At Rhodes he fell sick, and was detained there several days. Incapable of taking the sea himself, he despatched some of his swiftest vessels to look after the ladies and collect the scattered fleet. This storm blew more mischief to the petty tyrant of Cyprus than to any one else. One of the English scouts returned to Rhodes with the information that two of his ships had been cast ashore on the island of Cyprus, and that the people of the country had barbarously plundered the wrecks, and cast the mariners and crusaders into prison. Vowing

vengeance, Richard embarked, and, departing immediately with all of the fleet that had joined him at Rhodes, made way, with press of oars and sails, for the devoted island. Off Limisso, or Limasol, then the principal seaport town of Cyprus, he found the galley of his bride and sister. The sovereign of the island was one Isaac, a prince of the imperial race of the Comneni, who pompously styled himself "Emperor of Cyprus." When harshly called upon for satisfaction, he put himself in a posture of defence, throwing out some armed galleys to the mouth of the harbour of Limasol, and drawing up his troops along shore. These troops were ill calculated to contend with the steel-clad warriors of Richard; for, with the exception of a body-guard which was splendidly armed and appointed, they had no defensive armour, but were half naked, and the mass of them had no better weapons than clubs and stones. Richard boarded and took the galleys, dispersed the troops, and made himself master of the city with little difficulty. The inhabitants fled, but had not time to carry off their property, which the crusaders made prize of. They found an abundance of provisions of all kinds; and when Queen Joan and Berengaria landed at Limasol, they were welcomed with a feast. Having rallied to make another impotent attempt at resistance, the Cypriots were surprised the next morning, and "killed like beasts," their "emperor" saving his life by fleeing "bare in serke and breke."³ Isaac, who had now learned to his cost the might and fury of the enemy he had provoked, sent to sue for a conference of peace. Richard, gaily mounted on a Spanish charger, and splendidly attired in silk and gold, met the humbled Greek in a plain near Limasol. The terms he imposed were sufficiently hard. That very night the Greek fled to make another vain effort at resistance; but Richard had no great right to complain of this, seeing that he treated Isaac not as a reconciled enemy and ally, but as a prisoner of war, having actually placed guards over him, whose brute force the Greek defeated by a very excusable exercise of cunning. Despatching part of his army by land into the interior of the country, Richard embarked with the rest, and, sailing round the island, took all the maritime towns, and cut off Isaac's flight by sea, for he seized every ship, and even every boat, though of the smallest dimensions. Isaac fought another battle; but the contest was in every way unequal. Nicosia, the capital, surrendered, and Isaac's beautiful daughter fell into the hands of Richard, who gave her as a companion to Berengaria. Isaac, who doated on

¹ By this is meant that they were three-masted.

² It is said, however, by one who was on board the fleet, that the sailors did everything that it was possible for human skill to do; but old Vinosauf was a landman, and not a good judge, and people then allowed very narrow limits to the extent of human skill in many things.

³ Robert of Brucine. From Vinosauf and Hoveden it appears that Isaac, betrayed by the Cypriots, was surprised before he was out of bed, and fled without armour or clothes.

within the narrow circuit of Acre. The operations of the crusaders, which had languished for some weeks, were vigorously renewed on Richard's arrival; but the Kings of France and England quarrelled again almost as soon as they met; the besiegers became again inactive, and then threw away some thousands of lives from mere pique and jealousy of each other. The French and the English soldiery took a full share in the animosities of their respective leaders; and of the other bodies of crusaders, some sided with Philip, and some with Richard. The Genoese and Templars espoused the quarrel of France; the Pisans and Hospitaliers stood for England; and, on the whole, it appears that Richard's more brilliant valour, and superior command of money and other means, rendered the English faction the stronger of the two. The French tried to take the town by an assault without any assistance from the English, and then the English, wishing to have all the honour to themselves, repeated the like experiment without the French, and with the like ill success. These two fatal attempts showed the necessity of co-operation, and another brief reconciliation was effected between the rivals.

Richard's personal exertions¹ attracted univer-

sal admiration in the camp, and gave rise to fresh jealousies in the breast of Philip. At length, being disappointed of aid from Cairo, and seeing that Saladin could no longer penetrate the Christian lines to throw in provisions, the brave Musliman garrison offered to capitulate. After some negotiation, during which Philip and Richard once more disagreed, it was finally stipulated that the city should be surrendered to the crusaders, and that the Saracens, as a ransom for their lives (for their property, even to their arms, was forfeited), should restore the wood of the holy cross, set at liberty 1500 Christian captives, and pay 200,000 pieces of gold. Some thousands of Saracens were detained as hostages in the fortress for the performance of these conditions. Immediately afterwards—it was on the 12th of June, 1191—the crusaders entered Acre, and Saladin, evacuating all his positions, retired a short distance into the interior. The banners of the two kings were raised with equal honour on the ramparts; but it appears that Richard took the best house in the place for the accommodation of himself and family, leaving Philip to take up his lodgings with the Templars. Scarcely, however, had they entered this terrible town, ere the French king expressed his determination



Acre, from the Beach.—Chenev's Euphrates Expedition.

to return to Europe. The cause he alleged for his departure was the bad state of his health;² but this probably was not the true one—it certainly was not the only cause. Though Jerusalem was in the hands of the Mussulmans, there was a disputed succession to the throne among the Christians. Guy of Lusignan had worn the crown in right of his wife, a descendant of the great Godfrey of Bouillon, the first Christian King of Jerusalem; but Sybilla was dead, and

Conrad, Marquis of Montferrat and Prince of Tyre, who had married her sister, contended that the sole right of Guy of Lusignan was extinct by the demise of his wife, and that the crown devolved to himself as the husband of the legitimate heiress. The dispute was referred to the English and French monarchs, and it was not likely that they, who, from the commencement of the crusade, had never agreed in anything, should act with concord in this important matter. As soon as Philip reached Acre, without waiting for the opinion of Richard, he declared in favour of the claims of Conrad, who seems to have been much better qualified for a throne that was to be won and maintained by the sword than his

¹ He worked like a common soldier at the heavy battering engines. When sick, he caused himself to be carried to the trenchments on a silk pallet or mattress.

² Philip had been sick. Some of the French chroniclers accuse Richard of having given him poison!

miserable competitor Lusignan. Richard, however, swayed by other motives, or possibly merely out of pique, had declared against Conrad, and when Lusignan visited him as a suppliant in Cyprus, he had acknowledged him as King of Jerusalem, and, with his usual liberality, had given him a sum of money, his majesty being penniless and almost in want of bread. This subject had given rise to many disputes during the siege, and they were renewed with increased violence when the capture of Acre gave the French and English kings more leisure. In the end, Philip was obliged to yield so far to his fiery and determined rival as to allow that Lusignan should be King of Jerusalem during his life.

The King of France was otherwise irritated by the absolute will and constant domineering of his rival, who was as superior to him as an adventurous warrior, as he was superior to Richard in policy and political forethought. One of our old rhyming chroniclers no doubt hit part of the truth when he said—

"So that King Phillip was annoyed there at the thing,
That there was not of him a word, but all of Richard the king."

But, after all, we should be doing a manifest injustice to Philip's consummate king-craft, were we not to suppose that one of his strongest motives for quitting an unprofitable crusade, was to take advantage of Richard's absence in order to raise and consolidate the French kingdom—an end perfectly natural, and perhaps laudable in itself, however dishonourable the means that were employed to effect it. Dazzled as he was by dreams of chivalry and glory, Richard himself was yet not so blind as to overlook the danger that threatened him in the West; and, after his efforts to persuade Philip to remain had all failed, he exacted from him an oath not to make war upon any part of the territories of the English king, nor attack any of his vassals or allies, until at least forty days after the return of Richard from Palestine. Besides taking this oath, Philip agreed to leave at Acre 10,000 of his followers, to be immediately commanded by the Duke of Burgundy, who, however, was bound to recognize the superior authority of the English monarch. In the popular eye, Philip appeared as a deserter, and the mob of all nations that witnessed his departure from Acre hissed him and cursed him.¹ His absence, however, saved him from direct participation in an atrocious deed. Forty days was the term fixed for the fulfilment of the articles of capitulation. Receiving neither the Christian captives, nor the cross, nor the money, Richard made several applications to Saladin,

who was unable or unwilling to fulfil the conditions, though he sent to offer Richard some costly presents for himself. A rumour—apparently false—was spread through the Christian camp and the town of Acre, that Saladin had massacred his Christian captives, and the soldiers demanded instant vengeance, making a fearful riot, and killing several of their officers who attempted to pacify them. On the following day the term of forty days expired. At an appointed hour a signal was given, and all the Saracen hostages were led out beyond the barriers of the French and English camps, and butchered by the exulting and rejoicing crusaders. Richard presided over the slaughter at one camp—the Duke of Burgundy at the other. Between 2000 and 3000 prisoners² were thus destroyed, and only a few emirs and Mohametans of rank were saved from the carnage, in the hope of obtaining valuable ransoms from their families. Some centuries had to elapse ere this deed excited any horror or disgust in Christendom. At the time, and indeed long after, it was considered as a praiseworthy smiting of the infidels—as a sacrifice acceptable to Heaven.

Having restored the battered works of Acre, Richard prepared to march upon Jerusalem. The generality of the crusaders by no means shared his impatience, "for the wine (says old Vinesauf) was of the very best quality, and the city abounded with most beautiful girls"—the gravest knights had made a Capua of Acre. At length, however, Richard tore them from these enjoyments, and, leaving behind him his sister and wife, and the fair Cypriot, and strictly prohibiting women from following the camp, he began his march on the 22d of August. Thirty thousand men, of all countries, obeyed his orders, marching in five divisions: the Templars led the van; the knights of St. John brought up the rear. Every night, when the army halted, the heralds of the several camps cried aloud three times, "Save the holy sepulchre!" and every soldier bent his knee, and said "Amen!" Saladin, who had been reinforced from all parts, invested their march every day, and encamped near them every night, with an army greatly superior in numbers. On the 7th of September, Richard brought him to a general action near Azotus, the Ashdod of the Bible, on the sea-shore, and about nine miles from Ascalon; and after a display of valour which was never surpassed, and of more cool conduct and generalship than might have been expected, he gained a complete victory. Mourning the loss of 7000 men and thirty-two

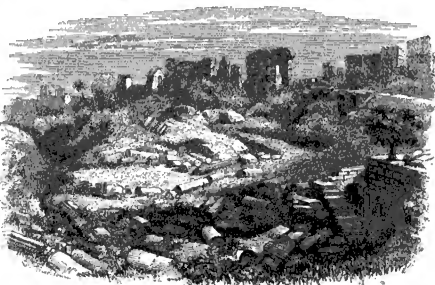
¹ We have again taken the very lowest number. Bohadin, the Arab, says that 3000 were destroyed by Richard alone, and that the Duke of Burgundy sacrificed a like number. Hoveden says that 5000 were slain by the king and the duke.

¹ Robert of Gloucester.

² Vinesauf: Roger of Hoveden.

emirs, Saladin, the victor of many a field, retreated in great disorder, finding time, however, to lay waste the country, and dismantle the towns he could not garrison or defend; and Richard advanced without further opposition to Jaffa, the Joppa of Scripture, of which he took possession. As the country in advance of that position was still clear of enemies, the Lion-heart would have followed up his advantages, but many of the crusaders, less hardy than himself, were worn out by the heat of the climate, and the rapid marches on which he had already led them; and the French barons urged the necessity of restoring the fortifications of Jaffa before they advanced. No sooner had Richard consented to this arrangement, than the crusaders, instead of prosecuting the work with vigour, abandoned themselves to a luxurious ease; and Richard himself gave many of his days to the sports of the field, disregarding the evident fact that Saladin was again making head, and that hordes of Saracens were scouring the country in detached parties. Several skirmishes ensued. On such onslaughts, say the chroniclers, Richard's cry was still "St. George! St. George!" Many romantic feats and adventures are related of this flower of chivalry—this pearl of crusading princes. His battle-axe seems to have been the weapon most familiar to his stalwart arm. He had caused it to be forged by the best smiths in England before he departed for the East, and twenty pounds of steel were wrought into the head of it, that he might "break therewith the Saracens' bones."¹ Nothing, it was said, could resist this mighty axe, and wherever it fell, horseman and horse went to the ground. When the fortifications of Jaffa were restored, the Lion-heart was duped into a further loss of time, by a negotiation artfully proposed by Saladin, and skilfully conducted by his brother Saphadin, who came and went between the two armies, and spite of his turban, ingratiated himself with Richard. At last, the crusaders set forth from Jaffa; but it was now the month of November, and incessant

rains, nearly equal to those in tropical countries, wetted them to the skin, rusted their arms, spoiled their provisions, and rendered the roads almost impassable. Crossing the plain of Sharon, where "the rose of Sharon and the lily of the valley" no longer bloomed, they pitched their tents at Ramula,² only fifteen miles in advance of Jaffa; but the wind tore them up and rent them. They then sought quarters at Bethany, where they were within twelve miles of the Holy City; but their condition became daily worse—famine, disease, and desertion thinned their ranks, and Richard was compelled, sore against his will, to turn his back on Jerusalem. He retreated rapidly to Ascalon, followed closely by the loose



RUINS OF ASCALON.—FROM FORBIN, *Voyage en Orient*.

light cavalry of the Kourds and Turks, who, though they could make no impression on the main body, or even penetrate the rear-guard, where the gallant knights of St. John wielded sword and lance, yet did much mischief by cutting off stragglers, and caused great distress by keeping the whole force constantly on the alert by night as well as by day. Ascalon, so celebrated in the ancient history of the Jews, was still a city of great importance, being the connecting link between the Mahometans in Jerusalem and the Mahometans in Egypt. Saladin had dismantled its fortifications, which Richard now determined to restore in all haste. To set a good example, he worked, as he had already done at Acre, upon the walls and battlements, like a common mason, and he expected every prince and noble would do the same; for the common

¹ Weber, *Metrical Romances*.

² Ramula, Ramla, or Ramah, is the Arimathæa of Scripture. A little beyond it begin the almost impracticable mountain defiles of Judea, which extend to Jerusalem.

³ The town stood on an extensive semicircular hill, abrupt towards the sea, but declining very gradually landward. Its walls, with their towers and battlements, still remain; and among the ruins, mingled with vestiges of more ancient date,

are a great Gothic church, a palace, and a chapel dedicated to the Virgin. Forty columns of rose granite, still standing, are supposed to be the remains of a temple dedicated to the "heavenly Venus," mentioned by Herodotus as having been plundered by the Scythians, A.C. 630. There are also the remains of a Roman amphitheatre. The site is entirely abandoned to jackals and other wild creatures. The Arabs call it "Djeurah," and believe it to be the abode of evil spirits.

crusaders required a stimulus, and the Saracens seemed to be gathering for an assault or siege. All the men of rank, with the exception of the proud Duke of Austria, thought it no dishonour to do as the King of England did. There was an old quarrel between these two princes. During the siege of Acre, the Duke of Austria took one of the towers, and planted his banner upon it; Richard, enraged at this step, which appears to have been, at least, out of order, tore down the banner, and cast it into the ditch. Such an affront could never be forgotten. And now, when urged by Richard to work on the fortifications of Ascalon, the duke replied that he would not, seeing that he was the son neither of a mason nor of a carpenter. Upon this, it is reported that Richard struck him or kicked him, and turned him and his vassals out of the town, with threatening and most insulting language. Notwithstanding the duke's refusal, the greatest personages there, including bishops and abbots, as well as lay lords, worked as masons and carpenters, and the repairs were soon completed. Richard then turned his attention to the other towns which Saladin had dismantled, or which had not been previously fortified; and in the course of the winter, and the following spring, he made the whole coast from Ascalon to Acre a chain of well-fortified posts; and below Acre he rebuilt the walls of Gaza. Before these works were completed, however, his forces were considerably diminished; his lavish generosity had hitherto kept the French and other soldiers, not his subjects, together; but now his treasures were nearly exhausted. Hence arose a wonderful cooling of zeal—a disposition even to criticise his military skill, and a pretty general defection on the part of all except his English and Norman subjects. Acre, a pleasanter place than Ascalon, was again crowded with jealous and mercenary chieftains, and became a very hot-bed of corruption and political intrigue. The Genoese and Pisans fought openly in the streets of the town, hiding their old animosities under the pretence of combating for the rights of the lawful King of Jerusalem; for Richard's treaty in favour of Guy had not settled that question. The Genoese had declared for Conrad of Montferrat—the Pisans for Guy of Lusignan; and when Conrad himself, disregarding the treaty and the power of the English king, joined his troops with those of the Genoese, a sort of civil war seemed imminent among all the Christians in Palestine. On this, Richard moved from Ascalon to Acre, effected a reconciliation between the Genoese and Pisans, and forced Conrad to retire. He attempted to conciliate that nobleman, who had given him many other causes of complaint; but Montferrat insultingly rejected all overtures, and withdrew

to his strong town of Tyre, where he opened a correspondence with the common enemy, Saladin, and where he was soon joined by 600 French knights and soldiers, whom he had seduced from Richard's garrison at Ascalon. Saladin, who was, in all respects, a rival worthy of Richard, gaining fresh heart from the dissensions of the Christians, once more condensed his forces, in the hope of striking a decisive blow. About this time the Lion-heart, in some distress of mind, wrote to the abbot of Clairvaux,¹ who had great interest in several of the European courts, earnestly entreating him to rouse the princes and people of Christendom to arms, in order that he might have a force sufficient for the occasion, and that Jerusalem, the inheritance of the Lord, might be rescued, and made secure for the future. This letter apparently was scarcely despatched when he received others from his mother Eleanor, informing him that his own throne in England was beset by the greatest of dangers. At this crisis he opened a negotiation for peace, declaring to Saladin that he wanted nothing more than the possession of Jerusalem, and the wood of the true cross. To this Saladin is reported to have replied, that Jerusalem was as dear to the Mussulmans as to the Christians,² and that his conscience and the law of the Prophet would not permit him to connive at idolatry or the worshipping of a piece of wood.

Another proposal which Richard is said to have made was still more unlikely to be complied with: it was, that the kingdom of Jerusalem should be peacefully occupied by the contending powers under a government partly Christian and partly Mahometan; and that this strange rule should be ratified by the marriage of Joan, Richard's sister, to Saphadin, the brother of Saladin. If such a proposal was ever made, we can easily believe how keenly it was opposed both by Christian and Mussulman, and how speedily it was silenced. Centuries, indeed, were yet to elapse before such friendly co-operation could be established between the followers of these opposite creeds, and hence the general scepticism with which the narrative of this treaty between Richard and Saladin has been regarded. It is pleasing, however, to find that amidst the atrocities of the crusade, and the wholesale massacres of captives on both sides, the contending parties evinced a chivalrous courtesy towards each other during the intervals of truce, which modern wars have seldom surpassed. The soldiers of both armies were wont at these seasons to mingle in

¹ The successor of St. Bernard, who had done more than any other single individual, after Peter the Hermit, to promote the Crusades.

² The Arabs still call Jerusalem "El Gootz," or "The Blessed City."

friendly intercourse and military sports; and when the Lion-heart himself was stretched on a bed of sickness, his noble rival sent him presents of the rich fruits of Syria, and the more valuable luxury of snow from the distant mountains in the interior. It is also stated that Saladin had sought and obtained the honour of Christian knighthood, and that his nephew, the son of Saphadin, had received the accolade, in like manner, from the sword of Richard himself.

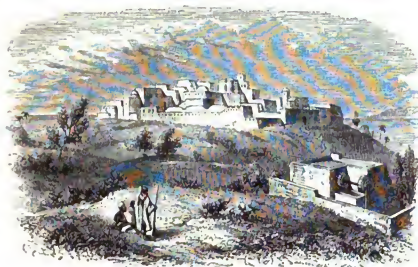
In order to reconcile parties, and facilitate his own return to Europe, Richard now abandoned the cause of Guy of Lusignan, whom he liberally recompensed by the gift of the island of Cyprus, and consented that Conrad of Montferrat, who was supported by the French, the German, and the Genoese factions, should be crowned King of Jerusalem. But Conrad was murdered in the streets of Tyre, while preparing for his coronation, by two of the assassins, the fanatic subjects of the Old Man of the Mountain. The murderers were seized and put to the torture. Hoveden and Vinesauf both say that the wretches declared that they had murdered Conrad by the order of their master, in revenge for injuries done to his people, and insults offered to himself by Conrad, whose imprudent quarrel with the Old Man of the Mountain was notorious. Bohadin, the Arab historian, indeed, affirms that the men said they were employed by the King of England; but another Arabic writer, of equal weight, says that the murderers would make no confession whatever, but that, triumphing amidst their agonies, they rejoiced that they had been destined by Heaven to suffer in so just and glorious a cause; and this account agrees better with the character of the wonderful association to which they belonged, and is more probable than any other. So little, indeed, did Conrad himself join in these first suspicions, that, with his dying breath, he recommended his widow to Richard's protection. But the French king, the German emperor, the Austrian duke, and other sovereigns, were burning with spite and revenge against him; and Philip, more especially, who was contemplating an attack on Richard's dominions, in order to cover his infamy, filled all the West with exclamations against his rival's perfidy. In the meanwhile the French within the town, declaring that Richard had employed the murderers, rose in arms, and demanded from the widow of Conrad that she would resign Tyre to them: this she refused to do, and the people, siding with the countess, took up arms against the French. In the midst of the tumult Count Henry of Champagne, King Richard's own nephew, made his appearance, and, at the invitation of the people, took possession of Tyre, and the other territories in Palestine which had been held by Conrad.

Soon after, by marrying Conrad's widow, young Henry of Champagne received her claim to the imaginary crown, and the crusaders, with the Christians in the country, generally acknowledged him as King of Jerusalem.

Richard had attempted to conceal his many causes of uneasiness; and when the army showed that they were aware that his presence was most earnestly prayed for in his own dominions, he issued a proclamation stating his fixed resolution of remaining in Palestine another year. By his promises and exertions he again restored something like unanimity of purpose, and at the end of May the crusaders once more set out on their march towards Jerusalem, under his command. Early in June he encamped in the valley of Hebron, where he received some messengers from England bringing fresh accounts of plots within, and armed confederacies without his dominions. We follow the most consistent, though not the most generally received account, in saying that, on this intelligence, and at the prospect of the increasing power of the Saracens, and of the increasing weakness and destitution of the Christian forces, to whose wants he could no longer administer, Richard now came to a stand, and turned his heart to the West. A council, assembled at his suggestion, declared that, under present circumstances, it would be better to march and besiege Cairo, whence Saladin drew his main supplies, than to attack Jerusalem. This decision was perhaps a wise one, but it came too late. Richard, however, pretended that he would follow it, upon which the Duke of Burgundy wrote a song reflecting, in severe terms, on his vacillation. Richard did not reply by despatching two emissaries of the Old Man of the Mountain, or by adopting any other unfair measure; he revenged himself with the same instrument with which the offence had been given, and wrote a satire on the vices and foibles of the Duke of Burgundy. It could not be expected, however, that the Lion-heart should renounce his great enterprise without feelings of deep mortification. It is related of him that, when a friend led him to the summit of a mountain which commanded a full view of Jerusalem, he raised his shield before his eyes, declaring that he was not worthy to look upon the Holy City which he had not been able to redeem. If the expedition to Egypt had ever been seriously contemplated, it was presently seen that it was impracticable; for as soon as a counter-march from the Hebron was spoken of, all discipline abandoned the camp, and, after some conflicts among themselves, the mass of the French and Germans deserted the standard altogether. Richard then fell back upon Acre. Taking advantage of the circumstance, the vigilant Saladin descended from the mountains of Judea and took the town

of Jaffa all but the citadel. At the first breath of this intelligence, Richard ordered such troops as he had been able to keep together to march by land, while he, with only seven vessels, should hasten by sea to the relief of Jaffa. On arriving

As the battle of Jaffa was the most brilliant, so also was it the last fought by the Lion-heart in the Holy Land. His health and the health of his glorious adversary were both declining; and a mutual respect facilitated the terms of a treaty



JAFFA.—From Forbin, *Voyage en Orient*.

which was concluded shortly after. A truce was agreed upon for three years, three months, three weeks, three days, and three hours; Ascalon was to be dismantled, after Richard had been reimbursed the money it had cost him; but Jaffa and Tyre, with all the castles and all the country on the coast between them, were to be left to the peaceful enjoyment of the Christians. The pilgrims of the West were to have full liberty of repairing to Jerusalem at all seasons, without being subjected to those tolls, taxes, and persecutions which had originally pro-

in the road he found the beach covered with a host of the enemy; but, turning a deaf ear to the advice and fears of his companions, and shouting, "Cursed for ever be he that followeth me not!" he leaped into the water. The knights in the ships were too high-minded to abandon their king, and this small body dispersed the Saracens and retook the town. On the following day, between night and morning, Saladin came up with the main body of his army, and Richard, who had been joined by the troops that had marched by land, went out to meet him in the open country behind Jaffa. The Lion-heart made up for his immense inferiority in point of number by careful and judicious arrangement; and the victory of Jaffa, which was most decisive, is generally esteemed as the greatest of his many exploits. Overpowered by a generous admiration, Saphadin, seeing him dismounted, sent him, during the action, two magnificent horses, and on one of these Richard pursued his successes till night-fall. Every champion that met him that day was killed or dismounted; and the ordinary troops, whenever he headed a charge against them, are said to have turned and fled at the very sight of him. It was by deeds like these that Richard left a traditionary fame behind him, that grew and brightened with the passing years, and that his name became a word of fear in the mouth of the Mussulman natives.

voiced the Crusades. All parties immediately prepared to avail themselves of the treaty, and since they could not enter Jerusalem as conquerors, to visit it as licensed pilgrims. A violent fever, brought on by his tremendous exertions in the field of Jaffa, is said to have been the cause why Richard himself did not visit Jerusalem; but it is at least probable that his reluctance to enter merely on sufferance that town which he had so vehemently hoped to conquer, had some share in this omission.

In the month of October, 1192, on the feast-day of St. Dionysius, Richard finally set sail from Acre with his queen, his sister Joan, the Cypriot princess, and the surviving bishops, earls, and knights of England, Normandy, Anjou, and Aquitaine. The next morning he took a last view of the mountains of Lebanon and the hills above the Syrian shore. With outstretched arms he exclaimed, "Most holy land, I commend thee to God's keeping. May he give me life and health to return and rescue thee from the infidel." A storm arose and scattered the fleet—it was the usual season for tempestuous weather in the Mediterranean; but people attributed the storm to the wrath of Heaven at the Christians sailing away and leaving the tomb and the cross of Christ unredeemed. Some of the vessels were wrecked on the hostile shores of Egypt and Barbary, where the crews were made slaves; others reached friendly ports, and, in time, returned to England. The galley in which Richard's wife and the other ladies were embarked reached Sicily in safety. It is not very clear why Richard sailed in another vessel, or why he did not take his way homeward through the friendly land of Navarre; but we are told

¹ Jaffa, or Joppa, is built upon a conical eminence overhanging the sea. The town is girt on the land side by a wall, with towers at unequal distances. Its harbour is so choked with sand that small boats only can enter. The roadstead is dangerous, the anchorage being near a ledge of rocks. Jaffa is the common landing-place of the pilgrims who resort to Jerusalem, of which place it may be considered the port.

that when within three days' sail of the city of Marseilles, fearing the malice of his numerous enemies, he suddenly changed his course for the Adriatic, resolving, it should seem, to pursue his way homeward from the head of that sea through Styria and Germany. He reached the island of Corfu about the middle of November, and there he hired three small galleys to carry him and his suite, which consisted of Baldwin of Bethune, a priest, Anselm, the chaplain, and a few Knights Templars—in all twenty individuals. After escaping capture by the Greeks, who were among his numerous enemies, he landed at Zara, on the coast of Dalmatia, where his liberal expenditure attracted attention, and defeated the object of his disguise. He had put on the humble weeds of a pilgrim, hoping that this dress, with his beard and hair, which he suffered to grow long, would enable him to cross the Continent without being discovered. A storm drove him on the coast of Istria, between Venice and Aquileia. From this point he and his companions, crossing the Friuli mountains, proceeded inland to Goritz, a principal town of Carinthia. He could hardly have taken a worse course; for Maynard, the governor of this town, was a near relation to Conrad of Montferrat. Richard sent a page to Maynard to ask for a passport for Baldwin of Bethune and Hugh the merchant, who were pilgrims returning from Jerusalem. To forward his request, the young man presented a very valuable ring as a proof of his master the merchant's good-will towards the governor. Maynard, much struck with the beauty and value of the ruby, exclaimed, "This is the present of a prince, not of a merchant; your master's name is not Hugh, but King Richard: tell him, from me, that he may come and go in peace." The king was alarmed at this discovery, and, having purchased some horses, he fled by night. Baldwin of Bethune and seven others who remained behind, were arrested by Maynard, and the news was spread far and wide that the King of England was advancing into Germany in a helpless state. The fugitives rode on without accident or molestation till they reached Freisach, in the territory of Salzburg, where Richard was recognized by a Norman knight in the service of Frederick of Beteson, another near connection of Conrad. The Norman's sense of duty to his native prince overcame the love of money—for a large reward had been offered for the detection and apprehension of the disguised king—and instead of seizing him, he warned him of his danger, and presented him with a swift horse. Richard escaped with one knight and a boy who spoke the language of the country, but all the rest of his companions who had been able to keep up with him thus far were taken and thrown into prison. After tra-

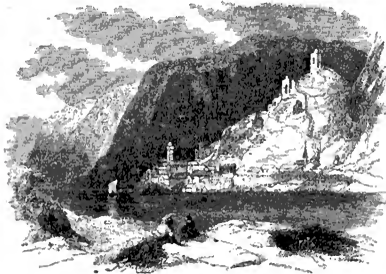
velling three days and three nights without entering a house, and almost without nourishment of any kind, he was compelled by hunger and sickness to enter Erperg, a village close to Vienna. His ignorance of the country was probably the cause of his lighting on a spot which, of all others, he ought most carefully to have avoided. Though sensible of his danger, Richard was too weak to renew his flight. He sent the boy to the marketplace of Vienna to purchase provisions and a few comforts which he greatly needed. With his usual thoughtlessness in these matters, he had given the boy a quantity of money, and dressed him in costly clothes. These things excited attention, but the messenger eluded inquiry by saying that his master was a very rich merchant, and would presently make his appearance in Vienna. The boy was again sent into the town to make purchases, and for some days escaped further notice; but one day that he went as usual, the citizens saw in his girdle a pair of such gloves as were not worn save by kings and princes. The poor lad was instantly seized and scourged, and on being threatened with torture and the cutting out of his tongue, he confessed the truth, and revealed the retreat of the king. A band of Austrian soldiers surrounded the house where Richard was, forgetting his pains and anxieties in a deep sleep. Surprised and overpowered as he was, Richard drew his sword, and refused to surrender to any but their chief. That chief soon made his appearance in the person of his deadliest enemy, Leopold, Duke of Austria, who had arrived from the Holy Land some time before him. "You are fortunate," said Leopold, with a triumphant smile, as he received the sword which had often made him quail; "and you ought to consider us rather as deliverers than as enemies: for, by the Lord, if you had fallen into the hands of the Marquis Conrad's friends, who are hunting for you everywhere, you had been but a dead man though you had had a thousand lives." The duke then committed the king to the castle of Tiernsteign, which belonged to one of his barons called Hadmar of Cunring.¹

When the Emperor Henry, the degenerate son of the great Frederic Barbarossa, was informed of this arrest, he claimed the prisoner, saying, "A duke must not presume to imprison a king—that belongs to an emperor." Henry, the sixth of the name in the list of emperors, and whom old historians designate as a "beggar of a prince, ferocious and avaricious,"² hated Richard almost

¹ There are several versions of Richard's adventures from the time he left Acre to his captivity in the hands of the emperor, but they do not differ very essentially, and are about equally romantic. We have adopted what appears to us the simplest and most consistent story, the chief authorities being Hoveden, Brompton, R. Coggeshall, William of Newbury, and Matthew Paris.

² Legendre, *Hist. de France*.

as much as Leopold of Austria did. This arose chiefly out of the English king's close alliance



CASTLE OF TIERSSTEIN.¹—From Lillienbrun, Panorama der Donau.

with Tancred of Sicily, whom the emperor held as the usurper of his or his wife Constance's rights. In the summer of 1191, the year in which Richard sailed from Messina for Acre, Henry, accompanied by his Sicilian wife, advanced with a powerful German army into the south of Italy, and laid siege to the city of Naples, which made a faithful and gallant stand for Tancred. During the heats of summer a *malaria* fever carried off a vast number of his men, and some nobles of high rank; and, as soon as Henry fell sick himself, he raised the siege of Naples, and made a disgraceful retreat. Tancred then established himself on the disputed throne more firmly than ever, nor had the emperor been able to retrieve his honour in the South. He was, however, at the moment of Richard's capture, engaged in preparations for that object, and he was overjoyed at an event which would save him from the dangerous hostility of so great a warrior and so powerful a prince; for the English king, it will be remembered, had entered into an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the occupant of the Sicilian throne, and Henry and his advisers had little doubt that, if he reached England in time, Richard would perform his part of the treaty, and prevent the success of the emperor.² The Duke of Austria would not resign his prisoner without a reservation of his own claims, and a payment, or at least a promise, of a large sum of money from Henry. The disgraceful sale and transfer took place at the feast

of Easter, 1193, after which, it appears that even in Germany, Richard was entirely lost sight of, and men knew not where he was confined for some time.

In following the romantic adventures of one who was rather a knight-errant than a king, and whose history is more that of a crusade than a reign,³ we have strayed far and long from England. And what were the home events during the interval? Our information is scanty, but enough is on record to show that they were of a gloomy nature.

The tragedy of the Jews, enacted at Richard's coronation, was speedily repeated in several of the other principal towns of the kingdom, beginning at Lynn, in Norfolk, in the month of February, 1190, while Richard was in

Normandy. All these horrors, indeed, were committed before he sailed for Palestine; but though so near home he was unable or unwilling to check them in their progress, or inflict a proper punishment on the offenders. Within a month the populace rose and robbed and slaughtered the Jews at Norwich, Stamford, St. Edmundsbury, and Lincoln. The great massacre of York was not a mere popular tumult; it was conducted in a systematic manner, and assuredly had for one of its objects the destruction of the bonds that were evidence of, and security for the great debts owing by the nobles to the York Jews. In this horrid affair 500 Jews, besides women and children, had recourse to mutual slaughter that they might escape the more terrible alternative of falling into the hands of their enemies.

The next important events during Richard's absence arose out of the struggle for power between Hugh Pudsey, the Bishop of Durham, and Longchamp, the Bishop of Ely. The reader has been already informed how Pudsey purchased the post of chief justiciary for 1000 marks. Richard, before he departed from England, unfairly nominated a new regency and appointed other justiciaries, by which measures Pudsey's bought authority was wofully reduced. These additional justiciaries were Hugh Bardolf, William Briwere, and Longchamp, the last-named being the royal favourite, in whose hands Richard openly showed his intention of placing the whole power of the government. Besides his justiciaryship, Long-

¹ Tiersstein, or Dürrenstein, is a small town situated on the left bank of the Danube, forty-one miles west by north from Vienna. The castle, perched upon a craggy sterile rock, overlooks the town, and behind, at a higher elevation, rises the Wunderberg, covered with a dark wood of fir. In the town are the fine ruins of a monastery of the Augustine order.

² Tancred died at the end of 1193, during Richard's imprisonment. He died a king, and transmitted the crown to his young

son, William, who, however, could not keep it on his head. The Emperor Henry, in 1195, enriched with Richard's ransom, invaded his dominions, and became master of them after much treachery and bloodshed. The cruelties committed by the jailer of *Coeur de Lion* were most atrocious; his advent in Sicily and Naples was made memorable by an apparently interminable process of burning, hanging, blinding, and mutilating.

³ See *James Macintosh*.

champ held the chancellorship, for which he had paid 3000 marks. He was, moreover, intrusted with the custody of the Tower of London. He was a man of great worldly wisdom, activity, and talent for business; his ambition was immense, and must soon have made itself felt; but the first accusation his opponents seem to have brought against him was his lowliness of birth. His grandfather, they said, had been nothing but a serf in the diocese of Beauvais. Richard, however, who did not judge of him by the condition of his grandfather, issued letters-patent, addressed to all his lieges, commanding them to obey Longchamp in all things, even as they would obey the king himself. He also wrote to the pope, to obtain for him the legation of England and Ireland; and when Longchamp was appointed legate—which he was immediately—his power in spiritual matters completed his authority.

Poor Pudsey would not, without a struggle, sink into the obscurity for which he seems to have been best fitted. Complaints against Longchamp's excessive power had been sent after Richard, and he arrived in great triumph in London with letters from the king, importing that he should be restored to some part, or to the whole of his former authority. Although Longchamp was absent from London, his rival received an immediate check there from the barons of the exchequer, who refused to admit him on the bench. Thus rejected, Pudsey posted after Longchamp, who was in the north, and surrounded by an armed force devoted to his interest. When the brother bishops met, he of Ely was all courtesy and compliance. He said he was quite willing to obey the king's commands; and then he invited his lordship of Durham to visit him that day se'nnight in the royal castle of Tickhill. Pudsey; with "singular simplicity," accepted the invitation; and as soon as he was within the castle walls Longchamp laid hands on him, exclaiming, "As sure as my lord the king liveth, thou shalt not depart hence until thou hast surrendered all the castles which thou holdest. This is not bishop arresting bishop, but chancellor arresting chancellor." Nor was Pudsey released from this duress until he surrendered the castle of Windsor, and the custody of the forest, together with the shrievalty of the county, as well as the earldom of Northumberland and the lordship of Sudburgh—everything, in short, which he had purchased from the king. Longchamp's power was now without check or control. He had the whole powers of civil and military, and, we may add, ecclesiastical government; and he is represented as tyrannizing equally over clergy and laity. "Had he continued in office," said his enemies, "the kingdom would have been wholly exhausted; not a girdle would have re-

mained to the man, nor a bracelet to the woman, nor a ring to the knight, nor a gem to the Jew." Another writer says he was more than a king to the laity, and more than a pope to the clergy. Abroad and at home he made a display of as much or more power and parade than had been exhibited by any Norman king. A numerous guard always surrounded his house; wherever he went he was attended by 1000 horse; and when he passed the night at an abbey, or any house on the road, his immense and greedy retinue consumed the produce of three whole years—a poetical exaggeration, implying that they ate and drank, and probably wasted a great deal. He was a munificent patron of minstrels, troubadours, and jongleurs; he enticed many of them over from France, and these sang his praises in the public places, saying there was not such a man in the world.¹ It is evident that Longchamp was vain of his authority; but there is nothing to indicate that he was not most loyal to the king, and anxious for the preservation of peace in the kingdom. The worst shades in his portrait were put in by men who were notoriously disloyal to Richard, and careless of deluging the country with blood, so long as they fancied that they were forwarding their own views; and it was the bishop's decided opposition to these men that first called forth the accusations against him. Peter of Blois, whose testimony carries no small weight, speaks most highly of Longchamp, and styles him a man famed for wisdom and unbounded generosity, as also for his amiable, benevolent, and gentle temper. In those turbulent times, and with such crafty, remorseless opponents as Prince John and his advisers, it was almost impossible that he should preserve peace; but while the ambitious and the great envied him, it is probable that the humbler and quieter classes in the land saw him with pleasure get that power into his hands which alone could give him a chance of averting the storm. He was the first to see that John was endeavouring to secure the succession to the throne, and he steadily opposed those pretensions. After many violent dissensions, John wrote to his brother to tell him that the chief justiciary was ruining king and kingdom, and several barons of his faction put their signatures or crosses to this letter. Richard, whose confidence in Longchamp was scarcely to be shaken, sent, however, from Messina, two letters-patent, in which he ordered that, if the accusations against him were true, then Walter, Archbishop of Rouen, was to assume the regency, or chief justiciaryship, with William Mareschal and Geoffrey Fitz-Peter as his colleagues; if false, the three were, nevertheless, to be associated with

¹ Sir Francis Palgrave, *Introd. Rot. Cur. Reg.*; *Matt. Par.*; *Hoved.*; *Nest.*; *Gervae.*

him in the government. Although these letters are preserved in the contemporary chronicle of Ralph de Diceto, their authenticity has been questioned; and it appears quite certain that if they were really written, Richard repented of his doubts, and that, immediately before he set sail from Messina, he addressed letters to his subjects in nearly the same terms as those written about a year before from France, requiring them all to obey Longchamp, whom he again mentions with the greatest affection and honour. It is also equally certain, that though the Archbishop of Rouen came into England from Sicily, he never showed any royal order until a year later, when Longchamp was overwhelmed by his enemies.

As soon as John knew for a certainty that his brother had departed from Sicily, beyond which the real perils of the crusade were supposed to begin, he assumed the state and bearing of an heir-apparent about to enter upon his inheritance. He knew that Richard had named his nephew Arthur for his heir, but that circumstance irritated without discouraging him; he felt that a child would be no formidable rival if he could only dispose of Longchamp, who was bent on doing his master's will in all things, and who, by Richard's orders, had opened a treaty with the King of Scotland, to support Arthur's claims in case of necessity. The decisive conflict, which had been postponed as long as Richard was in Europe, began as soon as his loving brother thought he was fairly in Asia. Gerard de Camville, a factious baron and a partizan of John, claimed the custody of Lincoln Castle, and kept that place in defiance of the regent's authority. Raising an army, Longchamp marched to Lincoln; but, while he was besieging the castle, John put himself at the head of a still more numerous army and attacked the royal castles of Nottingham and Tickhill, and took them both after a siege of two days. This done, he sent a threatening message to the regent. Longchamp was taken by surprise; he gave up the siege at Lincoln, and Gerard de Camville did homage for his castle to John.¹ The regent then convened the chiefs of the king's army and the barons most attached to Richard, and warned them that John was seeking the government: but he was not properly supported, and being compelled to yield, a truce, most disadvantageous to Longchamp, was concluded between the contending parties. He was forced to agree that a certain number of the royal castles, the possession of which had hitherto constituted his greatest strength, should be placed in the custody of various bishops and barons,

who were sworn to keep the fortresses in the king's fealty until he should return from Palestine; but should he die during his pilgrimage, then they were to deliver them to John. At the same time another concession, of almost equal importance, was extorted from Longchamp; the settlement in favour of Arthur was formally set aside, and, the regent himself directing the act, the earls and primates of the kingdom took the oath of fealty to John, acknowledging him, should Richard die without issue, as heir to the throne.² For a short time John was satisfied with the progress he had made, and left to the chancellor-regent his places and honours; but the tranquillity thus insured was disturbed by circumstances artfully arranged.

Geoffrey, Archbishop of York, the son of Henry II. by "Fair Rosamond," had been compelled to swear that he would live out of England. He was now preparing to return to obtain possession of his church. The whole board of justiciaries joined their chief in prohibiting his landing; and Longchamp, fairly acting in the exercise of his authority, commanded the sheriffs to arrest Geoffrey, should he disregard the injunction. At the instigation of his half-brother John, Geoffrey defied the regent, and landed at Dover, where, however, he was presently obliged to take refuge in a church. When the requisition was made by the sheriff or the constable of Dover, he replied that he would never submit to that "traitor, the Bishop of Ely." It was required of him that he should swear fealty anew or depart the kingdom. For three days he refused to answer, and his asylum was respected the while; but on the fourth morning the officers broke into the church where the archbishop had just concluded mass, seized him at the foot of the altar, and, after literally dragging him through the streets, lodged him in Dover Castle. At the news of this transaction, which excited considerable indignation among the people, John and his party were overjoyed. They had got Longchamp fast in the snare they had laid for him; and now they produced what they called Richard's authority for displacing him altogether, and substituting the Archbishop of Rouen. In vain did the regent plead that he had not directed the more violent and offensive part of the proceedings against Geoffrey—that the authorities of Dover had thought fit to understand much more from his warrant than he ever intended. It was equally in vain that, at the solicitation of the Bishop of London, who gave security for his good behaviour, Longchamp released Geoffrey within a very few days, and allowed him to go to London. John, acting with the Archbishop of Rouen, who assumed all

¹ John seems to have assumed a royal authority in the domains which Richard had too liberally given him. From the importance of these possessions the chroniclers call John the "Trutarch."

² B. Abbas: Hoved.; Ricardus Divisiensis: Diceto.

the right of a chief justiciary, peremptorily summoned him to make amends to the Archbishop of York, and to answer for the whole of his public conduct before the king's council. The semblance of an affection which was as sudden as it was tender, sprang up between John, who had hitherto hated him, and his illegitimate brother. On the one side all the prelates and barons in the kingdom were invited or ordered by John to assemble—on the other they were all forbidden by Longchamp (who declared that John's object was to disinherit his sovereign) from holding any such meeting. The meeting, however, was held at Loddon Bridge on the Thames, between Reading and Windsor; and Longchamp himself, who was in Windsor Castle, was ordered to attend—an order he did not care to obey. There John and Geoffrey embraced each other weeping; and John, who was a good actor, fell on his knees before the bishops and barons, and implored them to avenge his dear brother's wrongs. Soon after this meeting Longchamp marched from Windsor Castle to the capital, being informed by Richard Bisset that John intended to seize the city of London. The regent required the citizens to close their gates against the prince; but Geoffrey, the Archbishop of York, who was beforehand with him, had spread disaffection, and John was close behind him with a considerable army. Under these circumstances the Londoners replied to the regent's summons by declaring that they would not obey a traitor and disturber of the public peace. Sorely disappointed, Longchamp took refuge in the Tower of London; and John was joyfully received on taking a solemn oath that he would be faithful to his brother Richard, and would maintain and enlarge the franchises of the city.

On the following day, the 9th of October, 1191, it was decreed by what was called the unanimous voice of the bishops, earls, barons, and citizens of London, that the chief justiciar should be deposed, and that John should be proclaimed "the chief governor of the whole kingdom." On receiving this news Longchamp fainted and fell on the floor. At an early hour the next morning John assembled his troops in the East Smithfield, which was then a great, open, green plain. A part of his forces, united with a London mob, had already closely blockaded the Tower both by land and water. The deposed regent came out of the fortress to receive the propositions of his opponents, which were rather liberal, in order, probably, to induce him to ratify John's title. They offered him his bishopric of Ely, and the custody of three of the royal castles. But he was not to be won, and his conduct on this occasion was honourable and digni-

fied; he refused to commit any of the king's rights, or to surrender any of the powers intrusted to him by his master. "But," said he, "you are stronger than I: and, chancellor and justiciary as I am, I yield to force." So saying, he delivered up the keys of the Tower to John.

It is rather surprising that, after these proceedings, Longchamp should have been left at large, and allowed to escape from the kingdom. It appears, however, that he was obliged to put on an unseemly disguise. Some fishermen's wives saw the tall figure of a woman sitting on the sea-shore near Dover, with a web of cloth under one arm, and a mercer's yard-measure in the right hand; upon a nearer inspection, the women discovered under the "green hood," the "black face and new-shorn beard of a man."¹ It was the Bishop of Ely, the regent, the chancellor, on his way to Normandy! John appointed the Archbishop of Rouen grand justiciary and chancellor in his place, and sequestrated the revenues of his bishopric to answer for public monies which he was accused of having dissipated or purloined. Longchamp offered to account for every farthing which had come into his hands. He maintained in the face of the world that his beloved master had never ordered his removal, which had been effected by force, in order that John might with the more ease usurp the crown. The pope, to whom he wrote from Normandy, took this view of the case, and warmly espoused Longchamp's quarrel, denouncing excommunication against all those who had seized his authority. This time the anathema had little or no effect, for not a bishop in England would obey the commands of pope or legate. The displaced minister wrote to his master, who assured him that he had not withdrawn his confidence from him; and it should appear (we venture no positive assertion where all is mystery and confusion) that Richard made representations to his mother in his behalf, for in the following year Longchamp was in friendly correspondence with Eleanor, and soon after, through her means, with John himself, who had probably not found all he expected in the new chief justiciary, the Archbishop of Rouen—a man acknowledged by all parties as a prudent and upright minister, one who conducted himself mildly and conscientiously, refusing all bribes, and deciding equitably and according to law. Prince John, on the contrary, was only to be gained by money, and when

¹ "Viderunt faciem hominis nigram et noviter rasam."—*Hoved.* We have omitted the indelicate and improbable parts of the story of Longchamp's escape which were written by Hugh, Bishop of Coventry, the bitter enemy of the chancellor. Peter of Blois took Hugh to account for this satire, which was evidently intended to put Longchamp in a more ridiculous and degrading light than Archbishop Geoffrey had been in at the same place—Dover.

Longchamp made him a large offer for repurchasing his places, he invited the exile back to England, promising to reinstate him. Eleanor, it is said, had been already propitiated by *gifts* and *promises*; and she certainly joined John in setting up Longchamp, and endeavouring to persuade the Archbishop of Rouen and the other prelates and nobles to reinstate the legate. John, who, in fact, had displaced Longchamp under a colour of acting in obedience to his brother's orders, now unblushingly urged that it would much displease the king to know how Longchamp had been removed from the government without his command. It is quite evident that this fickle, selfish prince only wanted to make money.

A council being assembled at London during these negotiations, a messenger suddenly presented himself, and announced the arrival of his master, Longchamp, "legate and chancellor," at Dover. Alarmed at this intelligence, the new ministers sent for John, who soon appeared and told them that Longchamp defied them all, provided he could obtain his (John's) protection, for which he offered £700, to be paid within a week; and he concluded this significant speech by saying that he was in great want of money, and that "a word to the wise is enough." Such a monition could not be misunderstood, and, anxious to prevent the return of their great rival, the ministers agreed to buy John off by lending him £500 from the king's treasury. John then withdrew his proposition; Eleanor did the same, and a harsh and threatening letter was addressed to Longchamp in the name of the queen, the clergy, and the people, insisting upon his immediate departure from England.¹ The fallen minister withdrew again to Normandy, there to await the return of his master.

Such was the state of the government in England. On the Continent, the French king, who was in close correspondence with John, and who disregarded all his solemn oaths, was preparing most dishonourably to take advantage of Richard's absence. Almost as soon as he returned to France, Philip had demanded the cession of Gisors and the other places in the Vexin constituting the dower of that princess, together with the person of Aliz, whom (strange to say) he offered in marriage to John; who (stranger still) listened to the proposition with a willing ear. The governor of Normandy replied that he had no orders from his master; and all of them knew that, by the treaty of Messina, these restitutions were not to be made until the return of Richard. Philip then threatened to invade Normandy; but, when his army was partly assembled, some

of the French nobles refused to accompany him, alleging the oaths they had taken to protect his states, and in no way make war on Richard till he should be returned from the crusade. As the pope, too, expressed his abhorrence of the project of invasion, and threatened him with the thunders of the church, Philip was obliged to renounce his disgraceful enterprise, and to satisfy himself with hatching mischief to his rival by intrigues still more disgraceful.

John offered no objection whatever to the marriage with Aliz, and Philip engaged to put him in possession of all that his heart had so long coveted.² These intrigues were in full activity when the news of Richard's departure from the Holy Land arrived in England. The people were daily expecting his arrival, when vague and contradictory, and then very inauspicious intelligence began to circulate. Some returned crusaders asserted that he must have fallen into the hands of the Moors, others that he must have perished at sea, and others again affirmed that they had seen the ship in which he had embarked safe in the Italian port of Brindisi. We are sorry at being again forced to reject a touching and beautiful legend, but, leaving Blondel in the congenial hands of the poets, we fear that in historical soberness we must attribute the discovery of Richard's imprisonment to the copy of a letter from his jailer, the Emperor Henry, to King Philip. The emperor told the king that the enemy of the empire—the disturber of France—was loaded with chains, and safely lodged in one of his castles of the Tyrol, where trusty guards watched over him, day and night, with drawn swords. This discovery shocked and disgusted all Europe. Longchamp, who was still on the Continent, was one of the first to learn it, and the first to adopt measures for his master's deliverance. Prince John openly rejoiced at the intelligence; but Richard's English subjects voluntarily renewed their oaths of allegiance. The Archbishop of Rouen, and the bishops and barons, met at Oxford, and immediately sent two deputies—the abbots of Broxley and Pont-Robert—into Germany to give the king advice and consolation. Beyond the Alps, as everywhere else, where the cause of the Crusades was cherished, and Richard known as the greatest champion of the cross, a most violent indignation was excited. The pope at once excommunicated Leopold, the Austrian duke, and threatened the emperor with the same sentence. Seeing that he could not work his ends with English means, John hastened over to Paris, where he surrendered the greater part of Normandy to the French king, and did Philip homage for the rest of his brother's con-

¹ Palgrave, *Rot. Cur. Reg.*² *Script. Her. Franc.: Howd.: Nécob.*

tinental dominions. He then engaged some troops of foreign mercenaries, and returned home, having agreed with his ally, that Philip should fall upon Normandy with a powerful army, while he (John) overran England.

John took the castles of Windsor and Wallingford, and, marching on London, reported that his brother was dead in prison, and demanded the crown as lawful heir. For a moment the steadiness of the grand justiciary, the Archbishop of Rouen, was doubtful; but the prelates and barons raised Richard's standard, defeated John's mercenaries, and compelled him to retreat. He, however, obtained an armistice, during which he extended the threads of his intrigues. Philip was still less fortunate in Normandy; for, after advancing to Rouen, he was beaten by the indignant and enthusiastic people commanded by Richard's old comrade, the brave Earl of Leicester, who had got safely from Palestine.

In the meantime, though irritated by the indignities he suffered, and occasionally depressed by the notion that his subjects would abandon him—a captive as he was in the hands of his ungenerous enemies—Richard's sanguine and jovial spirit saved him from any long fits of despair or despondence. He whiled away the weary hours by singing or composing troubadour verses, and when tired of this resource, he caroused with his keepers, who seem to have been about equally pleased with his music, his facetiousness, and his powers of drinking. Borne down by the weight of European opinion, and the authority of the church, the emperor was at length obliged to relax his hold; and Longchamp, who was now with Richard, seems to have been instrumental in inducing him to produce his captive before the diet at Hagenau. Richard was on his way to that place, when the two abbots despatched from England first met him. He received them in a gay and courteous manner. The full accounts they gave him of his brother's treachery made him look grave; but it was only for a moment, and he said, laughing, "My brother John, however, will never gain a kingdom by his valour." On his arrival at Hagenau, Richard was received with a show of courtesy; but his first interview with the emperor was discouraging. Henry revealed all his avarice and unjustifiable pretensions, and made many demands, with which his captive would not comply, saying he would rather die where he was than so drain his kingdom and degrade his crown. On the following day, Richard appeared before the diet of the empire; and Henry, who had no right over him, except what he gained by treachery and force, and from the exploded theory of the imperial supremacy over all the kings of the West, accused him of many crimes and misdemeanours, the

chief of which were:—1. His alliance with Tancred, the usurper of Sicily. 2. His treatment of Isaac, the Christian sovereign of Cyprus. 3. His insults offered to the Duke of Austria, and through him to the whole German nation. 4. His impeding the crusade by his quarrels with the French king. 5. His having employed assassins to murder Conrad of Montferrat. 6. The most impudent charge of all—his having concluded a base truce with Saladin, and left Jerusalem in his hands.

Richard, after asserting that his royal dignity exempted him from answering before any jurisdiction except that of Heaven, yet condescended, for the sake of his reputation, to justify his conduct before that august assembly, which was composed of all the ecclesiastical and secular princes of Germany. His speech is not given by any original writer; but it is stated by Hoveden and other contemporaries, that his reply to all the charges was manly, clear, and convincing—that his eloquence filled the members of the diet with admiration, and left no suspicion of guilt in their minds.¹ Matthew Paris says that the emperor was convinced of Plantagenet's innocence, and that he treated him thenceforth with humanity. He still, however, exacted a heavy ransom, though it is difficult to understand by what right, or under what decent pretext, he could detain Richard, or put him to ransom, if his innocence was acknowledged. But there was no right in the transaction—no decency in the actors in it; it began in revenge, and was to end in money, and as much money as could be possibly obtained, without a care or a thought about guilt or innocence. After fixing one price, the emperor raised it to another, and the bargain was protracted for five tedious months, during which, though his fetters were removed, Richard was still kept in prison. This was, no doubt, the most anxious and most painful part of his captivity. He sent Longchamp as his chancellor, to the council of regency, to press the raising of the ransom. The captivity of the king, or superior lord, was a case especially provided for by the feudal tenures on which the vassals of the crown and others held their estates; and a tax of twenty shillings was, therefore, imposed on every knight's fee. The clergy and laity were besides called upon for a fourth part of their yearly incomes. While the money was slowly raising, the emperor still kept increasing his demands.

¹ Richard produced two letters from the Old Man of the Mountain, or the Prince of the Assassins, who (in them) gloried in having ordered the murder of the Marquis of Montferrat, because the marquis had robbed and murdered one of his subjects. These letters are generally set down as spurious; but they may have been written, and, as Sir James Mackintosh remarks, the unskilful hands of the chroniclers may have disfigured them, without encroaching on their substantial truth. But, true or false, such evidence was scarcely wanted.

At last, on the 22d of September, 1193, the terms were fixed. It was agreed that Richard should pay 100,000 marks of pure silver of Cologne standard to the imperial court; that he should also pay 50,000 marks to the Emperor and the Duke of Austria conjointly, giving sixty hostages to the emperor for 30,000 marks, and other hostages to the Duke of Austria for 20,000 marks; on condition, however, that these 50,000 marks should be remitted altogether if Richard performed certain private promises. Several clauses of this treaty were either secret or added afterwards. It was also agreed that Richard should restore Isaac of Cyprus to his liberty, though not to his dominions, and deliver Isaac's beautiful daughter to the care of the Duke of Austria, and send his own niece, Eleanor of Brittany, the sister of young Arthur, to be married to the Duke of Austria's son. Henry, on his side, agreed to aid Richard against all his enemies; and, that he might have the air of giving something for so much money, invested him with the feudal sovereignty of the kingdom of Arles, or Provence—an obsolete right which the emperors long claimed without being able to enforce it. According to Hoveden, one of the very best of contemporary authorities, Richard, in an assembly of the German princes and English envoys, by delivering the cap from his head, resigned his crown into the hands of Henry, who restored it to him again, to be held as a fief of the empire, with the obligation attached to it, of paying a yearly tribute of £5000. But is there not some error in the transmission of this statement, or was not the fanciful crown of Arles here intended? Such a debasing tender may, however, have been made by Richard to cajole the German, and defeat the active intrigues of his brother John and King Philip. These precious confederates offered to pay the emperor a much larger sum than that fixed for the ransom, if he would detain Richard in captivity. Henry was greatly tempted by the bait; but the better feelings of the German princes, who had attended the diet, compelled him to keep his bargain. More difficulties than might have been expected were encountered in obtaining the money for the ransom; and what was procured seems to have been raised almost wholly in England, the continental dominions contributing little or nothing. In our island, the plate of all churches or monasteries was taken; the Cistercian monks, who had no plate, gave up their wool; and England, in the words of an old annalist, "from sea to sea was reduced to the utmost distress." Seventy thousand marks were sent over to Germany, and in the month of

February, 1194, Richard was at length freed.¹ He landed at Sandwich, on the 13th of March, after an absence of more than four years—about fourteen months of which he had passed in the prisons of the duke and emperor. Though they had been sorely fleeced, the English people received him with an enthusiastic and honest joy. There was wealth enough left to give him a magnificent reception in London; and one of the German barons who accompanied him is said to have exclaimed, "O king, if our emperor had suspected this, you would not have been let off so lightly."²

After spending only three days at London, Richard headed such troops as were ready, and marched against Nottingham Castle, belonging to John, which surrendered at discretion. As for John himself, being timely advised by his ally, Philip—who wrote to him as soon as he learned Richard's deliverance, "Take care of yourself—the devil is broken loose"—he had put himself in safety at a distance. On the 30th of March, Richard held a great council at Nottingham, at which it was determined, among other things, that if John did not appear within forty days, all his estates in England should be forfeited, and that the ceremony of the king's coronation should be repeated, in order that every unfavourable impression which his captivity had made might be thereby effaced.³ Accordingly he was recrowned with great pomp (not at Westminster, but at Winchester) on the feast of Easter. All his attention was again turned to the raising of money; and he proceeded with as little scruple or delicacy as he had done four years before when filling his purse for the Holy War.

Even from a nature much less
A.D. 1194. fiery and vindictive than Richard's, the forgiveness of such injuries as had been inflicted by the French king could scarcely be expected. Philip, moreover, who during his confinement had sent him back his homage, was now actually in arms within, or upon the frontiers of his continental states. Richard prepared for war, and his people of England were as eager for it as himself. About the middle of May, he landed at Barfleur, in Normandy, bent on revenge. He was met at his landing by his craven-hearted brother John, who threw himself at his feet, and implored forgiveness. At the intercession of his mother Eleanor, Richard forgave him, and received him into favour. This is a noble trait, and a wonderful one, considering the amount of provocation and the barbarous usages of the times. "I forgive him," said Richard, "and hope I shall as easily forget his injuries as he will forget my pardon."⁴ The

¹ Hoved., Brompt., Dicto; Neeb.; Matt. Par.; Rymer, Fed., Michaud, Hist. des Croisades; Mills, Hist. Croisades; Raumer, House of Hohenstaufen.

² Brompt.; Hemmingford.

³ It appears that Richard was opposed to this re-coronation, but submitted to it in deference to the opinion of the council.

⁴ Brompt.

demoniac character of John was placed in a not less forcible light. Before quitting Philip's party, he invited to dinner all the officers of the garrison which that king had placed in Evreux, and massacred them all during the entertainment. His hands were wet with this blood when he waited upon Richard; but with all his vices, we think too well of the Lion-heart to believe that such a deed facilitated his pardon. Although begun with fury, this campaign was carried on rather languidly and on a confined scale; in part owing to the impoverished state of Richard's exchequer, and in part to the disaffection prevalent in most of his dominions on the Continent. He, however, defeated Philip in several engagements, took several towns, and in one encounter got possession of his adversary's military chest, together with the cartulary, the records, and the archives of the crown. The campaign terminated, on the 23d of July, in a truce for one year.

Hubert Walter, who had been A.D. 1195. lately advanced from the bishopric of Salisbury to the archbishopric of Canterbury, was appointed guardian of England and grand justiciary. He had shown his bravery and attachment to Richard in the wars of Palestine, and now he displayed admirable talent and conduct as a peaceful minister. He deserved better times and a more prudent master. He had been educated under the great Ranulf de Glanville, and was versed in the science of the English laws. Under his administration the justices made their regular circuits; a general tranquillity was restored; and men, gradually recovering from the late oppressions and vexations, began to be re-animated with the spirit of order and industry. The absence of the king might have been felt as a real benefit to the nation, but for his constant demands for money to carry on his wars abroad, and complete the payment of his ransom, which demands frequently obliged the minister to act contrary to the conviction of his better judgment. Hubert, however, seems to have raised more money with less actual violence and injustice than any of his predecessors. Longchamp was employed in some important embassies, and continued to hold the office of chancellor till his death, which happened about a year before that of his master.

Towards the end of the preceding year death had delivered Richard from a part of his anxieties. Fearing that the brutal Leopold would take the lives of the hostages placed in his hands, the English king fulfilled one of his agreements, by sending the Princess of Cyprus and his niece, "the Maid of Brittany," into Germany. Before the ladies reached Vienna they received news of the duke's death. As he was tilting on St. Ste-

phen's Day, his horse fell upon him, and crushed his foot; a mortification ensued; and, when his physicians told him he must die, he was seized with dread and remorse; and, to obviate some of the effects of the excommunication under which he still lay, he ordered that the English hostages should be set free, and that the money he had extorted should be returned to Richard.¹ When war broke out again in France—which it did before the term of the truce had expired—it was carried on in a desultory manner, and a strange treaty of peace was proposed, by which Richard was to give "the Maid of Brittany," who had returned to him on learning the Duke of Austria's death, in marriage to the son of the French king. Peace was, however, concluded at the end of the year without this marriage.

Great discontents had long prevailed in London, on account of the unequal assessment of the taxes: the poor, it was alleged, were made to pay out of all proportion with the rich. The people found an advocate and champion in William Fitz-Osbert, commonly called "Longbeard"—a man of great activity and energy, "somewhat learned and very eloquent," who, in his first proceedings seems to have been perfectly in the right. He went over to the Continent to lay his complaints before the king; and as he admitted that the war which called for so much money was perfectly just, and even necessary; and as he contended for nothing more than that the rich should not throw all the burden of the supplies upon the poor, Richard received him without anger, and promised that the matter should be properly examined. It appears, however, that nothing was done. Longbeard then (A.D. 1196) had recourse to secret political associations—an expedient always dangerous, but particularly so with an unenlightened people. Fifty-two thousand persons are said to have sworn implicit obedience to the orders of their "advocate," the "saviour of the poor," whose somewhat obscure and mystical harangues² delivered every day at St. Paul's Cross, filled the wealthier citizens with alarm.

It is pretty clear that Fitz-Osbert now became a dangerous demagogue, but the particular accusation brought against him is curious—he was charged with inflaming the poor and middling people with *the love of liberty and happiness*. He was cited to appear before a great council of prelates and nobles; he went, but escorted by so many of the inferior classes, who proclaimed him "the king of the poor," that it was not con-

¹ It does not appear what part, or whether any of the money was restored. It is asserted that Richard's ransom was spent in beautifying and fortifying Vienna.

² It appears that Fitz-Osbert, or Longbeard, took a text from Scripture, and gave to his political discourses the form and character of sermons. He wore his beard that he might look like a true Saxon.

sidered safe to proceed against him. The agents of government then endeavoured to gain over a part of the mob, and succeeded by a cunning alternation of promises and threats. The Archbishop of Canterbury and the other justiciaries met the poorest citizens on several occasions, and at last induced them to give up many of their children as hostages for their peaceable behaviour. Longbeard, however, was still so formidable that they durst not arrest him openly. One Geoffrey, and another wealthy citizen whose name is not recorded, undertook to seize him by surprise: they watched all his motions for several days, being always followed by a body of armed men ready to act at their signal. At length they caught him as he was walking quietly along with only nine adherents. They approached him as if they had no business with him, but when sufficiently near they laid hands on him, and the armed men, who were concealed close at hand, ran up to secure him. Longbeard drew his knife, stabbed Geoffrey to the heart, and then with his comrades fought his way to the church

the fourth day fire was set to the tower, and the besieged were driven forth by the flames. They were all taken and bound, and, while they were binding Longbeard, the son of that Geoffrey whom he had slain plunged his long knife into his bowels. He fell, but was not so fortunate as to die there. Wounded and bleeding as he was, they tied him to the tail of a horse, and so dragged him to the Tower, where he was presented to the archbishop-regent, who presently sentenced him to the gallows. From the Tower they dragged him at the horse's tail to "the Elms" in West Smithfield, and there hanged him on a high gibbet, and his nine companions along with him.

The mob, who had done nothing to rescue him while living, honoured him as a saint and martyr when dead. They stole away the gibbet on which he was hanged, and distributed it in precious morsels for relics; they preserved the very dust on which he had trod; and by degrees not only the people in the neighbourhood of London, but the peasantry from distant parts of the kingdom, made pilgrimages to Smithfield, believing that miracles were wrought on the spot where the "king of the poor" had breathed his last. The archbishop sent troops to disperse these rustic enthusiasts; but driven away by day, they re-assembled in the darkness of night; and it was not until a permanent guard was established on the spot, and many men and women had been scourged and thrown into prison, that the pilgrimages were stopped, and the popular ferment abated.² Not many months after these events England was afflicted with a dreadful scarcity, and the famine was accompanied or followed by the plague, a frequent visitor, but which, on this particular occasion, committed unusual havoc. The monasteries alone were exempted.

A war, contemptible in its results, but savagely cruel, again broke out between Richard and Philip, and ended when their barons were tired of it, or when they, the kings, had no more money to purchase the services of Brabanters and other mercenaries. Even had the vengeance of Richard been less implacable, and the ambition of Philip to establish his supremacy in France, at the cost of the Plantagenets, a less fixed and ruling passion, there were other causes which would have sufficed



CRYPT OF ST MARY OF THE ARCHES, London.¹—J. W. Archer, from his drawing on the spot.

of St. Mary of Arches. He barricaded the church tower, and there made a desperate resistance. On

for the disturbance of peace. In Brittany the rule or paramount authority of the English king

¹ Stow says, "This church, in the reign of William the Conqueror, being the first in this city builded on arches of stone, was therefore called New Mary Church of St. Mary de Arcubus, or Le Bow, as Stratford Bridge, being the first builded by Matilda the queene, wife to Henry I. with arches of stone, was called Stratford le Bow. The Court of the Arches is kept in this

church, and takes its name of the place." The building of the Arches which survives appears only to have become a crypt from the accumulation of the soil. The roof is vaulted and supported by massive piers and pillars, similar to those in the chapel of St. John in the White Tower of London, except that the capitals are without ornament.

² *Newb.; Hoved.; Matt. Par.*

was most unpopular, and the same was the case in Aquitaine, where Bertrand de Born, who had so often intrigued with Richard against his father Henry, was now intriguing with the French king against Richard.

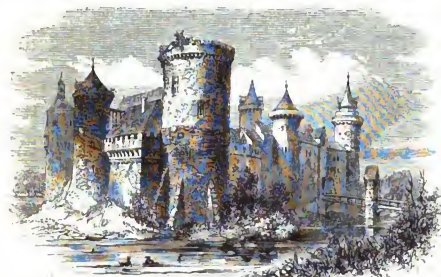
The most memorable incident of this campaign was the capture of the Bishop of Beauvais, a near connection to the French king, and one of the most bitter of Richard's enemies. He was taken, fighting in complete armour, by Marchadee, the leader of the Brabanters in Richard's service. The king ordered him to be loaded with irons, and cast into a dungeon in Rouen Castle. Two

thy son's coat or no." Though, as usual, sorely in want of money, Richard refused 10,000 marks which were offered as a ransom, and the Bishop of Beauvais occupied his dungeon and wore his chains till Richard went to the grave.¹

In the month of September of this same year, disease, misfortune, remorse, and a premature decay, did the English king justice on another of his foes. The Emperor Henry died at Messina; after suffering an extremity of humiliation at the hands of his Sicilian wife; and in his dying moments he confessed his shameful injustice to Richard, and ordered that the money he had ex-

torted as his ransom should be restored. Though a bishop was charged with a message to Richard, and though the clause was solemnly inserted in the emperor's will, the money was never repaid.

As the war in France again waxed languid, and the powerful vassals of both potentates showed again that they were actuated by other motives and interests than those of their masters', the two kings again spoke of peace, and meeting at Andely, on the Seine, finally "concluded upon an abstinence of war, to endure from the feast of St. Hilary



CASTLE OF ROUEN, built by Philip Augustus.—After a miniature in the townhall, Rouen.

of his chaplains waited on Richard to implore for milder treatment. "You yourselves shall judge whether I am not justified," said Richard. "This man has done me many wrongs. Much I could forget, but not this. When in the hands of the emperor, and when, in consideration of my royal character, they were beginning to treat me more gently and with some marks of respect, your master arrived, and I soon experienced the effect of his visit: over-night he spoke with the emperor, and the next morning a chain was put upon me such as a horse could hardly bear. What he now merits at my hands declare yourselves, and be just." The chaplains were silent, and withdrew. The bishop then addressed the pope, imploring him to intercede. Celestine rated him severely on his flagrant departure from the canons of the church; and told him that though he might ask mercy as a friend, he could not interfere in such a case as pope. Soon after this the pontiff wrote to Richard, imploring him to pity "his son," the bishop. Richard replied to the pope by sending him the Bishop of Beauvais' coat of mail, which was besmeared with blood, and had the following scroll attached to it—an apposite quotation from the Old Testament—"This have we found; know now whether it be

for one whole year."

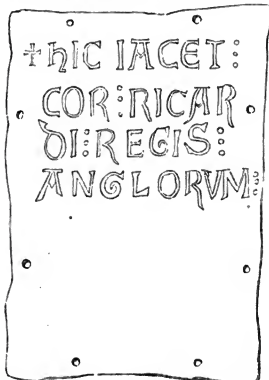
A. D. 1198. When the truce expired, hostilities were again renewed, and with greater ferocity than ever. Near Gisors, Richard gained another victory, and Philip in his flight was nearly drowned in the river Epte, a bridge he had to cross breaking down under the weight of the fugitives. In his triumphant bulletin, Richard said, "This day I have made the King of France drink deep of the waters of the Epte!" As for himself, he had unhorsed three knights at a single charge, and made them prisoners. It was *Cœur de Lion's* last fight. A truce was concluded, and early in the following year, through the mediation of Peter of Capua, the pope's legate, it was prolonged and solemnly declared to be binding for five years. A fresh ground of quarrel arose almost immediately after, but the differences were made up, and, marching from Normandy, Richard repaired to Aquitaine, to look after his intriguing and ever-turbulent vassals in that quarter.

A strange ballad had for some time been current in Normandy. Its burden purported, that in the Limousin the arrow was making by which

¹ Hoved.; Brompt.; Matt. Par.; Nuch.

the tyrant would die. The learned writer¹ who has collected all the discrepancies and contradictions respecting the circumstances by which Richard's death was attended, will not venture to decide whether these shadows cast before the event arose out of the wishes of the people, or indicated any organized conspiracy. We are inclined to believe ourselves that there was no conspiracy beyond the old settled hatred and vindictive spirit of his vassals of the South. Those fiery men, it will be remembered, had attempted the life of his father Henry more than once by shooting arrows at him. There are many contradictions which throw doubt upon parts of the commonly received story of the death of Richard, but all accounts agree in stating that the heroic Lion-heart fell before an obscure castle, and in consequence of a wound received either from an arrow or a quarrel. The usual narrative, which has almost a prescriptive right to insertion, is to this effect:—Arriving from Normandy in the south, Richard learned that Vidomar, Viscount of Limoges, his vassal, had found a treasure in his domains. This, as superior lord, he demanded; and when the viscount offered only half of it, and refused to give more, Richard besieged him in his castle of Chalus. The want of provisions reduced the garrison to the greatest straits, and they offered to surrender at the king's mercy, their lives only being spared. Richard refused the terms, telling them he would take the place by storm, and hang every man of them upon the battlements. The garrison of the castle were driven to despair. The king, with Marchadee, the leader of his mercenaries, then surveyed the walls to see where the assault should be made, when a youth, by name Bertrand de Gurdun, having recognized him from the ramparts, praying God to speed it well, discharged an arrow, and hit the king in the left shoulder. Soon after the castle was taken by assault, and all the men in it were butchered, with the exception of Bertrand. The wound was not in itself dangerous, but it was made mortal by the unskillfulness of the surgeon in extracting the arrow-head, which had been broken off in the shoulder. Feeling his end approach, Richard summoned Bertrand de Gurdun into his presence. "Wretch!" he exclaimed, "what have I done unto thee that thou

shouldest seek my life?" The chained youth replied firmly—"My father and my two brothers hast thou slain with thine own hand, and myself thou wouldest hang! Let me die now, in cruel torture, if thou wilt; I am content if thou diest, and the world be freed of an oppressor!" "Youth, I forgive thee!" cried Richard: "loose his chains, and give him a hundred shillings!" But Marchadee² would not let him go, and after the king's death he flayed him alive, and hanged him. Richard expired in anguish and contrition, on Tuesday, the 6th of April, 1199, a date in which all the contemporary writers of best note seem to be agreed. He had reigned nearly ten years, not one of which was passed in England, but which had all been wasted in incessant wars, or in preparations for war. He was only forty-two years old, and he left no children to succeed him. By his will he directed that his heart should be car-



CASE WHICH CONTAINED THE HEART OF RICHARD I.³—From the *Archæologia*.

ried to his faithful city of Rouen for interment in the cathedral; that his bowels, "as his ignoble parts," should be left among the rebellious Poitevins; and that his body should be buried at the feet of his father at Fontevraud.⁴

¹ Sir Francis Palgrave, *Introduct. Rot. Cur. Reg.*

² Here there is a varying account. The MS. chronicle of Winchester says that Marchadee surrendered the prisoner to Richard's sister Joan, and that she plucked out his eyes, and caused him to suffer other horrible mutilations and tortures, under which he expired.

³ After the discovery of the lost effigy of Richard I. beneath the pavement of the choir of Rouen Cathedral, a further search was made beneath the spot where it had lain, with the hope of discovering the heart of Richard. The interesting relic was at length found concealed in a closed cavity which had been formed on purpose in the adjoining lateral wall, built at the time the

sanctuary had been raised, between the piers by which it is surrounded, and inclosing the newly elevated area. On July 31, 1838, was this remarkable relic brought to light. The heart was found inclosed within two boxes of lead; the external one measuring 17 in. by 11 in., and about 6 in. in height; within this was a second interior case, lined with a thin leaf of silver that time had in great part decayed, inscribed within, in rudely graven characters, as shown in the accompanying wood-cut. The heart itself was described as being withered to the semblance of a faded leaf.—*Archæologia*, vol. xxix.

⁴ "Richard I. was a gay, wild, thoughtless, unscrupulous young Englishman, with fair hair, blue eyes, and a tall, handsome,

CHAPTER VIII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.

JOHN, SURNAMED SANS-TERRE, OR LACKLAND.¹—ACCESSION, A.D. 1199—DEATH, A.D. 1216.

John obtains the crown—His unpopularity—War between England and France—The claims of Arthur to the crown of England supported against his uncle John—John's progress through Aquitaine—Defeat and suspicious death of Arthur—John suspected of the murder—His forfeiture of all his continental possessions proclaimed—John's cowardly proceedings—He quarrels with the pope—The nation laid under an interdict—Its effects—John's tyranny continued—The pope proclaims his deposition—John's abject submission—Terms on which he is absolved—Great naval victory of the English at Damme—The English barons refuse to follow John—Victory of the French king at Bouvines—The barons combine against John—They present their claims and are refused—Magna Charta finally signed by the king—He tries to elude it, and makes war upon the barons—John's useless invasion of Scotland—The English crown offered to the Dauphin of France—The Dauphin lands with an army in England—John's ineffectual resistance—His disastrous loss at the Wash—His death at Newark.



PRINCE JOHN was in Normandy when his brother died. As soon as he received the intelligence, he sent to retain the foreign mercenaries who had been in Richard's pay, promising them large gifts and increased salaries. Despatching Hubert Walter, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and William Mareschal, into England, to overawe the barons there, he himself hastened to Chinon to seize his brother's treasure, which was deposited in that castle. Chinon, with several other castles in the neighbourhood, voluntarily received him; but, in the meanwhile, the barons of Touraine, Maine, Anjou, and Brittany, proclaimed his nephew, the young Arthur, as their lawful sovereign. John proceeded to chastise the citizens of Mans for the support they afforded his nephew; then, returning to Normandy, he was received at Rouen without opposition, and on Sunday, the 25th of April, he was there inaugurated, being girt with the sword of the duchy, and having the golden coronal put upon his head. News, whether good or bad, travelled but slowly in those days. A vague report of Richard's death was spread in England, but nothing certain was known, and the friends of John seem purposely to have concealed the fact for many days. When the Archbishop of Canterbury and his companion arrived, they required

all the lieges, in the cities and burghs throughout the kingdom, and all the earls, barons, and freeholders, to be in the fealty, and keep the peace, of John, Duke of Normandy, son of King Henry, son of the Empress Matilda.² But John had never been popular in the nation, and the more powerful classes seemed disposed to resist his accession. Bishops, earls, and barons—most of those who had castles—filled them with armed men and stocked them with provisions. The poorer classes committed great devastations, for in those times a king's death was the signal for the general disorganization of society. The primate and his associate acted with great alacrity and vigour, seeing that nothing less would save the country from a frightful anarchy. They convened a great council at Northampton, and there, by secret gifts and open promises of justice and good government on the part of John, they induced the assembled prelates and barons to swear fealty and faithful service to the "Duke of Normandy," as the pretender was carefully called, until his coronation at Westminster.

John did not arrive until the 25th of May, when he landed at Shoreham. On the 27th he repaired to the church of St. Peter, at Westminster, to claim the crown. He well knew that many preferred the right of his nephew, the son of an elder brother, who had repeatedly been declared

muscular person, differing in no respect from hundreds of his countrymen who every autumn excite the contempt of the graver inhabitants of the more frequented towns of the Continent by their wayward and boyish pranks, whilst at the same time they enlist the good-will of the whole community by their generosity and courage, and not unfrequently by the elegance of their appearance and manners. In regarding him as such, and nothing more, Dr. Pauli has, in our opinion, taken the correct view of his character; and when Sir James Mackintosh said he was more a knight-errant than a king, he did him too much honour. He had his own share unquestionably of the superstitious reverence with which holy things and places were viewed in his day, but beyond this we see no more reason to think that he was actuated by Christian principle, or any other principle,

in fighting against Saladin, than to suppose that the ultimate triumph of truth over error has been the motive which, during the last few months, has carried forth so many of the young gentlemen of whom we have spoken, to fight against the car. Like them he loved travelling and fighting, and hated working and thinking; and in this simple fact we find a sufficient explanation of all the actions of his life and reign."—*North British Review*, No. xlii.

¹ A nickname, according to Brompton, given him by his father, who, in a will which he made at Dounfont in 1170, left John no lands, but only recommended him to be provided for by his eldest brother.

² *Roger of Hoveden*; *Matthew Paris*; Sir Francis Palgrave, *Rot. Cur. Reg.*

his heir by the late king, and now John professed to be in possession of a will, drawn up in his last hours, by which Richard revoked former wills, and appointed him his successor. But this testament, whether true or false, seems to have carried no weight with it, and to have been altogether disregarded on this solemn occasion. The fact that the crown was not considered heritable property was stated in the broadest terms, and never was the elective character of the monarchy so forcibly put by such high authority. The Archbishop Hubert, having announced to the audience that the Duke of Normandy had been elected king at Northampton, laid it down as a known principle that no one could be entitled by any previous circumstances to succeed to the crown unless he were chosen to be king by the body of the nation—"ab universitate regni electus." According to Matthew Paris, John assented without starting the question, either of his inherent right by birth or of his right by will; and when he had taken the usual oaths to protect the church and govern justly, all persons hailed him with "Long live the king!"²

John was at this time thirty-two years old—a many age—which gave him many advan-



KING JOHN.—From his effigy in Worcester Cathedral.

¹ John, in his last moments, committed his soul to God and his body to St. Wulstan; his body, royally attired, was conveyed to Worcester; over his head was placed a monk's cowl, as a sort of cover for all his sins and a passport to heaven. He was interred between St. Oswald and St. Wulstan, whose graves are in the chapel of the Virgin, at the eastern extremity of the cathedral. Thence, in all probability, they underwent translation to their present situation before the high altar in the choir. The effigy of John, carved in gray marble, which forms the superstructure of his present tomb, was originally the lid of the stone coffin which contained his remains, and in its first position must have been placed on a level with the floor of the building within which he was interred. His head is adorned with a crown of state and supported by two bishops, undoubtedly intended for Oswald and Wulstan. He is represented as wearing a dalmatic of crimson lined with green, the neck and cuffs edged with a gold and jewelled border; his tunic is yellow or cloth of gold; he is girt with a belt; on his hands are jewelled gloves, a ring on the middle finger of his right hand, which supports a sceptre, while his left grasps a sword. He wears red hose, golden spurs; his feet have on them black shoes, and rest upon a lion. The greater part of these details will be recognized as emblems of royalty.—Stothard's *Monumental Effigies of Great Britain*.

tages over kings commencing their reigns in youth. He was robust, healthy, and, like most of his race, handsome; but his evil passions distorted his countenance, and gave him a treacherous and cruel expression. He was already hated by the people, and his reign opened inauspiciously. Many of the nobles in England immediately showed disaffection. The King of Scotland, William the Lion, who had quarrelled with him on account of the provinces of Northumberland and Cumberland, threatened him with invasion; and on the Continent, with the exception of those in Normandy, all the great vassals were up in arms for his nephew, and in close alliance with the French king, who had renewed the war, and was promising himself every success, well knowing the difference between the warlike Richard and the cowardly John, as also the weakness that must arise out of a disputed succession, for the election at London and the inauguration at Rouen had no legal effect in those provinces which had declared for Arthur.³ Leaving William de Stuteville to keep in check the Scots, John crossed over to Normandy, where the Earl of

Flanders, and other great lords who had confederated with Richard, brought in their forces.

² The succession of John has certainly passed in modern times for an usurpation. I do not find that it was considered as such by his own contemporaries on this side of the Channel. The question of inheritance between an uncle and the son of his deceased elder brother was yet unsettled, as we learn from Glanvil, even in private succession. In the case of sovereigns, which were sometimes contended to require different rules from ordinary patrimonies, it was, and continued long to be, the most uncertain point in public law. John's pretensions to the crown might therefore be such as the English were justified in admitting, especially as his reversionary title seems to have been acknowledged in the reign of his brother Richard. If, indeed, we may place reliance on Matthew Paris, Archbishop Hubert, on this occasion, declared in the most explicit terms that the crown was elective, giving even to the blood royal no other preference than their merit might challenge. Carte rejects this as a fiction of the historian; and it is certainly a strain far beyond the constitution, which, both before and after the Conquest, had invariably limited the throne to one royal stock, though not strictly to its nearest branch. In a charter of the first year of his reign, John calls himself king "by hereditary right, and through the consent and favour of the church and people."—Hallam's *State of Europe during the Middle Ages*.

³ Daru, *Hist. de la Bretagne*; Matt. Par.; Hoved.

Philip demanded and obtained a truce for six weeks, at the end of which term he met John to propose a definitive peace. His demands led to an instant renewal of war; for he not only required the surrender by the English king of all his French possessions (Normandy excepted) to Arthur, but the cession also of a considerable part of Normandy itself to the French crown.

The only being engaged in this game of ambition that can at all interest the feelings was the innocent Arthur, who was too young and helpless to play his own part in it. The greatest of our poets has thrown all the intensity, both of pathos and horror, around the last days of this prince; but all the days of his brief life were marked with touching vicissitudes. Like William of Normandy, the hapless son of Duke Robert, Arthur was the child of sorrow from his cradle upwards. His misfortunes, indeed, began before he came into the world; his father Geoffrey was killed in a tournament eight months prior to his birth, and Brittany, to which he had an hereditary right through his mother, was divided into factions, fierce, yet changeable, destructive of present prosperity and unproductive of future good; for the national independence, their main object, was an empty dream in the neighbourhood of such monarchs as the Plantagenets of England and the Capetians of France. The people of Brittany, however, hailed the birth of the posthumous child of Geoffrey with transports of patriotic joy. In spite of his grandfather Henry, who wished to give the child his own name, they insisted on giving him the name of Arthur. That mysterious hero was as dear to the people of Brittany as to their kindred of our own island: tradition painted him as the companion-in-arms of their "King Hoel the Great," and though he had been dead some centuries, they still expected his coming as the restorer of their old independence. Merlin had predicted this, and Merlin was still revered as a prophet in Brittany as well as in Wales. Popular credulity thus attached ideas of national glory to the cherished name of Arthur; and, as the child was handsome and promising, the Bretons looked forward to the day when he should rule them without the control of French or English.¹ His mother Constance, a vain and weak woman, could spare little time from her amours and intrigues to devote to her son, and, at the moment when his uncle John threatened him with destruction, she was occupied by her passion for a third husband, whom she had recently married, her second husband being still living. During the lifetime of Richard she had bandied her son between that sovereign and the French king, as circumstances and

her caprice varied; and now, when awakened to a sense of his danger, the only course she could pursue was to carry him to Paris, and place him under the protection of the astute and selfish Philip, to whom she offered the direct vassalage, not only of Brittany, which Arthur was to inherit through her, but also of Normandy, Anjou, Aquitaine, and the other states he claimed as heir to his father. The troops of John, composed almost entirely of mercenaries, fell with savage fury upon Brittany, burning and destroying the houses and fields, and selling the inhabitants as slaves. Philip assisted William Desroches, the commander of the small Breton army, and took several castles on the frontiers of Brittany and France from the English. But as soon as he gained these fortresses he destroyed them, in order, evidently, to leave the road open to himself when he should throw off the mask and invade the country on his own account. Desroches, incensed at these proceedings, withdrew Arthur and his mother from the French court, and they would both have sought his peace, and delivered themselves up to John, had they not been scared away by the report that he intended the murder of his nephew. After this, young Arthur returned to Philip, who knighted him, notwithstanding his tender age, and promised to give him his daughter Mary in marriage. But Philip only intended to make a tool of the unfortunate boy; and when some troublesome disputes, in which he was engaged with the pope, induced him to treat with John, he sacrificed all his interests without any remorse. By the treaty of peace which was concluded between the two kings in the spring of 1200, John was to remain in possession of *all* the states his brother Richard had occupied; and thus Arthur was completely disinherited, with the connivance and participation of the French king; for it is said that, by a secret article of the treaty, Philip was to inherit his continental dominions if John died without children. Circumstances, and the unruly passions of John, soon nullified the whole of this treaty.

In the summer of this same year, John made a progress into Aquitaine, to receive the homage of the barons. He delighted the lively people of the south with his magnificence and parade; he captivated some of the volatile and factious nobles with a display of a familiar and festive humour; but these feelings were only momentary; for neither with the people nor their chiefs could he keep up the favourable impression he had made. Though a skilful actor, his capability was confined to a single scene or two; it could never extend itself over a whole act; his passions, which seem to have partaken of insanity, were sure to baffle his hypocrisy in anything like a lengthened intercourse. He had

¹ Daru, *Hist. de la Bretagne*.

thus shown his true character, and disgusted many of the nobles of Poitou and Aquitaine, when his lawless passion for the young wife of one of them completed their irritation and disgust. Isabella, the daughter of the Count of Angoulême, was one of the most celebrated beauties of her time; she had been recently married to the Count of la Marche, a powerful noble; and John had been married ten years to Avis, a daughter of the Earl of Gloucester, a fair and virtuous woman, who had brought him an immense dowry. In spite of these obstacles, John got possession of the person of Isabella, and married her at Angoulême, the Archbishop of Bordeaux performing the ceremony. In the autumn, he brought his new wife to England, and caused her to be crowned at Westminster. He himself was re-crowned at the same time, the Archbishop of Canterbury officiating. He then gave himself up to idleness and luxurious enjoyment. But in the following spring he was disturbed by the vengeance of the Count of la Marche, whom he had robbed of his wife. That nobleman, with his brother, the Earl of Eu, and several other barons, took up arms in Poitou and Aquitaine. When summoned to attend their liege lord, many of the English vassals refused, declaring that it was too insignificant and dishonourable a warfare for them to embark in. They afterwards said that they would sail with him if he would restore their rights and liberties. For the present, John so far triumphed over their opposition as to make the refractory barons give him hostages, and pay scutage in lieu of their personal attendance. Their resistance was not yet organized; but as John's insolence, rapacity, and lawless lust had provoked lay and clergy, and as he had engaged in a personal quarrel with one of the most powerful of the monastic orders, a regular and an extensive opposition was in due process of formation. John, accompanied by Isabella, went through Normandy to Paris, where he was courteously entertained by Philip, a much greater master in deceit, who was, at the very moment, in league with the Count of la Marche, in Aquitaine, and preparing a fresh insurrection against his guest in Brittany. From Paris John marched without his wife into Aquitaine, but not to fight; and, after a paltry parade through the safe part of the country, he marched back again to his pleasures, leaving the insurgents in greater power and confidence than ever.

A.D. 1202. The moment had now arrived for the decision of the question at issue—whether the Plantagenets or the Capetians should be lords of France. The superiority of the former race had been established by the wisdom of Henry II., and pretty well maintained

by the valour of Richard; but under the unwise and pusillanimous John it had no longer a chance. Having settled his disputes with the pope, and freed himself from other troubles, Philip now broke the peace, by openly succouring the insurgents in Aquitaine, and by reviving and again espousing the claims of young Arthur. The poor orphan (his mother had died the preceding year) was living under the protection of the French king, because, says a chronicler, he was in constant fear of treachery on the part of John. "You know your rights," said Philip to the youth; "and would you not be a king?" "That truly would I," replied Arthur. "Here, then," said Philip, "are 200 knights; march with them, and take possession of the provinces which are yours, while I make an inroad on Normandy." In the treaty drawn up between these most unequal allies, Arthur was made to agree that the French king should keep all that he pleased of the territories in Normandy which he had taken, or might henceforth take, with God's aid; and he agreed to do homage for the rest of the continental dominions.¹ Arthur then raised his banner of war; the Bretons sent him 500 knights and 4000 foot soldiers; the barons of Touraine and Poitou 110 men-at-arms; and this, with the insignificant contingent supplied by Philip, was all the force at his disposal. The young orphan—for, even now, Arthur was only in his fifteenth year—was of course devoid of all military experience, and dependent on the guidance of others. Some of his friends—or they may have been his concealed enemies—advised him, as his first trial in arms, to march against the town of Mirebeau, about six miles from Poitiers, because his grandmother Eleanor, who had always been the bitter enemy of his mother, was residing there; and because (it was reasoned) if he got possession of her person, he would be enabled to bring his uncle to terms. He marched, and took the town, but not his grandmother. The veteran Amazon, though surprised, had time to throw herself into a strong tower, which served as a citadel. Arthur and his small army established themselves in the town, and laid siege to the tower where the "Ate"—the stirrer "to blood and strife"—stoutly defended herself. John, with an activity of which he was not deemed capable, marched to her rescue; and his troops were before Mirebeau, and had invested that town, ere his nephew was aware of his departure from Normandy. On the night between the 31st of July and the 1st of August the savage John, by means of treachery, got possession of the town. Arthur was taken in his bed, as were also most of the nobles who had followed him on that dismal expedition.

¹ *Larv. Gu. Armoric. Matt. Par.*

The Count of la Marche, Isabella's husband, on whom he had inflicted the most insupportable of wrongs, and whom John considered as his bitterest enemy, the Viscounts of Limoges, Lusignan, and Thouars, were among the distinguished captives, who amounted in all to 200 noble knights. The captor revelled in base vengeance; he caused them to be loaded with irons, tied in open carts, drawn by bullocks, and afterwards to be thrown into dungeons in Normandy and England. Of those whose confinement fell in our island, twenty-two noblemen are said to have been starved to death in Corfe Castle.¹ Young Arthur was carried to Falaise, and from Falaise he was removed to the castle of Rouen, where all positive traces of him are lost. Such damnable deeds are not done in the light of day, or in the presence of witnesses, and some obscurity and mystery must always rest upon their horrors. The version of Shakspeare has made an impression which no time and no scepticism will ever efface; and, after all, it is probably not far from being the true one. Of the contemporary writers who mention the disappearance of Arthur, Matthew Paris is the one who expresses himself in the most measured terms; yet his words convey a fearful meaning. He says John went to his nephew at Falaise, and besought him with gentleness to trust his uncle. Arthur replied indignantly, "Give me mine inheritance—restore to me my kingdom of England." Much provoked, John immediately sent him to Rouen, with orders that he should be more closely guarded. "Not long after," proceeds Matthew Paris, "he suddenly disappeared; I trust not in the way that malignant rumour alleges." It was suspected by all that John murdered his nephew with his own hand, and he became the object of the blackest hatred. The monks of Margan tell us, in their brief yearly notes, "that John being at Rouen in the week before Easter, 1203, after he had finished his dinner, instigated by drunkenness and malignant fiends, literally imbrued his hands in the blood of his defenceless nephew, and caused his body to be thrown into the Seine, with heavy stones fastened to his feet; that the body was notwithstanding cast on shore, and buried at the abbey of Bec secretly, for fear of the tyrant."

According to the popular traditions of the Bretons, John, pretending to be reconciled with his nephew, took Arthur from his dungeon in the castle of Rouen, and proceeded with him towards Cherbourg, travelling on horseback, and keeping near the coast. Late one evening, when the king and his nephew had outridden the rest of the party, John stopped on a high cliff which

overhung the sea; after looking down the precipice he drew his sword, and, riding suddenly at the young prince, ran him through the body. Arthur fell to the ground and begged for mercy, but the murderer dragged him to the brink of the precipice, and hurled him, yet breathing, into the waves below.²

But Ralph, the abbot of Coggeshall, who tells the pitiable tale most minutely, is probably the most correct of all. His account is as follows:—Some of the king's counsellors, representing how many slaughters and seditions the Bretons were committing for their lord Arthur, and maintaining that they would never be quiet so long as that prince lived in a sound state, suggested that he should deprive the noble youth of his eyes, and so render him incapable of government. Some wretches were sent to his prison at Falaise to execute this detestable deed; they found Arthur loaded with chains, and were so moved with his tears and prayers that they staid their bloody hands. The compassion of his guards, and the probity of Hubert de Burgh—the kind Hubert of Shakspeare—saved him for this time. Hubert, who was warden of the castle, took upon him to suspend the cruelties till the king should be further consulted. This merciful appeal only produced his removal from Falaise to Rouen. On the 3d of April, in the year of mercy 1203, the helpless orphan was startled from his sleep, and invited to descend to the foot of the tower, which was washed by the peaceful waters of the Seine. At the portal he found a boat, and in it his uncle, attended by Peter de Maulac, his esquire. The lonely spot, the dark hour, and the darker countenance of his uncle, told the youth his hour was come. Making a vain and last appeal, he threw himself on his knees and begged that his life at least might be spared. But John gave the sign, and Arthur was murdered. Some say that Peter de Maulac shrunk from the deed, and that John seized his nephew by the hair, stabbed him with his own hand, and threw his body into the river. Hemingford and Knighton, who wrote near the time, say that the squire was the executioner, and this statement is confirmed by the circumstance which they mention, and which is otherwise established, of John having bestowed on De Maulac the heiress of the barony of Mulgref in marriage, as the reward of his iniquity. In the essential parts of the crime nearly all writers agree.

The rumour of the murder, which was certainly spread in the month of April of this year, excited a universal cry of horror and indignation. The Bretons, among whom the young prince had been born and brought up, were the loudest of all:

¹ Rigord. *Gest. Phil. Aug.*; Matt. Par.; Guil. Armoir.

² Argentré, *Hist. de Bretagne*; Dumoulin, *Hist. de Normandie*.

their rage amounted to an absolute frenzy; and even when cooler moments came, they unanimously swore to revenge their prince's death. The Maid of Brittany—the fair and unfortunate Eleanor, Arthur's eldest sister—was in John's hands, and closely confined in a monastery or prison at Bristol, where she consumed forty years of her life; but the enthusiastic people rallied round Alice, an infant half-sister of the prince, and appointed her father, Guy de Thouars, the last husband of their duchess Constance, their regent and general of their confederacy. At a meeting of the estates of the province, held at Vannes, it was determined that Guy, with a deputation, should forthwith carry their complaints before the French king, "their suzerain lord," and demand justice.¹ He listened to their petition, and summoned John to a trial before his peers, as a vassal of the French crown. The process was in the regular order of feudal justice. But the accused monarch did not appear, on which, with the concurrence of the barons, this sentence was pronounced on him:—"That John, Duke of Normandy, unmindful of his oath to Philip, his lord, had murdered his elder brother's son, a homager to the crown of France, within the seignory of that realm; whereon he is judged a traitor; and, as an enemy to the crown of France, to forfeit all his dominions which he held by homage; and that re-entry be made by force of arms."

Philip, who had been obliged to retreat from Normandy after the capture of Prince Arthur and the barons at Mirebeau in the preceding year, was now on the frontier of Poitou, where a general insurrection took place, and most of the nobles joined him against the murderer John. They surrendered to Philip most of the strong places, and then marched with him to Normandy. Here the enraged Bretons were before him, having invaded and occupied all the territory near their own frontiers; they took the strong castle of Mount St. Michael by assault, made themselves masters of Avranches, and then advancing, burned all the towns between that city and Caen. These movements facilitated the progress of the French king, who, being joined by John's subjects of Anjou and Maine, advanced by Andely, Evreux, Domfront, and Lisieux, all of which places he took, and then effected his junction with the army of the Bretons at Caen. While tower and town thus fell before the invaders, John was passing his time in a voluptuous indolence at Rouen, surrounded by women and effeminate courtiers. He wished to remain ignorant of the loss of his towns, the miseries of his people, his own shame; and, when obliged to listen to

some dismal news, he was accustomed to say, in the fulness of his infatuation, "Let them go on; let these French and this rabble of Bretons go on; I will recover in a single day all that they are taking from me with so much pains." At last his enemies appeared at Radeport, in the neighbourhood of Rouen, and then (in the month of December) he fled over to England to demand succour.²

We are not sufficiently acquainted with the history of the noble families of the time, and the transmission or division of their estates; but it appears that the Norman barons of England had no longer that property at stake in Normandy which on all former occasions had made them resolute to prevent the separation of the two countries. There were, no doubt, other causes for their apathy; but, in spite of John's demerits, we cannot but believe that they would have made great exertions if they had been in the same position as formerly, when the same barons held great estates in Normandy as well as in England. Now they would make no strenuous effort; and we find John complaining on this occasion, as a little later, when his other continental provinces were occupied by the French king, that his English nobles had forsaken him.

Unable to meet Philip with the sword, John attempted to stop his progress with the spiritual weapons of Rome: he applied to the pope, imploring him to interfere. Innocent despatched two legates to plead in the recreant's favour; but, in the high tide of his success, the French king, made the bolder by the universal odium John had fallen into, turned a deaf ear to their representations and menaces, and the legates departed without producing any apparent effect.

When John fled, nothing remained to him save Rouen, Verneuil, and Chateau-Gaillard. The last was a strong castle, the pride of the late king, who took extraordinary pains in its construction, and it was held for John by a brave warrior who was true to his trust. In Rouen, the people, animated by an hereditary hatred of the French, determined to defend themselves; but when, pressed by a vigorous siege, they applied for aid to their sovereign, the King of England, John had no aid to give. It was in vain he punished his lukewarm barons of England by fines and forfeitures—it was in vain that he collected a considerable army at Portsmouth—the nobles resolutely told him that they would not follow his standard out of England. Thus abandoned to themselves, and suffering from famine, the citizens of Rouen surrendered to the French king. Verneuil was taken about the same time, and

¹ Darn.² Mett. Par.: *Annal. de Margan.*

Chateau-Gaillard fell after nobly sustaining a siege of seven months. Thus, John had no longer an inch of ground in Normandy, which ducly, after a separation of 292 years, was finally

re-annexed to the French kingdom. Within this year Brittany, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and Poitou, equally acknowledged the authority of Philip, and John had nothing left in those wide



CHATEAU-GAILLARD.¹—From Cotman's Normandy.

provinces except a few castles. Aquitaine, or Guienne, retained its connection with the English crown, but there the authority of the king was limited and uncertain.

A.D. 1206. Philip soon found that it was much easier to incite the people against the detested John, than to keep them obedient to himself. The men of Brittany, who indulged in their old dream of national independence, were soon disgusted by seeing their country treated as a mere province of France; and discontents also broke out in Anjou and Poitou. John contrived to land an English army at Roehelle, and even to take the strong castle of Montauban; then marching to the Loire, he took and burned Angers, committing many cruelties. He then reposed on his laurels, and gave himself up to feasting and debauchery. When again roused, he descended the Loire, and laid siege to Nantes. This siege he raised, to offer battle to Philip. As the battle was about to commence, he proposed a negotiation, and while the proposal was under discussion, he ran away to England, loaded with new infamy. Philip, who had nothing more to do, as it was not convenient for him to attack Guienne, and an invasion of Eng-

land was as yet a thing not to be contemplated, listened to another legate from the pope, who induced him to consent to a truce with John for two years.

A.D. 1207. The next step of the recreant John was to quarrel with the pope, and provoke to the utmost—and by deeds which gave an odious colouring to his cause, even where he was wholly or partially in the right—the enduring enmity of that power which had shaken the throne of his great and wise father. The dispute arose out of the conflicting claims of the crown and the church in the appointment of bishops. While John insisted that his favourite minister, John de Gray, Bishop of Norwich, should be elevated to the see of Canterbury, the pope canonically appointed Stephen Langton; and the monks of Canterbury would receive no other archbishop. Never was time, never was place so ill chosen for an attack on the church; but John, blinded by passion, despatched two knights with an armed band to drive the monks of Canterbury from the land. The ministers of his vengeance entered with drawn swords into the cloisters which had alike witnessed the slaughter of Becket and the subsequent humilia-

¹ Chateau-Gaillard was founded about the year 1196, shortly after the treaty of Louviers had been concluded between Philip Augustus and Richard Cœur de Lion. The Norman duke, considering how frequently invasions had been made into his territories by the way of Andelys, resolved to strengthen himself by means of a formidable barrier in that quarter. With this view he built a fortress upon an island in the Seine, opposite the village of Lesser Andelys; and at the same time erected upon the brow of the rock that overhung the river a castle of the greatest possible strength. The circular keep is of extraordinary strength, and in its construction differs wholly from any of our English donjon-towers. It may be described as a cylinder

placed upon a truncated cone. The massive perpendicular buttresses, which are ranged round the upper wall, whence they project considerably, lose themselves at their bases in the cone from which they arise. The building, therefore, appears to be divided into two stories. The wall of the second story is upwards of 12 ft. in thickness. The base of the conical portion is perhaps twice as thick. It seldom happens that the military buildings of the middle ages have such a *talus* or slope on the exterior face, agreeing with the principles of modern fortification; and it is difficult to guess why the architect of Chateau-Gaillard thought fit to vary from the established model of his age.—Cotman's *Antiquities of Normandy*.

tion of his sovereign. "In the king's name," exclaimed the knights, "we command you, as traitors, to quit the realm; begone in a moment, or we will set fire to these walls, and burn you with your convent." All the monks who were not bedridden departed forthwith, and going into Flanders, were there received and hospitably entertained in different religious houses. John seized their effects; but as no one would labour upon them for the king, the lands of the archbishopric and of the convent of Canterbury lay without culture.¹ When Innocent in a gentle but most decided tone asked for redress, John braved his authority; and thus an open struggle began between one of the ablest priests that ever wore the tiara, and the meanest and basest king that ever disgraced the English throne. While John amused himself with terrible but impotent threats against the monks, the pope wrote to the already disaffected English barons, ordering them to do all they could with the arms of the flesh to save their king and kingdom from perdition; and he called upon the prelates and abbots of the kingdom to fight with their spiritual weapons for Langton and the liberties of the church. He then sent orders to the Bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester to wait upon the king in his name, and, if they found him still refractory, to threaten him with the interdict. John at last received these prelates; when they came to the threat he grew pale with rage, and his lips quivered and frothed. "By God's teeth," he cried, "if you, or any of your body, dare to lay my states under interdict, I will send you and all your clergy to Rome, and confiscate your property. As for the Roman shavelings, if I find any in my dominions, I will tear out their eyes and cut off their noses, and so send them to the pope, that the nations may witness their infamy." The bishops trembled and withdrew; but these were not times when personal fear stopped the triumphant march of Rome. A few weeks after (on Monday, the 23d of March, 1208, in Passion week), they pronounced the sentence of interdict against all John's dominions, and then fled for safety to the Continent. To secure himself at this moment of danger, the king obliged as many of his nobles as he could, to place their children in his hands as securities for their allegiance; a measure which created fresh disgust.

In the meantime the nation was plunged in mourning by the interdict. The churches were instantly closed, and the priests ceased their functions, refusing to administer any of their usual sacred rites, except baptism to infants, and the sacrament to the dying. The dead were buried, without prayers, in unconsecrated ground

—the relics of the saints were taken from their places and laid upon ashes in the silent church—their statues and pictures were covered with veils of black cloth—the chime of church bells no longer floated on the air; and everything was so arranged under an interdict as to give a most lugubrious aspect to the whole country upon which it had fallen. When this had lasted a year, the pope followed up the sentence of interdict by a bull of excommunication against John. Although by narrowly watching the ports, he prevented the entrance of the Roman envoy and the official publication of the latter bull, the king was seriously alarmed, for he knew that excommunication would be followed by a sentence of dethronement, and that Philip was making ready to invade England with a banner that would be blessed by the pope. He also saw that the disaffection of his barons was still increasing; and that there was no part of Christian Europe to which he could apply for succour or alliance. At this critical moment, if we are to believe a curious story picturesquely told by Matthew Paris, he applied for aid to the Mahometans of Spain and was refused, the great Emir al Nassir, to whom the embassy was sent, resolving to have nothing to do with such a tyrant as the English king.

John employed the spring of A.D. 1210. this year in raising money by the most arbitrary means: all classes suffered, but none like the unfortunate Jews, who were seized, imprisoned, and tortured all over the kingdom. A great sum is said to have been collected, and with this he levied an army, pretending that he would go and drive Philip out of Normandy. When all was ready, he sailed for Ireland, where the English nobles had for some time defied his authority. On the 6th of June he landed on the Irish coast, and proceeded to Dublin, where more than twenty of the native chieftains repaired to do him homage and offer tribute. He then marched into the province of Connaught, reduced the castles of some of the revolted English nobles, and drove Hugh de Lacy, Earl of Ulster, and his brother Walter de Lacy, Earl of Meath, out of the island. He divided such parts of the island as were subjected to England into counties, established English laws, and appointed sheriffs and other officers. He also ordered, for the convenience of traffic, that the same moneys should be equally current in both countries; and then, intrusting the government of Ireland to his favourite the Bishop of Norwich, whom he had not been able to make Archbishop of Canterbury, he returned from this safe and easy expedition to England, after an absence of twelve weeks. In the following year he determined to show his prowess in Wales. Money was again

¹ *Matt. Par.; Annal. de Mary.*

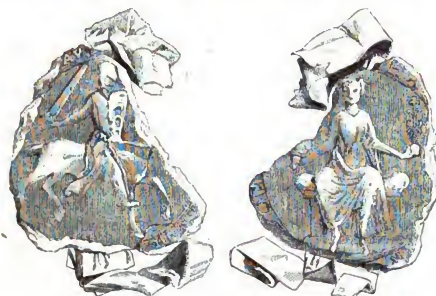
wanted: he summoned all the abbots and lady-abbesses—all the heads of monastic houses, whether male or female, to meet him in London; he urged his wants in a manner which was not to be resisted, and, having got what he could from these servants and handmaidens of Christ, he again racked the unbelieving Jews, putting them to torture and throwing them into dungeons, where they were kept until they paid enormous fines to the king. It was on this occasion that he is said to have extorted 10,000 marks from a wealthy Jew, by casting him into prison, and causing a tooth to be torn daily from his jaws until the money was paid. With the sums obtained John raised a mighty army, and penetrated into Wales, as far as the foot of Snowdon. He was not a man to do more than his great and warlike predecessors, and he marched back again immediately, having, however, forced the Welsh to pay him a tribute in cattle and horses, and to give him twenty-eight hostages, youths of the best families. Whenever John had a glimpse of success, he increased his arbitrary proceedings against his English subjects. On a former occasion he gave new rigour to the barbarous forest laws, and now he levied scutage-money in an unjust manner. In the following year the Welsh again were up in arms to assert their independence. John savagely hanged the twenty-eight hostages, and was preparing for a fresh invasion when he was terrified by a report that many of his own barons were conspiring against him. He shut himself up in the castle of Nottingham for fifteen days, seeing no one but the personal attendants on whom he most relied. He then marched to Chester, still collecting troops, and vowing to exterminate the Welsh; but from Chester he turned suddenly back to London, where he kept strong bodies of foreign mercenaries constantly about him, and seldom showed himself to his people. His enemies increased every day, and the crowd of English exiles were incessantly urging the pope to take vengeance on their king.

At last Innocent hurled his deadliest thunder-bolt at the head of John; he pronounced his deposition, absolved his vassals from their oaths of allegiance, and called upon all Christian princes and barons to take part in the meritorious act of dethroning an impious tyrant. He then sent Stephen Langton, the exiled Archbishop of Canterbury, with other English and some Italian prelates, to the French court, there to convoke a solemn meeting, and declare to the king and the whole nation that the pope authorized an immediate invasion of England. The worldly temptation was so great that Philip probably required none other, but the pope promised him *the remission of his sins* if

he executed this pious purpose and drove John from his throne. About the middle of March Philip collected a great army in Normandy, and prepared a fleet of 1700 vessels, of all sizes, at Boulogne and the other ports on the Channel. John, being well informed of these preparations, took for once a bold step: he summoned every man capable of bearing arms to be ready to march to the coasts of Kent and Sussex, and he collected every vessel in his dominions capable of carrying six or more horses. When the ships were ready, he anticipated Philip's attack: the English mariners crossed the Channel, took a French squadron at the mouth of the Seine, destroyed the ships in the harbour of Fecamp, and burned Dieppe to the ground. They swept the whole coast of Normandy, and returned in triumph, the main division of the French fleet at Boulogne not hazarding an attack. On Barham Downs 60,000 landsmen stood as yet firm around the standard of John; but he dreaded these his own brave subjects, and he was always spiritless and unmanly. It was quickly seen, after all his vain boasting, and his threats against the Church of Rome, that he would lower himself to the dirt before that incensed enemy—that he would do anything rather than fight. The pope's legate, Pandulph, well knew his dastardly character, and now skilfully took advantage of it. Two knights of the Temple (travelled men and crafty diplomatists) landed at Dover and proceeded to the English camp. "We come," said they, with great respect, "from Pandulph, the subdeacon and servant of our lord the pope: for your advantage, and for that of the realm of England, he asks to see you in private." "Let him come forthwith," said John. Pandulph came, and drew so formidable a picture of the French army of invasion, and represented the general and just disaffection of the great barons of England in such forcible, and, on the whole, true colours, that the paltry despot's heart died away within him. What added to his fears, was the prediction of a certain Peter, called "the Hermit," that before the feast of the Ascension should be passed (it was distant only three days) King John would be unkinged. As he trembled before the astute churchman, Pandulph bade him repent, and remember that the pontiff was a merciful master, who would require nothing which was not absolutely necessary either to the honour of the church or to the security of the king himself. After a little wavering John gave way, and subscribed an instrument which, in itself, was not *very* objectionable, and which had been offered him some time before, when, by accepting it, he might have avoided his present excessive debasement. It was agreed, on the 13th of May, that John should obey the pope in all things for which he had been excommuni-

cated—that he should receive into favour the exiled bishops and others, particularly Stephen Langton and the prior and monks of Canterbury—that he should make full satisfaction to the clergy and laity for the damages they had suffered at his hands, or otherwise, on account of the interdict, and that he should pay down, in part of restitution, the sum of £8000. John further agreed not to prosecute any person for any matter relating to the late disagreement; and, on his part, Pandulph promised that, on the performance of those conditions, the sentences of interdict should be recalled, and that the bishops and other proscribed churchmen, on their return, should swear to be true and faithful to the king. John set his seal to the instrument, and four of

At the same time he put into the envoy's hands a charter, testifying that he, the King of England and Lord of Ireland, in atonement for his offences against God and the church, not compelled by the interdict or by any fear of force, but of his own free will, and with the general consent of his barons, surrendered to our lord the pope Innocent, and Innocent's successors for ever, the kingdom of England and the lordship of Ireland, which were henceforth to be held as fiefs of the Holy See, John and his successors paying for them an annual tribute of 700 marks of silver for England, and 300 marks for Ireland. He then offered some money as an earnest of his subjection, but Pandulph trampled it under his feet—an act which called forth an angry remonstrance from



GREAT SEAL OF JOHN, appended to Magna Charta, in British Museum.

the Bishop or Archbishop of Dublin. The next day was the fatal term, the feast of the Ascension, during which John watched the progress of the sun with an anxious eye: it set and he died not—it rose on the morrow, and he was still alive: instantly, in punishment for the vile terror he had suffered, he ordered Peter and his son to be dragged at the tails of horses, and hanged on gibbets. The people contended that Peter, after all, was no false prophet, and that John, by laying his crown at the feet of a foreign priest, had verified the prediction.¹

his greatest barons, William, Earl of Salisbury, Reginald, Earl of Boulogne, and the Earls of Warenne and Ferrers, swore, "on the soul of the king," that he would keep this compact inviolate. The dastardly spirit of John, the over-reaching policy and ambition of the pope, and the address of the envoy Pandulph, can alone account for the consummation of ignominy which followed. On the 14th of May, the following day, John was closeted with the Italian in secret consultation, and when seen for a moment abroad, his countenance was sadly dejected. Though depraved in morals, and notoriously irreligious, he was a prey to superstition, and he was now thinking more of the prediction of a hare-brained recluse than of his kingdom, for he fancied that Peter the Hermit's prophecy betokened he must die.

On the 15th of May, at an early hour of the morning, John repaired to the church of the Templars at Dover, and there, surrounded by bishops, barons, and knights, took on his knees, before Pandulph, an oath of fealty to the pope—the same oath which vassals took to their lords.

Five or six days after these transactions, Pandulph went over to France, and, to the astonishment and great wrath of Philip, announced to him that he must no longer molest a penitent son and a faithful vassal of the church, nor presume to invade a kingdom which was now part of the patrimony of St. Peter. "But," said Philip, "I have already expended enormous sums of money on this expedition, which I undertook at the pontiff's express commands, and for the remission of my sins." The nuncio repeated his inhibition and withdrew. The French king, however, who was already on the road, continued his march to the coast. It appears, indeed, that Philip, who inveighed publicly against the selfish and treacherous policy of the pope, would not have been prevented from attempting the invasion by the dread of the thunders of the church, which again rumbled over his head.² But other circumstances

¹ *Matt. Par.*: *Matthæe Westminster, or Florilegus*; *W. Heming*; *Chron. Mailros.*; *Annol. Waver.*; *Chron. T. Wykes.*

² Philip had been excommunicated, and his kingdom had been laid under an interdict, a few years before, by the reigning pope, Innocent III.

of a more worldly nature interfered: Ferrand, the new Earl of Flanders, demanded that certain towns which had lately been annexed to the French crown should be restored to him. Philip refused; and now, when he proposed to his great vassals that they should continue the enterprise against England, the Earl of Flanders, the most powerful of them all, said that his conscience would not permit him to follow his lord in such an unjust attempt; and so saying, he suddenly withdrew with all his forces. Philip, vowing he would make Flanders a mere province of France, marched after him, and, taking several of the earl's best towns on his way, sat down with his army before the strong city of Ghent. Fortunately for both parties, Ferrand had already a secret understanding with John, and now he applied to that king for help. John's fleet lay ready in the harbour of Portsmouth. Seven hundred knights, with a large force of infantry, embarked in 500 vessels, under the command of William, Earl of Holland, and William Long-spear, Earl of Salisbury, one of the sons of "Fair Rosamond," and immediately made sail for the coast of Flanders. They found the French fleet at anchor at Damme, which was at that time the port of Bruges; it was three times more numerous than the English fleet; but most of the sailors and land-troops embarked with them were on shore plundering the neighbouring country, and committing all sorts of ravages in a district which, through the blessings of peace and commerce, had made a wonderfully rapid progress in civilization and the arts that adorn life. This was the first fleet that the French kings of the Capetian line had ever put to sea; and it was an unfortunate beginning for the French—their navy was annihilated. Philip thus lost the means of supporting his army in Flanders, or of transporting it to the English coast: half-famished and overcome with vexation, he hurried across his own frontiers, leaving Earl Ferrand to recover with ease all that he had lost.

This first great naval victory transported the English people with joy; but with joy was mingled a malicious confidence and presumption in the heart of John, who now betrayed a determination to break the best part of his recent oaths. Being determined to carry the war into France, he summoned his vassals to meet him at Portsmouth. The barons went armed and appointed, as if ready to sail; but, when ordered to embark, they resolutely refused unless the king recalled the exiles, as he had promised to do. After some tergiversation John granted a reluctant consent, and Archbishop Langton, the Bishops of London, Ely, Hereford, Lincoln, and Bath, the monks of Canterbury, all, with their companions and numerous dependents, returned.

John and the archbishop met and kissed each other at Winchester; and there, in the porch of the cathedral church, Langton gave full absolution to the king, who again swore to govern justly, and maintain his fealty to the pope. It was, however, clear to all men that Langton placed no confidence in the king; and that the king, who considered him as the chief cause of all his troubles, regarded Langton with all the deadly hatred of which his dark character was capable. John now set sail with a few ships, but his barons were in no hurry to follow him, being far more eager to secure their own liberties than to recover the king's dominions on the Continent. They said that the time of their feudal service was expired, and they withdrew to a great council at St. Alban's, where Fitz-Peter, one of the king's justiciaries, presided, and where they published resolves, in the form of royal proclamations, ordering the observance of old laws, and denouncing the punishment of death against the sheriff's foresters, or other officers of the king who should exceed their proper and legal authority.

John got as far as the island of Jersey, when, finding that none followed him, he turned back with vows of vengeance. He landed, and marched with a band of mercenaries to the north, where the barons were most contumacious. Burning and destroying, he advanced as far as Northampton. Here Langton overtook him. "These barbarous measures," said the prelate, "are in violation of your oaths; your vassals must stand to the judgment of their peers, and not be wantonly harassed by arms." "Mind you your church," roared the furious king, "and leave me to govern the state." He continued his march to Nottingham, where Langton, who was not a man to be intimidated, again presented himself, and threatened to excommunicate all the ministers and officers that followed him in his lawless course. John then gave way, and, to save appearances, summoned the barons to meet him or his justices. Langton hastened to London, and there, at a second meeting of the barons, he read the liberal charter which Henry I. had granted on his accession; and, after inducing them to embrace its provisions, he made them swear to be true to each other, and to conquer or to die in support of their liberties. This was on the 25th of August. On the 29th of September a new legate from the pope, Cardinal Nicholas, arrived in England to settle the indemnity due to the exiles, and to take off the interdict. John renewed his oath of fealty to Innocent, knelt in homage before the legate, paid 15,000 marks, and promised 40,000 more to the bishops. The interdict was removed; and from this moment the court of Rome changed sides, and, abandoning the cause of liberty and the barons, stood for the king. This abandon-

ment, however, did not discourage the nobles, nor did it even detach Archbishop Langton from the cause for which they had confederated.

A.D. 1214. A formidable league was now formed against the French king, and John was enabled to join it with some vigour. Ferrand, Earl of Flanders, Reynaud, Earl of Boulogne, and Otho, the new Emperor of Germany, nephew to John, determined to invade France and divide that kingdom among them, giving the English king all the country beyond the Loire for his share. Ferrand was to have Paris with all the Isle of France, Reynaud the country of Vermandois, and the emperor all the rest. John sent some English forces under the command of his half-brother, the Earl of Salisbury, to Valenciennes, where the confederates established their head-quarters, and then sailed himself to the coast of Poitou, where several of his former vassals joined him, and enabled him to advance to Angers. This diversion was well planned—it obliged Philip to divide his forces; and while he himself marched towards the frontiers of Flanders, he sent his son Louis into Brittany, whither the English king now advanced. John was kept in check, or lost his opportunity through cowardice and indolence, while his allies were thoroughly defeated at the battle of Bouvines—one of the most memorable battles of the middle ages, in which the emperor was completely ruined, and the Earl of Flanders, the Earl of Boulogne, and the Earl of Salisbury were taken prisoners, with an immense number of inferior lords and knights. Salisbury, the gallant Longsword, was captured by the Bishop of Beauvais, the very individual whom King Richard had loaded with chains, and upon whose coat of mail that king had been so facetious. This prelate, however, had become more prudent or more circumspect—he no longer wielded the sword, but fought with a heavy club, thus knocking people on the head without shedding blood, which was contrary to the canons of the church. He was not the only prelate in this fierce *mêlée*. Philip was chiefly indebted for his success to Guérin, Bishop-elect of Senlis, who also had some scruples of conscience, for he would not use a sword, but marshalled the French host, and directed the slaughter with a wand. This battle was fought on the 27th of July, near an obscure village called Bouvines, between Lisle and Tournay. On the 19th of October following, John begged a truce, and obtained one for five years, on condition of abandoning all the towns and castles he had taken on the Continent. He arrived in England on the 20th of October, and as if he would take vengeance on his English subjects for the reverses and shame he had suffered, he again let loose his foreign mercenaries on the land, and began to violate all

his most solemn promises. Fitz-Peter, his justice, the only one of his ministers that could moderate his fury, had now been dead some months. John, who feared him, rejoiced at his death. "It is well," cried he, laughing as they told him the news; "in hell he may again shake hands with Hubert, our late primate, for surely he will find him there. By God's teeth, now for the first time I am king and lord of England."¹ But there were men at work resolute and skilful. Immediately after his arrival, the barons met to talk of the league they had formed with Langton. "The time," they said, "is favourable; the feast of St. Edmund approaches; amidst the multitudes that resort to his shrine we may assemble without suspicion." On the 20th of November, the saint's day, they met in crowds at St. Edmundsbury, where they finally determined to demand their rights, in a body, in the royal court at the festival of Christmas. The spirit of freedom was awakened, not soon to sleep again: they advanced one by one, according to seniority, to the high altar, and, laying their hands on it, they solemnly swore, that if the king refused the rights they claimed, they would withdraw their fealty and make war upon him, till, by a charter under his own seal, he should confirm their just petitions. They then parted, to meet again at the feast of the Nativity. When that solemn but festive season arrived, John found himself at Worcester, and almost alone; for none of his great vassals came as usual to congratulate him, and the countenances of his own attendants seemed gloomy and unquiet. He suddenly departed, and riding to London, there shut himself up in the strong house of the Knights Templars. The barons followed close on the coward's steps, and on the feast of the Epiphany (at every move they chose some day consecrated by religion) they presented themselves in such force that he was obliged to admit them to an audience. At first he attempted to browbeat the nobles. One bishop and two barons were recerants, and consented to recede from their claims, and never trouble him again, but all the rest were firm to their purpose. John turned pale, and trembled. He then changed his tone, and cajoled instead of threatening. "Your petition," he said, "contains matter weighty and arduous. You must grant me time till Easter, that, with due deliberation, I may be able to do justice to myself and satisfy the dignity of my crown." Many of the barons, knowing the use he would make of it, would not have granted this delay, but the majority consented, on condition that Cardinal Langton, the Bishop of Ely, and William, Earl of Pembroke, should be the king's sureties that he would give them the satisfaction

¹ Matt. Paris.

they demanded on the appointed day. The confederated nobles then retired to their homes. They were no sooner gone than John adopted measures which he fondly hoped would frustrate all their plans, and bring them bound hand and feet within the verge of his revenge. He began by courting the church, and formally renounced the important prerogative that had been hitherto so zealously contended for by himself and his great ancestors, touching the election of bishops and abbots. Having thus, as he thought, bound the clergy to his service, he turned his attention to the body of the people, whose progress had been slow, but pretty steady, and whose importance was now immense. He ordered his sheriffs to assemble all the free men of their several counties, and tender to them a new oath of allegiance. His next step was to send an agent to Rome, to appeal to the pope against what he termed the treasonable violence of his vassals. The barons, too, despatched an envoy to the Eternal City; but it was soon made more than ever evident that Innocent would support the king through right and wrong. He wrote a startling letter to Cardinal Langton; but that extraordinary priest was deaf to the voice of his spiritual chief where the interests of his country were concerned. To make himself still surer, John took the cross on the 2d of February, solemnly swearing that he would lead an army to the Holy Land. This taking of the cross, by which the debtor was exempted from the pursuit of his creditor—by which the persons, goods, and estates of the crusaders were placed under the immediate protection of the church till their return from Palestine—seemed to John the best of all defences.

On the appointed day in Easter week, the barons met at Stamford with great military pomp, being followed by 2000 knights, and a host of retainers. The king was at Oxford. The barons marched to Brackley, within a few miles of that city, where they were met by a deputation from the sovereign, composed of Cardinal Langton, the Earl of Pembroke, and the Earl of Warenne. The confederates delivered the schedule containing the chief articles of their petition. "These are our claims," they said, "and, if they are not instantly granted, our arms shall do us justice." When the deputies returned, and Langton expounded the contents of the parchment he held in his hand, John exclaimed, in a fury, "And why do they not demand my crown also? By God's teeth, I will not grant them liberties which will make me a slave." He then made some evasive offers, which the barons understood, and rejected. Pandulph, who was with the king, now contended that the cardinal-primate ought to excommunicate the confederates; but Langton said he knew the pope's real intentions had not been

signified, and that unless the king dismissed the foreign mercenaries, whom he had brought into the kingdom for its ruin, he would presently excommunicate them.

The barons now proclaimed themselves "the army of God and of holy church," and unanimously elected Robert Fitz-Walter to be their general. They then marched against the castle of Northampton, but they had no battering engines; the walls were lofty and strong; the garrison, composed of foreigners, stood out for the king; and their first warlike attempt proved a failure. After fifteen days they gave up the siege, and marched to Bedford with anxious minds. On whichever side the free burghers of England threw their substantial weight, that party must prevail, and, as yet, no declaration had been made in favour of the confederates. But now anxiety vanished—the people of Bedford threw open their gates; and soon after messengers arrived from the capital with secret advice that the principal citizens of London were devoted to their cause, and would receive them with joy. Losing no time, they marched to Ware, and, not stopping to rest for the night, pursued their course to London, which they reached in the morning. It was the 24th of May, and a Sunday: the gates were open—the people hearing mass in their churches—when the army of God entered the city in excellent order and profound silence. On the following day, the barons issued proclamations requiring all such earls, barons, and knights, as had hitherto remained neutral, to join them against the perjured John, unless they wished to be treated as enemies of their country. In all parts of the kingdom the lords and knights quitted their castles to join the national standard at London. It is needless, say the old chroniclers, to enumerate the barons who composed the army of God and of holy church: they were the whole nobility of England. The heart of John again turned to water: he saw himself almost entirely deserted, only seven knights remaining near his person. Recovering, however, from his first stupefaction, he resorted to his old arts: he assumed a cheerful countenance; said what his lies had done was well done; and from Odiham, in Hampshire, where he was staying, he despatched the Earl of Pembroke to London, to assure the barons that, for the good of peace, and the exaltation of his reign, he was ready freely to grant all the rights and liberties; and only wished them to name a day and place of meeting. "Let the day," replied the barons, "be the 15th of June—the place, Runnymede."¹

On the morning of the appointed day, the king moving from Windsor Castle, and the barons

¹ *Matt. Par.*

from the town of Staines, the parties met on the green meadow, close by the Thames, which the barons had named. With John came eight bishops, Pandulph, Almeric, the master of the English Templars, the Earl of Pembroke, and thirteen other gentlemen; but the majority of this party, though they attended him as friends and advisers, were known to be in their hearts favourable to the cause of the barons. On the other side stood Fitz-Walter and the whole nobility of England. With scarcely an attempt to modify any of its clauses, and with a facility that might justly have raised suspicion, the king signed the scroll presented to him. This was *Magna Charta*—the *GREAT CHARTER*—a most noble commencement and foundation for the future liberties of England.¹ As the profound duplicity and immorality of John were well known, the barons exacted securities. They required that he should disband and send out of the kingdom all his foreign officers, with their families and followers; that for the two ensuing months the barons should keep possession of the city, and Langton of the Tower of London; and that they should be allowed to choose twenty-five members from their own body to be guardians or conservators of the liberties of the kingdom, with power, in case of any breach of the charter—such breach not being redressed immediately—to make war on the king; to distrain and distress him by seizing his castles, lands, possessions, and in any other manner they could, till the grievance should be redressed; always, however, saving harmless the person of the said lord the king, the person of the queen, and the persons of their royal children.

As soon as the great assembly dispersed, and John found himself in Windsor Castle safe from the observing eyes of his subjects, he called a few foreign adventurers around him, and gave vent to rage and curses against the charter. According to the chroniclers his behaviour was that of a frantic madman; for, besides swearing, he gnashed his teeth, rolled his eyes, and gnawed sticks and straws. The creatures who would be ruined and expelled by the charter, roused him by appealing to his passion of revenge, and he forthwith despatched two of them to the Continent to procure him the means of undoing all

that he had been obliged to do. One of these adventurers went to Flanders, Poitou, Aquitaine, and Gascony, to hire other adventurers to come to England and fight against the barons; the other went to Rome, to implore the aid of Innocent. John then sent messengers to such governors of his castles as were foreigners or men devoted to him, commanding them silently, and without exciting notice, to lay in provisions, and put themselves in a state of defence. He caused the alarm himself, by instantly evading some of the clauses of the charter. On their departure from Runnymede, the barons, in the joy of their hearts, appointed a great tournament to be held at Stamford on the 2d of July. John, during their absence, formed a plot to surprise London, where the main strength of the party lay; but, being warned in time, the nobles put off the celebration of the tournament to a more distant day, and named a place for it nearer to London.

The king now withdrew to Winchester, where, alarmed at the whole course of his conduct, a deputation waited on him on the 27th of June. He laughed at their suspicions—swore, with his usual volubility, that they were unfounded, and that he was ready to do all those things to which he was pledged. He issued a few writs required of him, and then withdrew still further to the Isle of Wight, where he would mix with no society save that of the fishermen of the place and the mariners of the neighbouring ports, whom he tried to captivate by adopting their manners. Here he remained about three weeks (not months, as stated by Matthew Paris); for it appears from public instruments still extant, that he was at Oxford on the 21st of July, where he appointed a conference which he did not attend, posting away to Dover, where he staid during the whole of September, anxiously awaiting the arrival of his mercenary recruits from the Continent. When the barons learned that troops of Brabanters and others were stealing into the land in small parties, they despatched William D'Albiny, at the head of a chosen band, to take possession of the royal castle of Rochester. D'Albiny had scarcely entered the castle, which he found almost destitute of stores and engines of defence, when John found himself sufficiently strong to venture from Dover. The un-English despot, followed by Poitevins, Gascons, Flemings, Brabanters, and others—the outcasts and freebooters of Europe—laid siege to Rochester Castle at the beginning of October. The barons, knowing the insufficient means of defence within the castle, marched from London to its relief, but they were obliged to retreat before the superior force of the foreigners, who, day after day, were joined by fresh adventurers

¹ Many parts of the Great Charter were pointed against the abuses of the power of the king as lord paramount, and have lost their importance since the downfall of the system of feuds, which it was their purpose to mitigate. But it contains a few maxims of just government, applicable to all places and times, of which it is hardly possible to overrate the importance of the first promulgation by the supreme authority of a powerful and renowned nation. Some clauses, though limited in words by feudal relations, yet covered general principles of equity which were not slowly unfolded by the example of the charter, and by their obvious application to the safety and well-being of the whole community."—*Mackintosh*.

from the other side of the Channel. Fortunately for England, one Hugh de Boves and a vast horde of marauders perished in a tempest on their way from Calais to Dover. John bewailed this loss like a maniac, but he pressed the siege of Rochester Castle, and still prevented the barons from relieving it. After a gallant resistance of eight weeks, when the outer walls were thrown down, an angle of the keep shattered, and the last mouthful of provisions consumed, D'Albiny surrendered. John ordered him to be hanged, with his whole garrison; but Savaric de Mauleon, the leader of one of the foreign bands, opposed this barbarous mandate, because he feared the English might retaliate on his own followers, if any should fall into their hands. The tyrant was, therefore, contented to butcher the inferior prisoners, while all the knights were sent to the castles of Corfe and Nottingham.

The loss of Rochester Castle was a serious blow to the cause of the barons, who were soon after excommunicated by the pope; for the king's application to Rome had met with full success, notwithstanding a counter-appeal made by the English nation. Innocent declared that the barons were worse than Saracens for molesting a vassal of the Holy See—a religious king who had taken the cross. Thus emboldened, John marched from Kent to St. Alban's, accompanied by a most mixed and savage host. It was thought at one time he would turn upon London, but the attitude of the capital struck him with terror; and, leaving a strong division to manœuvre round it, and devastate the south-eastern counties, he moved towards Nottingham, marking his progress with flames and blood.

Alexander, the young King of Scotland, had entered into an alliance with the English barons, and, having crossed the border, was investing the castle of Norham. The whole northern country, moreover, was especially obnoxious to John, and thither he determined to carry his vengeance. A few days after the feast of Christmas, when the ground was covered with deep snow, he marched from Nottingham into Yorkshire, still burning and slaying, and becoming more savage the farther he advanced and the less he was opposed. Every hamlet, every house on the road, felt the fury of his execrable host—he himself giving the example, and setting fire with his own hands in the morning to the house in which he had rested the preceding night. His foreign soldiery put his native subjects to the torture to make them confess where they had concealed their money. All the castles and towns they could take were given to the flames; and the people of Yorkshire and Northumberland were reminded of the expedition of William the Conqueror. The Scottish king retired before

a superior force, and John, vowing he would "unkennel the young fox," followed him as far as Edinburgh. Here, meeting with opposition he paused, and then, never having any val but when unopposed, he turned back to Engla burning Haddington, Dunbar, and Berwick his way. Near the borders, Morpeth, Mitfo Alnwick, Wark, and Roxburgh had been csumed already.

In the meantime the division left in the sou committed equal atrocities, and, wherever t castle of a noble was taken, it was given, w the adjoining estate, to some hungry adventur

On the 16th of December, another sentence excommunication was promulgated by the abl of Abingdon and two other ecclesiastics; in t bull, Robert Fitz-Walter, the general of the c federacy, and all the principal barons, were m tioned by name; and the city of London was l under an interdict. This measure excited so fear and wavering in the country, but the ci zens of London had the boldness to despise According to Matthew Paris, they asserted th the pontiff had no right to interfere in worl concerns; and, spite of the interdict, they ke open their churches, rang their bells, and ce brated their Christmas with unusual festivity.

But the barons, who were confined in Lond by the force that continually increased arou them—who saw their property the prey to n invaders, and who knew the full extent of t danger to which the nation was exposed (t effect of the excommunication on the villains the country not being the least of these)—we sorely disquieted, and knew not what measu to adopt. Many meetings were held, and a v riety of plans debated; but at last they unan mously resolved, in a moment of desperatic upon the very equivocal and perilous expedie of calling in foreign aid. They sent to offer t crown to Philip's eldest son, Prince Louis, w was connected with the reigning family by l marriage with Blanche of Castile, John's o niece; believing that, should he land among them, the mercenaries now with John, w were chiefly subjects of France, would jo his standard, or at least refuse to bear ar against him. Philip and Louis eagerly gras at this offer, but the wary old king moderated t impatience of his son, and would not permit hi to venture into England until twenty-four h tages, sons of the noblest of the English, we sent into France. Then a fleet, with a sm army, was sent up the Thames. It arriv London at the end of February, and the co mander assured the barons that Louis hims would be there with a proper force by the fea of Easter. Innocent, in the meanwhile, was n inactive in John's, or rather in his own cause; i

despatched a new legate to England; and Gualo, on his journey, reached France in time to witness, and to endeavour to prevent, the preparations making for invasion. He boldly asked both king and prince how they dared attack the patrimony of the church, and threatened them with instant excommunication. To the astonishment of the churchman, Louis advanced a claim to the English throne through right of his wife, and departed for Calais, where his army was collecting. At the appointed time he set sail from Calais with a numerous and well-appointed army, and embarked on board 680 vessels. His passage was stormy. The mariners of the Cinque ports, who adhered to the English king, cut off and took some of his ships, but on the 30th of May he landed safely at Sandwich. John, who had come round to Dover with a numerous army, fled before the French landed, and, burning and ravaging the country, he went to Guildford, then to Winchester, and then to Bristol, where Gualo, the pope's legate, soon joined him. Leaving Dover Castle in his rear, Louis besieged

he was joyfully received by the barons and citizens, who conducted him, with a magnificent procession, to St. Paul's. After he had offered up his prayers, the nobles and citizens did homage and swore fealty to him. And then he, with his hand on the gospels, also swore to restore to all orders their good laws, and to each individual the estates and property of which he had been robbed. Soon after Louis published a manifesto, addressed to the King of Scotland and all the nobles not present in London. An immense effect was presently seen: nearly every one of the few nobles who had followed John now left him and repaired to London; all the men of the north, from Lincolnshire to the Borders, rose up in arms against him; the Scottish king made ready to march to the south; and, at first in small troops and then in masses, all the foreign mercenaries, with the exception of those of Gascony and Poitou, deserted the standard of the tyrant, and either returned to their homes or took service under Louis and the barons, who were now enabled to retake many of their castles. Gualo,



DOVER CASTLE.—From a view by Turner, R.A.

the legate, did all he could to keep up the drooping, abject spirit of John; but at the very moment of crisis, on the 16th of July, the pope himself, the mighty Innocent, died, and left the church to be wholly occupied for some time by the election of a new pontiff.

Louis marched to Dover and laid siege to the castle, which was most bravely defended for the king by Hubert de Burgh; and at the same time some of the barons attacked Windsor Castle, which was equally well defended. When the siege of Dover Castle had lasted several weeks, Louis found himself obliged to convert it into a

blockade. Withdrawing his army beyond reach of the arrows of the garrison, he swore that he

and took the castle of Rochester. He then marched to the capital, where, on the 2d of June, A.D. 1216,

¹ Dugdale, in his *Monasticon*, quotes a record in old French, in which we are informed, that when Arrivagus reigned in Britain he refused to be subject to Rome, and withheld the tribute, making the castle of Dover strong with ditch and wall against the Romans, if they should come. A ditch and mound of irregular form, a parallelogram with rounded corners, are still visible; and their antiquity is attested by the presence of Roman work within the ditch. An octangular building, still upwards of 80 ft. in height, the walls being 10 ft. thick, is considered to be the remains of a Roman pharos. It is believed that fortifications were erected on the site of Dover Castle, and that these were maintained and repaired during the Heptarchy; but there is no distinct account of the castle till the reign of Edward the Confessor, when Earl Godwin made some additions to it. The works were strengthened by William the Conqueror, and Dover Castle was then called the lock and key of the kingdom—*clavis*

et repugnans regni. Henry II. in 1155, being the year before he ascended the throne, built a new keep in the castle similar to that at Rochester, and inclosed it with a new wall. The several succeeding kings from time to time continued to improve and make additions to the fortifications here, in particular Edward IV., who expended £10,000 in repairing and fortifying the several works. Henry VIII. and Queen Elizabeth both made extensive repairs, and Charles I. laid out a great deal of money on the state apartments, to prepare them for the reception of Henrietta Maria on her first arrival in this country. A bastion of earth was erected on the height at the north-west extremity of the castle, by direction of William, Duke of Cumberland, in 1745, and he likewise added to the barracks. The north turret of the keep of Dover Castle is 465·8 ft. above low-water mark, and 91·9 ft. above the ground on which it stands. The area within the fortifications comprises 35 acres.—*Hasted's History of Kent*.

would reduce the place by famine, and then hang all its defenders. The barons raised the siege of Windsor Castle entirely in order to repel John, who, after running from place to place, had at last made his appearance near them, and was pillaging the estates of some of those nobles. At their approach he fell back, and eluding their pursuit by skill, or, more probably, by hard running, he reached the town of Stamford. The barons wheeled round and joined Louis at Dover, where much valuable time was lost in inactivity, for that prince would neither assault the castle nor move from it. Other circumstances at the same time caused discontent; Louis treated the English with disrespect, and began to make grants of estates and titles in England to his French followers. Several barons and knights withdrew from Dover, and though few would trust John, all began to doubt whether they had not committed a fatal mistake in calling in the aid of a foreign prince. As these doubts prevailed more and more, and as the gloom thickened round the camp at Dover, where Louis had now lost nearly three months, the cause of John brightened in proportion. Soon after eluding the pursuit of the barons, he had made himself master of Lincoln, where he established his headquarters for some time, making, however, predatory incursions on all sides. Associations were formed in his favour in several of the maritime counties, and the English cruisers frequently captured the supplies from the Continent destined for Louis.

At the beginning of October, marching through Peterborough, John entered the district of Croyland, and plundered and burned the farm-houses belonging to that celebrated abbey; he then proceeded to the town of Lynn, where he had a depôt of provisions and other stores. Here, turning his face again towards the north, he marched to Wisbeach, and from Wisbeach he proceeded to a place called the Cross Keys, on the southern side of the Wash. It is not clear why he took that dangerous route, but he resolved to cross the Wash by the sands. At low water this estuary is passable, but it is subject to sudden rises of the tide. John and his army had nearly reached the opposite shore, called the Fossdike, when the returning tide began to roar. Pressing forward in haste and terror, they escaped; but, on looking back, John beheld the carriages and sumpter-

horses, which carried his money, overtaken by the waters; the surge broke furiously over them, and they presently disappeared—carriages, horses, treasures, and men, being swallowed up in a whirlpool, caused by the impetuous ascent of the tide and the descending current of the river Welland. In a mournful silence, only broken by curses and useless complaints, John travelled on to the Cistercian abbey of Swineshead, where he rested for the night. Here he ate gluttonously of some peaches or pears, and drank new cider immoderately. The popular story of his being poisoned by a monk may be true or false; but it is told in two ways, and was never told at all by any writer living at the time or within half a century of it; and the excess already mentioned, acting upon an irritated mind and fevered body, seems to be cause enough for what followed. He passed the night sleepless, restless, and in horror. At an early hour on the following morning, the 15th of October, he mounted his horse to pursue his march, but he was soon compelled, by a burning fever and acute pain, to dismount. His attendants then brought up a horse-litter, in which they laid him, and so conveyed him to the castle of Sleaford. Here he rested for the night, which brought him no repose, but an increase of his disorder. The next day they carried him with great difficulty to the castle of Newark, on the



REMAINS OF THE CASTLE OF NEWARK-ON-TRENT.—From a view by Bartlett.

Trent, and there he sent for a confessor, and laid himself down to die. The abbot of Croxton, a

¹ The castle stood near the bank of the river Trent, which washed the western wall; and its remains exhibit vestiges of different periods, from that of the Normans to the time of Charles I. King John died here on October 18, 1216.

religious house in the neighbourhood, who was equally skilled in medicine and divinity, attended him in his last hours, and witnessed his anguish and tardy repentance. He named his eldest son, Henry, his successor, and dictated a letter to the recently elected pope, Honorius III., imploring the protection of the church for his young and helpless children. He made all the knights who were with him swear fealty to Henry, and he sent orders to the sheriffs of counties and the governors of castles to be faithful to the prince. Messengers arrived from some of the barons, who were disgusted with Louis, and proposed returning to their allegiance. This gleam of hope came too late—the “tyrant fever” had destroyed the tyrant. The abbot of Croxton asked him where he would have his body buried. John

groaned, “I commit my soul to God, and my body to St. Wulstan!” and soon after he expired, on the 18th of October, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and the seventeenth of his wretched reign. They carried his body to Worcester, and interred it in the cathedral church there, of which St. Wulstan was the patron saint.¹

In this way the dying malediction of the heart-broken Henry II. upon his rebellious children had not fallen in vain. Richard, after all his military glory, perished before a paltry fortress; John died a disgraced and baffled fugitive, in the midst of subjects who triumphed over his death as a happy national deliverance. It is but one of the many lessons which history delivers to crowned heads upon the guilt and the consequences of filial disobedience.

CHAPTER IX.—SCOTTISH ANNALS, &c.

A.D. 1057—1214.

Review of Scottish history during this period—Dominions of Malcolm Canmore—He invades England—His treaty with William the Conqueror—Nature of his homage to the English crown—War between Malcolm Canmore and William Rufus—Character of Malcolm's reign—Reigns of Donald Bane, Duncan, and Edgar—Reign of Alexander I.—His contests with the church—His character—Reign of David—His connection with Henry I.—His war in support of the claims of Matilda—He is defeated at the battle of the Standard—His useful reign—His death and character—He is succeeded by Malcolm IV.—Malcolm's unsatisfactory interviews with the King of England—His wars—His death in battle—Succeeded by his brother William—William invades England—He is taken prisoner at Alnwick—His liberation—His contest with the pope about the election of a bishop—Success of his resistance—He is released from the conditions of his ransom by Richard I.—His treaty with John—He is succeeded by Alexander II.—Summary of Irish affairs.



DURING the whole of the period through which we have now passed, the three states of Albin, Pictland, and Strathclyde, which had formerly divided the northern part of the island, were consolidated into the single kingdom of Scotland, of which, however, the southern limits varied considerably at different times, for the proper Scotland lay all beyond the Forth and the Clyde, and the territory to the south of these rivers was not accounted as strictly forming part either of Scotland or England, till some ages after the Norman conquest. At the time of that event the Scottish king was Malcolm III., surnamed Canmore, or Great Head, whose reign commenced in 1057.² His dominions undoubtedly included the ancient kingdom of Strathclyde, or the district now forming the south-western part of Scotland, which had been conquered by Kenneth III. in the latter part of the preceding century;³ and the dis-

trict of Cumbria, lying on the same side of the island, but within what is now called England, was also at this time an appanage of the Scottish crown. With regard to the south-eastern portion of modern Scotland, or the district then known by the name of Lodonia or Lothian (now confined to a part of it), the state of the case is not so clear. The people appear to have been chiefly or exclusively Angles, mixed in later times with Danes, and the territory undoubtedly at one period formed part of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Northumbria. From the defeat, however, of the Northumbrian king, Egfrid, by the Picts, in 685,⁴ it may be considered as having been withdrawn from the actual dominion of its former masters, although, perhaps, their claim to its sovereignty was never abandoned, and it may have been for short periods wholly or partially re-subjected by the English.

The south-western angle of Scotland, formerly called Galloway, and now forming the counties

¹ *Matt. Par.; Matt. West.*

² See vol. i. p. 146.

³ See vol. i. p. 144.

⁴ See vol. i. p. 142.

of Wigton and Kirkeudbright, received various bodies of colonists from Ireland in the course of the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, and these, mixed with the original population, were afterwards designated the "wild Scots of Gallo-way."

Malcolm had passed about fifteen years at the court of the Confessor before he became king, and in his long exile he must have formed various English connections, as well as become habituated to the manners of the sister country. He may, therefore, be supposed to have, from the first, kept up a more intimate intercourse with England than had been customary with his predecessors.

The principal events that make up the subsequent history of the reign of Malcolm, arose out of his connection with the unfortunate Edgar Atheling. Edgar fled to Scotland,¹ according to the most probable account, with his mother and his two sisters, in the beginning of 1068, and, soon after, Malcolm espoused Edgar's elder sister, Margaret. From some cause, which is not distinctly explained, Malcolm did not arrive with his forces in time to support the insurrection of the people of Northumbria,² in conjunction with the Danes and the friends of Edgar, in the following year; and it was not till after the complete suppression of that attempt, and the whole of the east coast, from the Humber to the Tyne, had been made a desert by the remorseless vengeance of the Norman, that the Scottish king, in 1070, entered England, through Cumberland, and spread nearly as great devastation in the western parts of York and Durham as William had done in the east. He commanded his soldiers to spare only the young men and women, and they were driven into Scotland to be made slaves.

It was not till 1072 that William found leisure to chastise Malcolm for this inroad. He then advanced into Scotland and wasted the country as far as the Tay, though the inhabitants, after the plan which they had been accustomed to pursue in such cases from the days of Galgacus, and which they continued to follow occasionally to a much later age, destroyed or removed everything of value as the invader advanced, so that, as the Saxon chronicler expresses it, "he nothing found of that which to him the better was." In the end, however, Malcolm came to him at Aber-

nethy,³ when, according to the *Saxon Chronicle*, a peace was arranged between the two kings, on Malcolm agreeing to give hostages, and to do homage to William as his liege lord. William then returned home with his army.

This transaction makes a principal figure in the controversy which was formerly carried on with so much unnecessary heat, and which still continues to divide historical inquirers respecting the alleged dependence, in ancient times, of the kingdom of Scotland upon the English crown. The position taken by the asserters of this dependence appears to be that, from a date long before the Norman conquest of England, the Anglo-Saxon kings of that country had, in some way or other, obtained possession of the sovereignty of the whole island, and the Kings of Scotland, as well as the Princes of Wales, had become their acknowledged vassals. We may say, without hesitation, that this notion is directly opposed to the whole course of the history of the two countries. The only subjection or homage which either the Scottish kings rendered, or the English crown claimed from them, before the Norman conquest, appears to have been, not for the kingdom of Scotland, but for territories annexed to that kingdom, or otherwise held by them, situated, or conceived to be situated, in England. Such was the lordship of Cumbria, or Cumbraland, after the donation of it by the English king, Edmund, to Malcolm I., in 946. Lothian, or a part of it,⁴ may be considered to have been similarly circumstanced after the agreement between Kenneth IV. and Edgar in 971. There is reason to believe, also, that the Scottish kings were anciently possessed of other lands clearly within the realm of England, besides the county of Cumberland. For these possessions, of course, they did homage to the English king, and acknowledged him as their liege lord, exactly in the same manner as the Norman Kings of England acknowledged themselves the vassals of the crown of France for their possessions on the Continent.

When Malcolm III., however, on the seizure of the English crown by the Duke of Normandy, espoused the cause of Edgar Atheling, he necessarily, at the same time, refused to do homage for his English lands to the Norman invader, whom, by that very proceeding, he declared that he did not acknowledge as the rightful King of England. William, on the other hand, took

¹ See vol. i. p. 186.

² See vol. i. p. 187.

³ This seems to be really the place meant by the "Abernithi" of Ingulphus, the "Abernithi" of Florence of Worcester, the "Abernithi" of R. de Diceto, and the "Abernithi" of Walsingham; although Lord Hailes, Pinkerton, and other writers, have contended that it was more probably some place on the river Nith. Mr. Allen conceives that no doubt can exist as to its being Abernethy on the Tay.—*Vindication of the Ancient Independence of Scotland*, &c.

⁴ Lord Hailes has endeavoured to show that the district anciently called Lothian, and perhaps considered as part of England, by no means included the whole of the south-east of Scotland, but only the counties of Berwick and East Lothian, and the part of Mid Lothian lying to the east of Edinburgh. And he adds, "only a small part of that territory could be considered as feudally dependent on England. Great part of those territories was the patrimony of St. Cuthbert."—*Remarks on the Hist. of Scotland* (Edin. 1772), chap. II.

measures to maintain his authority, and to compel the obedience of his rebellious vassal, and these objects he completely attained by the submission of Malcolm at Abernethy. The latter now consented to make that acknowledgment of William's title, and of his own vassalage for the lordship of Cumberland and his other English possessions, which he had hitherto refused; he gave hostages to the English king, as the Saxon chronicler expresses it, and became his man.

After this Malcolm appears to have remained quiet for some years. He did not, however, finally abandon the cause of his brother-in-law, the Atheling; and in 1079, choosing his opportunity when the English king was engaged in war with his son Robert on the Continent, he again took up arms and made another destructive inroad into Northumberland. The following year after the reconciliation of William and his son, the latter was sent at the head of an army against Scotland; but he soon returned without effecting anything. It was immediately after this expedition that the fortress bearing the name of the Castellum Novum, on the Tyne, which

the two countries appear to have been at peace. But in the summer of 1091, we find Malcolm again invading Northumberland. Rufus immediately made preparations to attack Scotland both by sea and land; and, although his ships were destroyed in a storm, he advanced to the north with his army before the close of the year. We have already related¹ the course and issue of this new war. After being suspended for a short time by a treaty made, according to the *Saxon Chronicle*, "at Lothian in England," whither Malcolm came "out of Scotland," and awaited the approach of the enemy, it was renewed by the refusal of the Scottish king to do the English king right—that is, to afford him satisfaction about the matter in dispute between them, anywhere except at the usual place—namely, on the frontiers, and in presence of the chief men of both kingdoms. William required that Malcolm should make his appearance before the English barons alone, assembled at Gloucester, and submit the case to their judgment. "It is obvious on feudal principles," as Mr. Allen observes, "that if Malcolm had done homage for Scotland to the King of England, the Scotch nobles must have been re-re-vassals of the latter, and could not have sat in court with the tenants in chief of the English crown." Yet it is evident that the nobility of both kingdoms had been wont on former occasions to meet and form one court for adjudication on such demands as that now made by the English king. The hostilities that followed, however, were fatal to Malcolm. He was slain in a sudden attack made upon him while besieging the castle of Alnwick, on the 13th of November, 1093.

The reign of Malcolm was one of the most memorable and important in the early history of Scotland. It was in his time, and in consequence, in great part, of his personal fortunes, that the first foundations of that intimate connection were laid which afterwards enabled the country to draw so largely upon the superior civilization of England, and in that way eventually revolutionized the whole of its social condition. From the time of Malcolm Canmore, Scotland ceased to be a Celtic kingdom. He himself spoke the language of his forefathers as well as Saxon; but it may be doubted if any of his children understood Gaelic, any more than their English mother. All his six sons, as well as his two daughters, received English names, apparently after their mother's relations. His marriage with the sister of Edgar



CASTLE OF NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE.—Scott's Border Antiquities.

gave origin to the town of Newcastle, was erected as a protection against the invasions of the Scots.

When Rufus succeeded to the English throne,

¹ The ancient name of Newcastle is derived from Pons Elii, the second station from the eastern extremity of the Roman wall. Previous to the Conquest the town was called Monkchester, from the number of monastic institutions it contained. The town derived its present name from a fortress—built by Robert, eldest son of William the Conqueror, A.D. 1079 to 1082, on his return from an expedition into Scotland—to which, in

contradistinction to some more ancient erection, the name of the New Castle was given. The remains consist of the massive keep, and a gate tower called the Black Gate. The keep is one of the finest examples of Norman military architecture in this country. It contains a lofty and spacious state apartment on the first story, and a dungeon and a remarkably fine chapel in the basement.

² See vol. I. p. 213.

Atheling exercised a powerful influence both over the personal conduct of Malcolm and over public affairs. There is still extant a *Latin Life of Queen Margaret*, by her confessor Turgot, which is on various accounts one of the most interesting records of those times. Margaret was very learned and eloquent, as well as pious, and she exercised her gifts not only in the instruction of her husband, but also in controversy with the Scottish clergy, whose various errors of doctrine and discipline she took great pains to reform. Her affections, however, were not all set upon the beauty of spiritual things. She encouraged merchants, we are told by Turgot, to come from various parts of the world, with many precious commodities which had never before been seen in that country, among which are especially mentioned vestments ornamented with various colours, which, when the people bought, adds the chronicler, and were induced by the persuasions of the queen to put on, they might almost be believed to have become new beings, so fine did they appear. She was also, to adopt the summary of the monk's account given by Lord Hailes, "magnificent in her own attire; she increased the number of attendants on the person of the king, augmented the parade of his public appearances, and caused him to be served at table in gold and silver plate. At least (says the honest historian) the dishes and vessels were gilt or silvered over."

Malcolm is traditionally said to have, with the advice of his nobility, made various important innovations in the constitution of the kingdom, or the administration of public affairs. He appears to have restored the rule of law and order, which had been banished from the country by the civil wars that had preceded his accession; and it is probable that in the measures he adopted to accomplish this end, he imitated, as far as he could, the forms and usages of England. There is neither proof nor probability, however, for the statement which has been often repeated, that he introduced feudalism in a systematic form into Scotland. That state of things appears rather to have grown up gradually under the influence of various causes, and its complete establishment must be referred to a period considerably later than the reign of this king. The modern titles of Earl and Baron, however, are traced nearly to his time, and seem then, or very soon after, to have begun to supplant the older Celtic Marmor and Saxon Thane. Surnames also began to be used in this or the next reign. But on the whole, it was probably not so much by any new laws which were enacted by Malcolm Canmore (the collection in Latin which has been attributed to him is admitted to be spurious), or by any new institutions which he established, that Scotland was in a manner transformed into a new country

in his days, as by his English education and marriage, the English manners which were thus introduced at his court, and the numbers of English of all ranks whom the political events of the time drove to take refuge in the northern kingdom. Much of the change, therefore, was really the effect of the Norman conquest of England, which in nearly the same degree that it made Saxon England Norman, made Celtic Scotland Saxon.

The disastrous close of the reign of Malcolm, whose own death was followed in a few days by that of his excellent queen—worn out, it is said, by her vigils and fastings, and other pious exercises—afforded an opportunity to his brother Donald Bane (or the Fair) to seize the throne. Malcolm's eldest son, Edward, had fallen with his father at Alnwick; his second, Ethelred, was a churchman; but he left four other legitimate sons, although they were all as yet under age. Donald is said to have remained till now in the Western Islands, where he had taken refuge, on the death of his father Duncan, more than fifty years before.¹ He now invaded Scotland with a fleet fitted out in the Western Islands, and, with the aid of the faction which had all along been opposed to the English innovations of Malcolm, carried everything before him. The children of the late king were hastily conveyed to England by their uncle Edgar Atheling; and Donald, as soon as he mounted the throne, expelled all the foreigners that had taken refuge at his brother's court.

He had reigned only a few months, however, when another claimant of the crown appeared in the person of Duncan, according to the common account, an illegitimate son of Malcolm Canmore. He had been sent, it seems, by his father as a hostage to England; and by now offering to swear fealty to Rufus, he obtained his permission to raise a force for the invasion of Scotland. He succeeded in driving Donald from the throne and mounting it himself in May, 1094.

But after a reign of only about a year and a half, Duncan was, at the instigation of Donald Bane, assassinated by Malpedir, Earl of Mearns, and Donald again became king about the end of the year 1095. After his restoration, he proceeded in his former course of policy, by favour-

¹ It must be confessed that the great length of the interval—fifty-four years—between the dates assigned to the death of Duncan and that of Malcolm, throws some suspicion upon the common statement that the one was the son of the other. All that we know of the age of Malcolm is, that he was married about 1069 or 1070; that he reigned thirty-six or thirty-seven years, and that at his death, he left several children under age. As he fell in battle, however, it seems improbable that he was very old when he died. Pinkerton (who, by the by, places his accession—on the authority of the *Chronicle of Melrose*—in 1056, not in 1057) strongly insists that he must have been, not the son, but the grandson of Duncan.—*Inquiry*, ii. 263, 264.

ing the Celtic, and depressing the Saxon population. Affairs proceeded in this train for about two years; but at length, in 1097, Edgar Atheling raised an army, with the approbation of the English king, and marching with it into Scotland, after an obstinate contest, overcame Donald, in the beginning of the following year, and obtained the crown for his nephew Edgar, the son of Malcolm Canmore. "Edgar, like Duncan," observes Mr. Allen, "appears to have held his kingdom in fealty to William. These two cases, and the extorted submission of William the Lion, during his captivity (to be presently mentioned), are the only instances I have found since the Conquest of any King of Scotland rendering fealty to England for his crown. Both occurrences took place after a disputed succession in Scotland, terminated by the arms and assistance of the English. Duncan was speedily punished for his sacrifice of the honour and dignity of the sceptre he unworthily held. Edgar appears to have repented of his weakness, and to have retracted before his death the disgraceful submission he had made in order to obtain his crown. One of his coins is said to bear the impress of 'Eadgarus Scottorum Basileus,' a title which, like Imperator, implied that the holder acknowledged no superior upon earth."¹

On his second deposition, Donald Bane was deprived of the power of giving further disturbance, by being detained in prison, and having his eyes put out. Edgar retained the throne till his death, on the 8th of January, 1107; and during his reign the country appears to have enjoyed both internal tranquillity and freedom from foreign war. The accession of Henry I. to the throne of England, which took place in 1100, and his marriage the same year with Edgar's sister Maud, had the effect of maintaining peace between the two countries for a long course of years from this date. This favourable tendency of circumstances was not opposed by the disposition of Edgar, whom a contemporary chronicler describes as "a sweet-tempered, amiable man, in all things resembling Edward the Confessor; mild in his administration, equitable, and beneficent."²

Edgar, dying without issue, was succeeded by his next brother, Alexander I. Alexander strengthened his connection with the English king by a

marriage with one of Henry's numerous illegitimate daughters, the Lady Sibilla, or, as she is called by other authorities, Elizabeth, whose mother was a sister of Walleran, Earl of Mellent. A dismemberment, however, of the Scottish kingdom, as it had existed for some reigns preceding, now took place, by the separation of Cumberland, which Edgar on his death-bed had bequeathed to his younger brother David. Alexander at first disputed the validity of this bequest; but the English barons taking the part of David, he found himself obliged to submit. By this arrangement, the King of Scotland would for the present (putting aside the doubtful case of Lothian) cease to be an English baron; and accordingly it appears that Alexander never attended at the English court. Nearly the whole history of his reign that has been preserved, is made up of a long contest in which he was engaged with the English archbishops on the subject of their assumed authority over the Scottish church.

Alexander did not long survive the settlement of this affair. He had about two years before lost his queen, who had brought him no offspring; and his own death took place on the 27th of April, 1124. The quality for which this king is most celebrated by the old historians is his personal valour, of which various remarkable instances are related, although some contests with revolted portions of his own subjects, of which there are obscure notices, seem to have been the only opportunities he had of displaying military talent. But he sufficiently proved his intrepidity and firmness of character, in the manner in which he defended and maintained the independence of his kingdom, in the only point in which it was attacked in his time. In the stand which he made here, he appears to have had with him the great body of the national clergy, and they and he were always on the best terms.

David, Earl of Cumberland, the youngest of the sons of Malcolm Canmore, now became king. Having lived from his childhood in England, his manners, says Malmesbury, were polished from the rust of Scottish barbarity. He had also, before he came to the throne, married an English wife, Matilda, or Maud, the daughter (and eventually heiress) of Waltheof, Earl of Nor-

¹ "The Sooto-Saxon period, which began (A.D. 1097) one and thirty years after the Saxon period of the English annals had closed, will be found to contain historical topics of great importance. The Gaelic Scots predominated in the former period; the Saxon-English will be seen to give the law in this. We shall perceive a memorable revolution take place, concerning which the North-British annals have hitherto been altogether silent: we shall soon perceive a new people come in upon the old, a new dynasty ascend the throne, a new jurisprudence gradually prevail; new ecclesiastical establishments settled, and new manners overspread the land. . . . In this period we

shall see an Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Norman, and Anglo-Beige colonization begin in the country beyond the Forth, and a Sooto-Saxon dynasty commence. In our course we shall perceive the prevalence of the Celtic customs insensibly superseded by the introduction of new manners, and the influence of a Celtic government gradually reduced, by the establishment of an Anglo-Norman jurisprudence, and by the complete reform of a Celtic church."—*Chalmers's Caledonia*, vol. i. pp. 495-497. The "reform" of the Celtic church was unquestionably for the worse.

² *Aldred, Rival.*

thumberland, and the widow of Simon de St. Liz, Earl of Northampton. 'The King of Scotland was now again an English baron, by his tenure of the earldom of Cumberland; and accordingly, when Henry I., in 1127, called together the prelates and nobles of the realm, to swear that they would after his decease support the right of his daughter Matilda to the inheritance of the English crown, David was one of those that attended, and was the first who took the oath. In observance of this engagement, the Scottish king, on the usurpation of Stephen, led an army into England, and compelled the northern barons to swear fealty to Matilda. "What the King of Scots," said Stephen, when this news was brought to him, "has gained by stealth, I will manfully recover." He immediately collected a powerful force, and advanced at its head against David. They met at Newcastle; but no engagement took place: a compromise was effected (February, 1136), and David consented to withdraw his troops, on Stephen engaging to confer on his eldest son, Henry, the earldom of Huntingdon, with the towns of Carlisle and Doncaster, and promising to take into consideration his claims, in right of his mother, to the earldom of Northumberland. Earl Henry did homage to Stephen for the new English honour he was thus to receive; but David himself still refused to do so, although he appears to have retained the earldom of Cumberland in his own hands.

The war was, however, renewed before the end of the same year by David, on the pretence that Stephen delayed to put his son in possession of the county of Northumberland, but, in reality, in consequence of a confederacy into which he had entered with the Earl of Gloucester and the other partizans of the Empress Matilda, who were now making preparations for a grand effort to drive her rival from the throne. With the same impetuosity he had shown on the former occasion, David was again first in the field. A truce, negotiated by Archbishop Thurstan of York, gained a short space for Stephen; but in 1137, David entered Northumberland, and ravaged that unfortunate district for some time, without mercy and without check. In the beginning of the following year, however, he deemed it advisable to fall back upon Roxburgh at the approach of Stephen, who followed him across the Tweed, and made requital by wasting the Scottish border for part of the injury his own subjects had sustained. But the English king was soon recalled by other enemies to the south, and then David (in March, 1138) re-entered Northumberland, sending forward at the same time William, a son of the late King Duncan, into the west, where he and his wild Galwegians

(on the 9th of June) gave a signal discomfiture to a party of English at Clitheroe. Meanwhile, Norham Castle, erected in the preceding reign by Bishop Flambard, on the south bank of the Tweed, to guard the main access from Scotland, surrendered to the Scottish king after a short siege; and from this point he marched forward, through Northumberland and Durham, to Northallerton, in Yorkshire, without opposition. Here, however, his barbarous host was met by an English force, collected chiefly by the efforts of the aged Archbishop of York. At the great battle of the Standard, fought on the 22d of August,¹ the Scots sustained a complete defeat. The victors, however, were not in a condition to pursue their advantage. King David retired to Carlisle, and soon after laid siege to the castle of Werk, which having reduced, he razed it to the ground, and then, to adopt the expression of Lord Hailes, "returned into Scotland more like a conqueror, than like one whose army had been routed." The next year a treaty of peace was concluded between the two kings at Durham, by which David obtained the earldom of Northumberland, the ostensible object of the war, for his son, who enjoyed it till his death, and left it to his descendants.

David, however, was never cordially attached to the interests of Stephen. When, a few years after this, the cause of Matilda for a short time gained the ascendant, he repaired to the court of his niece, and endeavoured to persuade her to follow a course of moderation and policy, at which her imperious temper spurned. He was shut up with her in Winchester Castle, when she was besieged there by Stephen, in August and September, 1141,² and escaped thence along with her. It is said that he was indebted for his concealment afterwards, and his conveyance home to his own kingdom, to the exertions of a young man, named David Oliphant, to whom he had been godfather, and who chanced to be serving in the army of Stephen.

From this period the reign of David is scarcely marked by any events, if we except the disturbances occasioned by some piratical descents made upon the Scottish coasts by an adventurer of obscure birth, named Wilmund, who gave himself out for a son of the Earl of Moray, but was at last, after giving considerable trouble, taken and deprived of his eyes, in 1151. In his latter years, however, David, relieved from foreign wars, applied himself assiduously to the internal improvement of his country, by the encouragement of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, the establishment of towns, the erection of churches, monasteries, and other pub-

¹ See vol. i. p. 238.² See vol. i. p. 243.

lic buildings, and the reform of the law and its administration. Many of the statutes enacted by him are still preserved.

When the son of the Empress Matilda, afterwards Henry II., came over from the Continent, in 1149, to assert in person his claim to the English crown, he was met by the Scottish king at Carlisle,¹ and after receiving from him the honour of knighthood, bound himself, when he should become King of England, to make over to David the town of Newcastle, and the whole territory between the Tweed and the Tyne. David and his son Henry immediately invaded England, and advanced as far as Lancaster; but on the approach of Stephen, the Scottish army retired without risking a battle.

David did not live to witness the issue of the contest between Stephen and Henry. His death was probably hastened by that of his son Henry, which took place on the 12th of June, 1152, to the great grief of his countrymen, whom his amiable character had filled with hopes of a continuation of the same prosperity and happiness under his rule which they enjoyed under that of his father. Soon after this stroke, David fixed his residence at Carlisle; and there he expired on the morning of the 24th of May, 1153, having been found dead in bed,² with his hands joined together over his breast in the posture of devotional supplication. Both the virtues and the capacity of this king have been extolled in the highest terms by the monkish chroniclers; but he seems, on the whole, to have deserved the

praises bestowed upon him. It is true that, among the acts for which he is most eulogized, his donations to the church, and his founding of numerous religious houses, stand conspicuous—in allusion to which, his descendant, James I., is said to have feelingly complained of him as having been “a sore saint for the crown.” But we may reasonably doubt whether it would have been for the advantage of the public interests that the funds thus expended should have remained in the possession of the crown; and it may also be questioned whether anything more effective could have been done to promote the civilization of a country just emerging from barbarism, as Scotland was at this period, than the planting over all parts of it these establishments, which were not only seminaries of piety and letters, but examples of ornamental architecture, and even central fountain-heads for diffusing knowledge, and the means of cultivating the civil and useful arts.³

The late Earl Henry's eldest son, though as yet only in his twelfth year, succeeded his grandfather, under the name of Malcolm IV. The notices we have of the events of his reign in the contemporary chroniclers, are scarcely sufficient to furnish a continuous or intelligible narrative; and in the lack of recorded facts, the writers of later date appear to have filled up the story by drawing on their invention with even more than their usual liberality. With a king of such tender age, the government must have been for some years in the hands of a regency; but there is no

¹ See vol. i. p. 246.

² In the time of David I. of Scotland, the church of that country still retained much scriptural purity, and was little subjected to Rome. The tone of the church's piety may be conjectured from what is recorded of the aged monarch's dying days, when it was the Psalms of David, not prayers to the saints, that occupied his thoughts. Then, too, it was that the influence of the Christian faith was most evident in fostering peaceful industry, in which respect we perceive its influence decline with its growing superstitions and subservience to Rome. One is amazed to find so many clear proofs of there being a numerous, industrious, and apparently well-fed population in the south of Scotland in David's days, consisting largely, we may presume, of Anglo-Saxon immigrants driven by the Norman conquest from the northern parts of England. The influence of the numerous religious houses situated on the Tweed and its tributaries, was no doubt at that time beneficial, though in a far less degree than that of a purely Christian population would have been, such as that which produced such an outburst of peaceful industry, at once agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial, in the valley of the Ithone about this very period. But one would greatly err in supposing that the monks of those days, like the Trappists of later times, promoted agriculture by their own personal labours. Much rather were they like country gentlemen living in clubs, on very good terms with their numerous tenantry, and with neighbours who like themselves lived together in convents, and as nuns were the joint proprietors of pleasant estates. The laborious but often prejudicial George Chalmers, speaks thus of Roxburghshire in David I.'s time:—

“The kings, as we learn from the chartularies, were the greatest farmers of those times. David I. was not only the greatest husbandman himself, but the moving cause of husbandry

in others. Early in the twelfth century, he founded the monasteries of Kelso, Melrose, and Jedburgh, and the monks were most extensive farmers. The kings had many manors and granges, with mills, malt-kilns, breweries, cattle, and studs in every shire. The followers of David who had supported his pretensions even during the reign of his brother Alexander, all followed his example and the fashion of the age as husbandmen. . . . But it was the several monks of the religious houses who were the greatest, perhaps the most intelligent cultivators of those times. Before the middle of the twelfth century, those monasteries possessed vast estates in all that constitutes opulence during rude times: in lands, in villas, in cattle, and sheep, and in every article which can be produced by a well-managed husbandry. The same monks had also other possessions in those times of great value. They had also, in various other districts of this shire, lands and tenements, which, as they were rented to cottagers, brought them considerable revenues.”

Among the services rendered by their tenants, carriages formed an important item. Thus the husbandmen were bound to carry peats, salt, and coals to the monastery, and to take corn and wool to market. In Sprouton parish, where the monks had an estate, every husbandman was obliged to send a cart in summer weekly to Berwick, carrying corn thither, and returning with salt or coals. Their tenants must have been numerous. At Faudon, in Bolden parish, they had twenty-one cottages which paid £10 of rent yearly; at Bolden itself they had thirty-six cottages. On the whole, the abbot had under him at Bolden about seventy families. As in the charters we find proofs not only of draining and manuring land, but of *weeding* corn on the abbot's grange, the agriculture of that age could not have been contemptible; and in all its phases we recognize the superior industry and skill of the Saxon population.

account of any such arrangement. This was the first example of the Scottish throne having been occupied by a boy, and it may be regarded as having for the first time established the principle of hereditary succession as the rule of the monarchy in all circumstances. As might have been expected, however, the sceptre was not allowed to pass into the hands of so mere a pageant of a king without dispute. A few months only after Malcolm's accession, the public tranquillity was disturbed by what appears to have been more properly an invasion than an insurrection, being an attack made with the avowed object of effecting the conquest of the kingdom, by Somerled, the Thane of Argyle, whose daughter had married the adventurer Wilmund. The provinces, it may be observed, of Argyle, Moray, Ross, and Galloway, seem still to have remained so many principalities, usually, indeed, acknowledging a sort of feudal dependence upon the Scottish crown, but scarcely considered as forming parts of the kingdom of Scotland, any more than the vassal dukedoms and earldoms of the crown of France were held to be integral parts of that kingdom. They had each its own chief, and in all respects its own government, with which that of the supreme sovereign rarely, if ever, interfered. In the present case the Thane of Argyle made war upon his sovereign just as any independent potentate might have made war upon another. All that we know of the events of the war is, that it lasted for some years; and then, in 1157, the King of Scotland appears to have made peace with the Thane of Argyle, just as he might have done with any other sovereign as independent as himself. To this date, also, is assigned Malcolm's first transaction with the English king. At an interview held at Chester he was induced not only to give up his claim to the territory on the north of the Tyne, promised to his father David, but also to abandon Cumberland, and whatever other lands and honours he possessed in England, with the exception only of the earldom of Huntingdon, which Henry either confirmed to him, or conferred upon him, taking it from his youngest brother David, to whom it appears to have been left by the late king. Malcolm at the same time is stated to have done homage to Henry in the same manner as his grandfather had to Henry's grandfather—that is to say, with the reservation of all his dignities. The accounts given of the whole of this affair by the old chroniclers are confused and obscure; but it is asserted by Fordun that Henry succeeded in effecting the agreement by bribing the advisers of the Scottish king, and taking advantage of his youth and inexperience; and that it produced a deep and settled hatred against Malcolm among all classes of his

own subjects. Nor does his facility appear to have gained for him much gratitude or consideration from Henry. He repaired the following year to Carlisle to obtain the honour of knighthood from the English king; but this interview ended in a quarrel, and Malcolm returned home in disgust, and without his knighthood. When Henry, however, set forth on his expedition for the recovery of Toulouse, in 1159, Malcolm went with him to France, and was knighted by him there. But he had followed Henry's banner on this occasion in opposition to the judgment of the Scottish nobility, and after a few months a solemn deputation was sent to him to urge his immediate return to his dominions. The people of Scotland, the deputies were commanded to tell him, would not have Henry to rule over them. Malcolm felt it necessary to obey this call; but the faction opposed to the connection with England was not, it appears, to be satisfied with having succeeded in merely bringing him home. While he was holding a great council at Perth, Ferquhard, Earl of Strathearn, and five other noblemen, made an attempt to seize his person, and openly assaulted a tower in which he was lodged. The movement threatened to lead to a general insurrection, when an accommodation was brought about by the intervention of the clergy. Immediately after this, Malcolm applied himself to the reduction of those districts of his kingdom which, inhabited for the most part by races of foreign extraction, had never yet been completely brought under subjection to the general government, and in which revolts or disturbances were constantly breaking out. He found occupation for his restless nobility by leading them first against the wild Irish of Galloway, and then against the people of Moray, who seem to have been principally of Danish lineage. In his two first expeditions against Galloway he was repulsed; but in a third attempt he compelled Fergus, the lord of the country, to sue for peace, and to make complete submission. In regard to the province of Moray (at that time certainly not confined to the modern county of the same name, but comprehending apparently the whole or the greater part of what is now called Inverness), where rebellions had been incessant, Malcolm is asserted to have adopted the strong measure of removing the old inhabitants altogether to other parts of the kingdom, and replacing them with new colonies. The subjugation of Galloway and Moray was followed, in 1164, by another contest with Somerled, who had again risen in arms, and landed at Renfrew on the Clyde with a numerous force, which he had collected both from his own territories and from Ireland. The Thane of Argyle probably sympathized with the Lords of Galloway and Moray, or

regarded their fate as of evil omen to himself. The issue of his present attempt, however, was eminently disastrous; his army was scattered with great slaughter in its first encounter with the king's forces, and both himself and his son were left among the slain.

It thus appears that Malcolm IV. was at least as successful as any of his predecessors in the maintenance of his proper authority as sovereign of Scotland, and that he probably extended the royal sway of the sceptre which they had left him in the country beyond the Tweed. His relinquishment, however, of the possessions which had been held by his grandfather in the south, and the partiality he evinced for a connection with England, seem to have been in the highest degree distasteful to the generality of his subjects. At the head of the party which this feeling raised against him, was his next brother, William, for whom his grandfather is said to have intended the earldom of Northumberland, and who accordingly considered himself to be deprived of his inheritance by the agreement with Henry which Malcolm had made in the commencement of his reign. Meanwhile, Malcolm is recorded to have, on the 1st of July, 1163, at Woodstock, renewed his homage to Henry, and also to have taken an oath of fealty to his infant son as heir apparent, and the relations between the two kings appear to have become more intimate than ever. The next notice that we have of the course of events in Scotland represents Malcolm as deprived of the government, and his brother William at the head of affairs as regent. Even the fact of this revolution, however, is involved in considerable doubt, and various accounts are given of the causes that led to it. It is certain that he died at Jedburgh, on the 9th of December, 1165, on which his brother William was raised to the throne.

Notwithstanding the part he had hitherto taken, William appears to have begun his reign by courting the alliance of the English king. He passed over to the Continent to Henry, while he was employed in reducing the revolted Bretons in 1166, and, as already mentioned, was with him while he kept court in the castle on Mount St. Michael in the close of that year. The *Chronicle of Melrose* (which is written throughout in an English spirit) says that William followed Henry to France "to do the business of his lord." It is probable that he expected to succeed by this conduct in his favourite object of recovering possession of Northumberland. Henry seems to have kept up his hopes by fair promises for some years: when his eldest son Henry was solemnly crowned at London, on the 14th of June, 1170, both William and his younger brother David, were present at the ceremony, and both did homage to

the heir apparent, along with the other English barons; but in 1173, when the quarrel broke out between the English king and his son, William, tired of fruitless solicitation, changed his course, and, joining in confederacy with the "junior king," from whom he obtained a grant of the earldom of Northumberland for himself, and of that of Cambridge for his brother, he raised an army, and entered England as an enemy. But after merely ravaging part of the northern counties, he consented to a truce, which was eventually prolonged to the end of Lent in the following year. In 1174, however, he again invaded Northumberland. As before, his troops spread devastation wherever they appeared; but their destructive course was soon stopped. William, as has been already related, was on the 12th of July suddenly fallen upon at Alnwick by a party of Yorkshire barons, headed by Ranulf de Glanville, and made prisoner, with all his attendants. The Scottish king and his sixty knights, however, were not taken captive without resistance. As soon as William perceived who the enemy were, which was not till they were close upon him, for at first he had taken them for a returning party of his own stragglers, he cried out, "Now it will be seen who are true knights," and instantly advanced to the charge. But the numbers of the English (there were 400 horsemen with Glanville) made this gallantry wholly unavailing. The king was quickly overpowered and unhorsed, and was carried that same night to Newcastle, his attendants voluntarily sharing the fate of their sovereign. He was at first confined in the castle of Richmond, in Yorkshire; but after a few weeks Henry carried him across the seas to Falaise, in Normandy. In this strong fortress he remained shut up till the conclusion of the treaty of Falaise, in December following, by which William, with the consent of his barons and clergy, became the liegeman of Henry for Scotland and all his other territories. He was then liberated and allowed to return home, on delivering up to the English king the castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, Roxburgh, Berwick, and Jedburgh, and giving his brother David and many of his chief nobility as hostages for his adherence to the treaty.

The next event requiring to be noticed in the reign of William, is a remarkable contest in which he was engaged with the court of Rome. It began in 1178, when, on the death of Richard, Bishop of St. Andrews, the chapter elected as his successor John Scot, an Englishman of distinguished learning. The nomination of a bishop by the chapter, without the royal consent, was a stretch of ecclesiastical authority which had never been quietly submitted to, either in England or Scotland, although any actual conflict between the claims of the spiritual and the temporal

powers had usually been avoided by the king and the chapter uniting in the election of the same person. But in the present case William had a particular motive for making a stand against the clerical encroachment, having destined the see for Hugh, his chaplain. "By the arm of St. James," he passionately exclaimed, when he heard of the election made by the chapter, "while I live John Scot shall never be Bishop of St. Andrews." He immediately seized the revenues of the see, and disregarding the appeal of John to Rome, made Hugh be consecrated, and put him in possession. When the pope, Alexander III., cancelled this appointment, and John was the following year consecrated in obedience to the Papal mandate, William instantly banished him from the kingdom. The pope, on this, resorted to the strongest measures: he laid the diocese of St. Andrews under an interdict; he commanded the Scottish clergy within eight days to install John; soon after he ordered them to excommunicate Hugh; and, finally, he granted legatine powers over Scotland to the Archbishop of York, and authorized that prelate, and the Bishop of Durham, to excommunicate the King of Scotland, and to lay the whole kingdom under an interdict, if the king did not forthwith put John in peaceable possession of the see. Still William was inflexible on the main point. He offered to make John chancellor, and to give him any other bishopric which should become vacant; but this was the only concession he would make. When the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Durham called upon the clergy of the diocese of St. Andrews to yield obedience to John under pain of suspension, he banished all who complied with that summons. At last the two prelates went to the full extent of their tremendous powers, and actually pronounced sentence of excommunication against William, and laid the kingdom of Scotland under an interdict. But at this point the death of Alexander (in August, 1181) prevented further consequences. William lost no time in making application to the new pope, Lucius III., who, with the customary disregard of each sovereign pontiff for the decrees of his predecessor, consented to reverse the sentence of excommunication, and to recall the interdict. The affair was ended by the pope himself nominating Hugh to the bishopric of St. Andrews, and John to that of Dunkeld, and so, to use the words of Lord Hailes, "making that his deed which was the king's will." Lord Hailes observes that William, in the obstinate stand he made on this occasion against Pope Alexander, "seems to have been proud of opposing to the uttermost that pontiff, before whom his conqueror, Henry, had bowed."

Notwithstanding the success which is attri-

buted to the measures taken by the preceding king, for reducing to a real obedience the various provinces that had before only acknowledged, at the utmost, a qualified dependence upon the Scottish crown, we find insurrections in these districts still disturbing the present reign.

In 1186, William, on the proposal of the English king, married Ermengarde, the daughter of Richard, Viscount Beaumont, and the descendant of an illegitimate daughter of Henry I., on which, as part of the dower of his *cousin*, Henry restored the castle of Edlinburgh. Two years afterwards he also offered to give up the castles of Roxburgh and Berwick, if William would pay the tenths of his kingdom for the Holy War; but the Scottish barons and clergy made answer, "That *they* would not, although *both* kings should have sworn to levy them."

The accession of Richard I. to the English throne was followed, in a few months, by the release of William from the obligations which Henry, in the words of the charter of acquittance (dated December 5, 1189), "had extorted from him by new instruments, in consequence of his captivity," with the proviso only, that he should in future perform whatever homage had of right been performed, or had been of right due, by his brother Malcolm. There seems to be no pretence for denying that this was a full renunciation, by Richard, at least, of whatever new rights of sovereignty over Scotland had been created by the treaty of Falaise. For this acquittance, and the restitution of the castles of Roxburgh and Berwick, William agreed to pay 10,000 marks sterling.

William lived many years after this, but scarcely any events of importance mark the remainder of his reign. Some disturbances in Caithness, in 1196 and the following year, compelled him to march an army into that province, where he seized Harold, the Earl of Orkney and Caithness, who was at the head of the insurrection, and detained him in captivity until his son Torfin surrendered himself as a hostage. This was, perhaps, the earliest actual assertion by any Scottish king of his authority in that remote district; the earls of which, if they acknowledged any limitation of their independence, had probably been wont to consider themselves subject rather to the Danish than to the Scottish crown.

After the accession of John to the throne of England, William did homage to him (November 22, 1200) at Lincoln, "saving his own rights." A few years afterwards a misunderstanding arose between the two kings respecting a fort which John attempted to erect at Tweedmouth, and which William repeatedly demolished as soon as it was built. A war at last threatened to arise

out of this quarrel; and, in 1209, the English king advanced to Norham, and the Scottish to Berwick, each at the head of an army. But no encounter took place; a treaty of peace was concluded by the intervention of the barons of both nations, by which William became bound to pay to John 15,000 marks, as a compensation, it is supposed, for his demolition of the fort, which John, on his part, is said to have undertaken not to rebuild. William also delivered his two daughters to John, that they might be provided by him with suitable matches.

William died, after a long illness, at Stirling, on the 4th of December, 1214, in the seventy-second year of his age, and forty-ninth of his reign. He was surnamed *The Lion*, on account, says Boyce, of his singular justice—which seems a strange reason. It is more probable that he took this title from the lion rampant, the coat armorial of the Scottish kings, which he appears to have been the first to introduce. The statutes attributed to him consist of thirty-nine chapters; but a few of them are believed to be interpolations of a later period. He left many natural children; but, besides his two daughters mentioned above, only one son by his wife Ermenгарde de Beaumont, a youth in his seventeenth year, who succeeded his father, and was crowned at Scone on the 10th of December, 1214, by the name of Alexander II. The part taken by the new King of Scots, in conjunction with the English barons in their contest with John, has been related above.

We have now merely to add a notice of the few leading events, of subsequent date to Henry's expedition, which occur in the history of Ireland before it becomes mixed in one stream with that of England. The appearances of entire submission which had been exhibited during Henry's stay in the island were not long preserved after he left its shores. Before the close of the year 1172, the people had risen against the English domination in various districts; and, for the next three years, De Lacy, Strongbow, and their associates, were kept in constant activity by the active or passive resistance of one part of the country or another. In 1175, Henry, in the hope that it might have some effect in subduing this rebellious temper, produced, for the first time,

the bull which he had procured from Pope Adrian twenty-four years before, along with a brief confirming it, which he had received in the interval from Alexander III. William Fitz-Aldelm, and Nicholas, prior of Wallingford, were sent over to Ireland with the two instruments; and they were publicly read in a synod of bishops which these commissioners summoned on their arrival. In this same year, also, a formal treaty was concluded between Henry and Roderick O'Connor, by which the former granted to the latter, who was styled his liegeman, that so long as he continued faithfully to serve him, he should be king of the country under him, and enjoy his hereditary territories in peace, on payment of the annual tribute of a merchantable hide for every tenth head of cattle killed in Ireland. For some years after this, one chief governor rapidly succeeded another, as each either incurred the displeasure of the king by the untoward events of his administration, or, as it happened in some cases, awakened his jealousy by seeming to have become too popular or too powerful. But Henry never himself returned to Ireland. At length, in 1185, he determined to place at the head of the government his youngest son, John, then only in his nineteenth year; the lordship of Ireland, it is said, being the portion of his dominions which he had always intended that John should inherit. But this experiment succeeded worse than any other he had tried. The same evil dispositions which were afterwards more conspicuously displayed on the throne, showed themselves in John's conduct almost from the first day he began to exercise his delegated authority; by his insulting behaviour he converted into enemies those of the Irish chieftains who had hitherto been the most attached friends of the English interest; and he met with nothing but loss and disgrace in every military encounter with the natives. He was hastily recalled by Henry, after having been only a few months in the country. The government was then put into the hands of John de Courcy, who had some years before penetrated into Ulster, and established the English power for the first time in that province. De Courcy remained governor to the end of the reign of Henry; and from this date the history of Ireland may be considered as merged in the history of England.

CHAPTER X.—HISTORY OF RELIGION.

A.D. 1066—1216.

State of the English church at the Conquest—William founds Battle Abbey—His plans to depress the Anglo-Saxon clergy—Lanfranc raised to the primacy—Lanfranc's church reforms—Imperious demands of the pope on William—A uniform church-service introduced into England—Anselm succeeds Lanfranc as primate—Quarrels between Anselm and William Rufus—Anselm carries his appeal to Rome—Decision about ecclesiastical investitures—Anselm recalled to England at the accession of Henry I.—Anselm and Henry disagree about ecclesiastical investitures—Laws enforcing clerical celibacy—Death and character of Anselm—Question of ecclesiastical investiture revived in the reign of Henry II.—Thomas à Becket—His career till he becomes primate—His contest with Henry II. about the rights of the church—The Constitutions of Clarendon—They are opposed by Becket—Effects of his martyrdom in establishing his cause—Foreigners arrive in England—They are punished as heretics—History of the English church during the reigns of Richard I. and John—The controversy about ecclesiastical investiture still predominant—New monastic orders introduced into England—Prevalence of pilgrimages at this period—Soldier-monks—The Hospitallars and Templars.



THE first act by which the Conqueror expressed the joy of his heart for the victory of Hastings, was in accordance with the spirit in which he had professed to conduct his enterprise from its commencement, and betrayed none of that jealousy of the church which he showed at a later period. Up to this time the countenance of the pope and the church had been one of his main stays, and he had still to look to that quarter for much important aid in establishing his power. In these circumstances, and in the hour of triumph, when he gave orders for building the abbey of Battle, he was naturally liberal to profusion, both in the privileges which he granted to the new establishment and the revenues with which he proposed to endow it.

Although many of the higher churchmen had, during a great part of the reign of the Confessor, been in the Norman interest, and continued among the firmest friends of William after his seizure of the throne, the great body of the clergy were strongly attached to the national cause. Some of them had even taken arms and fought on the side of Harold at Hastings; and, in the course of the protracted contest which followed, before the country was finally subjugated, the English, in their resistance to the foreigners, had been on several occasions animated and led on by their priests. Hence it soon became a leading principle in the policy of William to depress the ecclesiastical power; while on the other hand the church, thus selected as a chief object of attack, rose on that account in the affections of the country, and grew every day to be more and more regarded as the strength and best representative of the patriotic cause.

Among the higher ecclesiastics who stood by

what was considered as the English faction, the most conspicuous had all along been the Primate Stigand. He had refused, as we have already related, to put the crown on the head of the Conqueror, who was thereupon obliged to apply to Aldred of York to perform that office. Stigand, besides, lay under the displeasure of the court of Rome on other grounds. William, therefore, when he judged that the proper time had come, found no difficulty in effecting the removal of the obnoxious prelate: he was deposed by the Papal legates at a council held at Winchester in the early part of the year 1070. The person appointed by the king, with the consent of the barons, to be his successor, was the celebrated Lanfranc. Lanfranc had been a professor of laws in his native city of Pavia; but he had afterwards removed to Normandy, and opened a school at Avranches. Here he acquired great celebrity, and his seminary became the source from which the surrounding country was gradually provided with a lettered clergy. Of such importance were his services thought to be, that having, on the advance of old age, given up his public employment and retired to the monastery of Bec, he was after a few years induced, much against his own wish, to resume his occupation of schoolmaster or lecturer, and he continued to perform its duties with undiminished reputation till he was past the age of eighty, when William made him abbot of his new monastery of St. Stephen at Caen. He had nearly reached his ninetieth year when he was invited to the archbishopric of Canterbury.

Having once assumed his high office, which he did after much reluctance, Lanfranc showed himself determined to neglect neither its duties nor its rights. The first thing to which he applied himself was to recover for his church of Canterbury the numerous ancient possessions of which

it had been deprived in the confusions, or by the arbitrary proceedings of the last few years. In pursuing this object, obliged as he was to contend with haughty barons, whom their liege lord could scarcely control, his intrepidity and perseverance enabled him to succeed in many instances. Even the powerful Odo, uterine brother to the king, was thus compelled to restore twenty-five manors which had formerly belonged to the see of Canterbury. The wealth thus recovered for the church was applied by Lanfranc to the promotion of its interests. He rebuilt the cathedral of Canterbury with Norman stone, repaired the sacred edifices, and erected churches and monastic establishments where they were considered most necessary. He also caused the bishops to remove their seats from the villages, in which many of them resided, to the larger towns: he is said to have introduced certain reforms into the monastic institutions, and he established schools in various parts of the kingdom. Lanfranc at the same time cordially co-operated with William in that particular point of ecclesiastical reformation which the latter no doubt had most at heart—the general substitution of a foreign for a native clergy. Very good reasons were easily found for the displacement of many of the English priests, on the ground both of ignorance and immorality; and, on the whole, it is probable that the result of their ejection was the settlement in the country of a more instructed body of pastors than it had previously possessed.

We must suppose that, whatever may have been the motives of another kind that principally actuated William, this was the end which Lanfranc kept in view, and by which he justified to himself the measures of severity in which he took part. His own elevation, indeed, had been one of the commencing moves of the royal scheme of reform; for it was at the council at which Stigand was deposed, held by the Papal legates in 1070, that the removal of the native clergy and the introduction of foreigners were begun. For some years after this, the course which had been thus entered upon was vigorously pursued, till the conversion of the spiritual estate to a community of interests and feeling with the civil government was pretty completely effected. In proof of this, we find that at the death of the Conqueror, only one English prelate—Wulstan, Bishop of Winchester—had been allowed to retain his bishopric. In many instances the crime of being an Englishman, or inability to speak the Norman tongue, was reckoned sufficient for clerical deposition in the absence of more substantial charges. Even the saints of the Saxon calendar shared in the fate of their worshippers. Their sanctity was denied, and their worship ridiculed. Of the unfortunate clergy, some endeavoured to make

terms with a power they had no means of resisting, by consenting to descend to a humbler station in the church; others fled to Scotland. Their necessities, or the hope of vengeance, drove many to the forests, where they joined the bands of outlaws, and sanctioned with the rites of religion the wild struggle of independence which was there long maintained by the sparks of the popular spirit that were last in being trodden out, and also the deeds of rapine and cruelty with which it was doubtless plentifully deformed.

It appears that in most instances the higher church benefices were filled by William with men of learning and virtue; but it was impossible for him, whatever his wishes may have been, to prevent the intrusion of many unworthy persons into the inferior appointments. He had hired adventurers to his standard by promises of ecclesiastical as well as political preferment. The powerful barons, whose swords had hewn out his way to the throne, and now maintained him upon it, had kinsmen and retainers of the clerical order, whose demands could not be refused; and thus, though vacancies were rapidly made, they were still insufficient for a throng of greedy expectants, the gratification of whose demands, on the other hand, only deepened the miseries of the land, and the hatred of the unhappy people.

But while William was thus exercising the privileges of a victor in the church as well as the state, he was surprised by finding himself threatened with vassalage in turn. The subtle and imperious Hildebrand, now pope, by the title of Gregory VII., declaring that kings and princes were but the vassals of St. Peter and his successors, summoned William to do homage for the possession of England. The answer of the proud Norman was brief and decisive. The tax of Peter's pence, discontinued of late years in England, and now required by the pope, he declared that he would regularly pay; but the homage he peremptorily refused, alleging that it had never been promised by himself, nor rendered by any of his predecessors. With this answer to his demand, Gregory was obliged to remain satisfied for the present: he probably, indeed, expected no other, and only announced his claims with a view to their enforcement in more favourable circumstances, and that no future English king might be able to profess astonishment at their being advanced, seeing that they had first been pressed upon the Conqueror. William, in the meantime, taking advantage of the contest which arose between the pope and the emperor, and of his own remoteness from Rome, which enabled him to act with the more independence, commenced a vigorous warfare against the Papal encroachments. He ordered, first, that no pontiff should be acknowledged in his dominions without his previous

sanction, and that Papal letters, before they were published, should be submitted to his inspection; secondly, that no decision, either of national or provincial synods, should be carried into execution without his permission; and thirdly, that the clerical courts should neither implead nor excommunicate any tenant holding of the crown *in capite*, until the offence had been certified to himself.¹

During the latter period of William's reign an event occurred, arising out of the disorders of the Conquest, but from which an important benefit resulted to religion. No uniformity was observed in the public worship—the prayers, and their mode of recital, frequently depending upon the caprices of the officiating priest. In order to enforce a favourite liturgy among the Saxon monks of Glastonbury, Thurston, their Norman abbot, entered the church with a band of archers and spearmen. The monks withstood even this armed demonstration; a desperate conflict commenced round the altar, and behind the great crucifix, which was soon stuck thick with arrows, while benches, candlesticks, and crosses were wielded in their defence by the brethren, several of whom were slain. This incident suggested the necessity of a form established by authority; and Oswald, Bishop of Salisbury, composed a church-service that became universal throughout the realm.²

Lanfranc did not long survive the accession of Rufus, for whom he materially assisted in securing the throne, and whose chief counsellor he continued to be while he lived. The archbishop, it is recorded, did not fail to press upon the new king the fulfilment of the oaths he had taken to observe the laws; but Rufus, now that he had obtained his end, was little inclined to give heed to these exhortations. The primate, however, maintained a considerable ascendancy over the irregular spirit of the king, by which his excesses were frequently restrained; and, with longer time, Lanfranc might perhaps have been also enabled to develop some of those better qualities, the elements of which Rufus undoubtedly possessed. But the archbishop, being nearly 100 years old, died in 1089, about two years after the commencement of the reign.³

Lanfranc was succeeded in his office of the king's chief adviser by the notorious Ralph Flambard. One of the chief sources to which the new minister looked for the supply of the royal coffers, was the plunder of the church. At his instigation, Rufus took to himself the revenues of all vacant bishoprics and abbeys, and in many cases kept the most important offices in the church unfilled for years, drawing the profits all

the while into his own exchequer. In these cases the ecclesiastical estates were farmed out to those who offered the highest terms for the uncertain tenure, and who, of course, employed, without scruple, all the means at their command to repay themselves, and to make the most of their temporary occupation. The tenants under this system were ground to the earth by the most merciless exactions; and when, at last, an occupant was appointed to the benefice, he was usually required to pay a heavy premium for his promotion, which, again, he could only raise by a continuation of the same methods which had already produced so much suffering, and gone so far to exhaust the resources of the benefice.

This oppressive course of the king had continued for about four years, when, in 1093, he was seized with a dangerous sickness, and, under the agonies of terror and remorse, he became anxious to repair the wrongs he had done the church. Since the death of Lanfranc he had kept the see of Canterbury vacant, swearing that it should have no archbishop but himself; but now, impetuous in repentance as in guilt, he insisted that Anselm, the successor of Lanfranc in the abbacy of Bec, and whom that prelate had before his death expressed his wish to have also for his successor in the primacy, should forthwith be appointed archbishop. Anselm happening to be at the time in England, he was hurried to the bed-side of the king. A eozier was presented to him, but he refused to touch it, till the royal attendants unclenched his fingers, and forced the sacred staff into his struggling hand, when all with one accord burst forth into a *Te Deum* for the primate whom Heaven had sent them, while the helpless monk in vain protested against the whole proceeding. Anselm, upon accepting the primacy, stipulated for the restoration of all the church lands belonging to his see, and the implicit obedience of the king to his advice in all matters of religion; and to these demands William evasively replied that the archbishop's reasonable expectations would be fulfilled. But the penitence of the king vanished with his fit of illness, and he rose from his sickbed with fresh vigour to resume the plunder of the church. His first quarrel with the primate was on the subject of the price to be paid by the latter for his promotion. As Rufus had not been accustomed to confer the higher benefices without a valuable consideration, Anselm was willing to comply with the usage; but, pleading his previous poverty, and the impoverished condition of the see, he offered only the sum of £500. Rufus eyed the money with disdain, and refused it, on which the primate bestowed it upon the poor. Afterwards he was given to understand that £1000 would be a more welcome offering, but he

¹ Eadmer, p. 6.

² W. Malines: Chron. Sax.: Knyghton.

³ Orderic. pp. 241-245; W. Malines. 117.

declared that he was unable to raise such a sum from his exhausted revenues.¹ When this answer was reported to the king, it filled him with fury. "As I hated him yesterday," he exclaimed, "so I hate him more to-day; and tell him that I shall hate him more bitterly the longer I live. I shall never acknowledge him for my archbishop."²

A ground of open quarrel was soon found. About seven months after his forced acceptance of the see, the primate proposed, after the custom of his predecessors, to proceed to Rome to receive the pall from the hands of the sovereign pontiff; but there were at present two rival popes, between whom Rufus had not yet made his election. When Anselm, therefore, presented himself to request permission to set out on his journey, Rufus asked him, in real or affected surprise, to what pope he meant to go? Anselm at once answered that he should go to Urban II. Indignant at this arbitrary decision, the king instantly exclaimed, "As well tear the crown from my head as dispossess me of a right which is the peculiar prerogative of the English kings!" The archbishop, nevertheless, did not hesitate to announce that he intended to proceed on his journey, even without the leave of the king. In these circumstances a council of the nobility and prelates was forthwith assembled at Rockingham to decide upon the case. The bishops acknowledged the illegality of the primate's conduct; but when the king demanded his deposition, they declared that this could only be effected by the authority of the pope. They agreed, however, to unite in endeavouring to persuade him to retract his decision in favour of Urban, and to forego his journey, but Anselm would make no such concessions. The affair was thus fast advancing to a crisis, when the difficulty was solved by Rufus finding it expedient to acknowledge the claims of Urban, and by the pope, on the other hand, by way of returning the favour, dispensing with the personal attendance of Anselm, and transmitting the pall to England.

As Rufus, however, still persisted in keeping many of the chief offices of the church vacant, while Anselm felt it his duty to urge that proper persons should be appointed to the abbeys and other preferments, which the king thus retained in his own hands, the quarrel between them was not long in breaking out again with all its former violence. "Are not the abbeys mine?" exclaimed the Red King, when the archbishop pressed his unwelcome solicitations; "do what you please with the farms of your archbishopric, but leave me the same liberty with my abbeys!" Anselm

eventually determined to go to Rome and lay the matter before the pope, deterred neither by the steady refusal of Rufus to grant him permission to leave the kingdom, nor by the confiscation and banishment which he was assured would follow his unauthorized departure. He set out on his journey in the spring of 1093, on foot, as a humble pilgrim, with a staff and wallet; and in this guise he reached Dover, where he underwent the indignity of a strict search from the king's officers, that he might carry no money out of England. He arrived, however, in safety at Rome, where he was greeted by the pope with the most distinguished welcome. Urban, addressing him in a long speech before his whole court, called him the pope of another world, while all the English in the city were commanded to kiss his toe.³ The pontiff soon after sent a letter to Rufus, requiring the restitution of Anselm's property, which had been confiscated at his departure; but when the king understood that the bearer was a servant of the archbishop, he swore that he would tear out his eyes unless he instantly quitted the kingdom.

Before, however, it was known what reception the pope's application had met with, an ecclesiastical council, which was held at Rome in the close of this year, and at which Anselm was present, declared that the King of England deserved excommunication for his treatment of that prelate; but, at Anselm's request, made upon his knees, the pope refrained from actually pronouncing the sentence for the present. But this council is especially memorable, in the history of the church, for the decision to which it came upon the great question of investiture, which had now become the main point in the contest between the pretensions of the spiritual and of the temporal power in every part of Christendom. The matter in dispute was, simply, whether ecclesiastical persons, on being inducted into bishoprics and abbeys, should be permitted to receive the ring and crozier (by which the temporalities of the benefice were understood to be conveyed) from the hands of the prince. It is evident, however, that this ceremony involved the whole question of whether, in every country, the clergy should be under the dominion of the king or of the pope. Its observance, accordingly, had been for a long time as strongly protested against by the court of Rome, as it had been usually insisted upon by every temporal sovereign. The present council denounced excommunication both against all laymen who should presume to grant investiture of any ecclesiastical benefice, and against every priest who should accept of such investiture. It was alleged, with a daring freedom of language,

¹ Rufus exacted the same sum from his favourite Flambard, on preventing him with the bishopric of Durham. It is likely, however, that this able financier found no great difficulty in raising the money.

² *Eadmer*, pp. 21-25.

³ *William of Malmesbury*, p. 127.

to be too horrible for hands that created the Creator himself—a power not granted even to the angels—and that offered him to the Father as a sacrifice for the world's redemption, to be placed in fealty between the hands of one who might be stained and polluted with every excess.¹

Soon after this arrived the answer of Rufus to the pope's letter. "I am astonished," he wrote, "how it could enter your mind to intercede for the restoration of Anselm. If you ask wherefore, this is the cause:—when he wished to go away, he was plainly warned that the whole revenues of his see would be confiscated at his departure. Since, therefore, he would needs go, I have done what I threatened, and I think I have done right." Anselm was not recalled so long as Rufus lived.

When Henry Beaucerk succeeded, his defective title required the sanction of the church, and he, therefore, politically recalled Anselm from banishment at the commencement of his reign. He also promised neither to farm nor to sell the ecclesiastical benefices, as his brother had done, and to restore to the church all its former immunities; and he threw into prison the obnoxious Flamhard, the agent of the late oppressions. After these concessions it was easy for the king to procure his marriage with Matilda, even though she was supposed to have taken the veil.

It was not long, however, before the quarrel respecting investiture was renewed by the demand of Henry that Anselm should do homage for his bishopric. To this demand the latter returned a decided negative. In consequence the vexatious subject was again referred to Rome, and, as might have been expected, the decision pronounced by Paschal II., who was now pope, was in favour of the church. Henry, notwithstanding, still commanded Anselm either to do homage or leave the kingdom; but the archbishop would do neither. He declared that he would abide in his province, and he defied any one to injure him there. A second deputation was thereupon sent to Rome, to intimate, in the name of the king and nobles, that unless the right of investiture was conceded they would banish Anselm, dissolve their connection with the Papal see, and withhold the usual payments.

Thus pressed, if we may believe the account given by Anselm's biographer, Eadmer, the court of Rome had recourse to a very strange and clumsy stratagem. Three bishops had brought the message of the king, and two monks had also arrived to plead the cause of the archbishop. To the bishops, it is affirmed, the pope verbally conceded the right of investiture as claimed by

the king, but excused himself from committing the permission to writing, lest other sovereigns should demand the same privileges and despise his authority; while, by the monks, he sent letters to Anselm, exhorting him to resist all royal investitures and hold out to the uttermost. The deputies of both parties returned to London, and, at a great council held there (A.D. 1102), after the bishops had rehearsed their verbal commission the monks produced their letters. The pope afterwards declared the statement of the bishops to be false, and even excommunicated them as liars; but still Henry stood out. At length it was arranged that the archbishop should himself repair to Rome, to obtain a positive decision; and he set out on his journey, accordingly, on the 29th of April, 1103.

Some years of further negotiation followed, during which Anselm remained abroad. At last a compromise was effected by the pope consenting that, provided the king would abstain from insisting upon the investiture with ring and crozier, the bishops and abbots should do homage, in the same manner with the lay tenants in chief of the crown, for the temporalities of their sees. On the tedious controversy being thus brought to a close, Anselm returned to England in August, 1106.

Two years after this act of pacification, a council was held at London to enforce the obligation of clerical celibacy—a rule which both Anselm and his predecessor, Lanfranc, had always shown great zeal in promoting, although the subject had been partially lost sight of during the late controversies. Ten canons were now passed on this head, more rigid than any that had been hitherto promulgated. All married priests, of whatever degree, were commanded instantly to put away their wives, not to suffer them to live on any lands belonging to the church, and never to see them or converse with them except in urgent cases, and in the presence of witnesses. As a punishment for their crime in marrying, they were to abstain from saying mass for a certain period, and to undergo several penances. Those who refused to banish their wives were to be deposed and excommunicated, their goods were to be confiscated, and their wives, as adulteresses, to be made slaves to the bishop of the diocese.²

Anselm ended his troubled career in 1109, in the seventy-sixth year of his age and sixteenth of his primacy. His writings, which still remain, prove that he possessed a large share both of literary knowledge and metaphysical acuteness; and it deserves to be remembered, as one of his chief merits, that he zealously followed up, and even extended the plans of his predecessor Lan-

¹ The proceedings of this council are very minutely related by Eadmer, the companion of Anselm in his flight and banishment.

² Spelman's *Concilia*, i. p. 29.

franc, for the establishment of schools and the diffusion of learning in the country of his adoption. Whatever may be thought, also, of the course which he took in defence of what he conceived to be the rights of his station and of his order, or of some of his measures for the reform of the church over which he presided, it is evident that the contest he so perseveringly waged was for no merely personal or selfish objects. To his honour it is recorded that the English loved him as if he had been one of themselves.¹ After his death Henry was in no haste to fill the see of Canterbury, and he kept it vacant for the space of five years.

The ecclesiastical history of the remainder of the reign of Henry offers no events that require to be related. The conduct of the leading clergy, in the contention between Stephen and Matilda, has been detailed at sufficient length in a preceding chapter. The defective nature of Stephen's title afforded a favourable opportunity, which the ecclesiastical interest did not neglect, of extorting from the crown an acknowledgment of its haughtiest and heretofore most strenuously-disputed pretensions. Exemption from the royal investiture, and the right of carrying ecclesiastical causes by appeal to Rome, were conceded by Stephen, or usurped in spite of him, by a church that was daily improving in the art of profiting by every political emergency. It is not till the reign of Henry II., however, that the contest re-assumes much interest or distinctness, and to that period we will now therefore at once proceed.

The principal figure here is Becket. The legend of the origin of this celebrated personage is sufficiently romantic. Gilbert Beck or Becket, a Saxon yeoman, followed to the Crusades the pennon of his Norman lord, but being taken prisoner by an emir of the Saracens, he was thrown into a dungeon. The daughter of the infidel prince saw and loved the humble captive, and by her aid he effected his escape and reached his native country. Pining at his absence, the maiden afterwards conceived the wild idea of following his steps, though she knew no more of his language than his name, and that of the city in which he dwelt. She hastened to a seaport, and making her wishes known by repeating the word "London," she obtained a passage in a ship bound

for England. Having reached the English capital, she went from street to street calling upon "Gilbert," until the invocation met the ear of the lost object of her affection. Having abjured her native faith, and been baptized, the foreign maiden became the wife of Becket, now a citizen of London. From this union was born Thomas, the future Archbishop of Canterbury, a man whose remarkable life was destined to be a fit sequel to this singular history.*

His education, his introduction at court by the patronage of Archbishop Theobald, the rapid progress which he made in the royal favour, his elevation to the chancellorship, and his subsequent appointment to the primacy, with the extra-



CONSECRATION OF BECKET AS ARCHBISHOP.—FROM ROYAL MS. 2. B. 7.

ordinary transformation which his mode of life and his whole character underwent upon the last-mentioned event, have been already related. There can be little doubt as to what Henry's design was in thus placing at the head of the church the man who had hitherto been the most compliant, as well as the most active and dexterous of his ministers in civil affairs. When the intention of making him primate was first intimated to Becket, he frankly declared to his friends that, in accepting the new dignity, he was aware that he must forfeit the favour either of God or the king. He expressed the same sentiment to Henry himself, but in such an equivocal manner that his remark seemed rather intended for a jest. Laughing, and holding up a corner of his gay robe, he cried, "A fine saint you are choosing for such a holy office." Many persons professed to be not a little shocked as well as astonished; but perhaps the indignant feelings of the Norman part of the community were as much excited by Becket's Saxon lineage

¹ Eadmer, *Hist.* Nov. 112.

* Brompton in *X Scriptores*. The story is told by this author at great length and with considerable pathos.

as by the daring profanation at which they affected to be scandalized. Unclerical as the archbishop's former life had been, and notwithstanding his obnoxious promotion, the bishops, as well as the clergy generally, were at first delighted with such a primate, and the Saxon population, while they were charmed with his affability and humbleness of demeanour, had their exultation and affection heightened in regarding him as belonging to their own race.

The circumstances which led to the first breach between the king and the archbishop have already been stated. The whole course, indeed, of the contest between Henry and Becket is so interwoven with the general history of the kingdom, that a sketch of it, from its commencement to its close, has been necessarily given in relating the civil transactions of the period, and we have only now to fill up certain parts of that outline by a few additional details in regard to points belonging more especially to the subject of the present chapter.

The various matters in dispute between the two parties, it will be remembered, were all submitted to the great council of prelates and barons which met at Clarendon in January, 1164. A short review of what took place upon that occasion, and of the history of the decrees, or "Constitutions," as they were called, passed by the council, will best explain the conflicting claims of the king, on the one hand, and the archbishop on the other, and the relative positions in which the church and the state were left by the issue of the controversy.

The particular question which originated what eventually became a general contest about their respective rights between the crown and the spiritual estate, appears to have been—whether the clergy, when accused of crimes, should be tried and punished by the ecclesiastical or the civil courts. Filled, as many of the lower offices in the church were, with persons of little education, and whose emoluments were not such as to raise them above the habits and temptations of the lowest poverty, it is no wonder that, in an age of such general rudeness and disorder, some of the most serious offences, including even acts of violence and blood, should occasionally be committed by churchmen. It was alleged, however, with apparent reason, that the temptations to the commission of crime, in the case of a priest, were greatly augmented by the peculiar sort of trial and punishment to which it subjected him. During the Saxon times the clergy and laity were alike amenable to the courts of common law; but the Conqueror withdrew the bishops from the civil tribunals, and, in imitation of the order of things already existing in all the other countries of Christendom, placed them at the head of other courts of their

own. The extent of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction thus established had, from the first, been a subject of uncertainty and dispute, but latterly the church courts had asserted the right of alone taking cognizance of all offences whatever committed by the clergy. One strong ground on which this claim was objected to by the civil authorities, was the inadequacy of the punishments which the ecclesiastical judges were considered to have the power of inflicting; for they were held to be restricted by the canons from pronouncing sentence of death, and, in consequence, for the most heinous offence committed by a priest, the heaviest retribution was stripes and degradation from his sacred office. It was also alleged that a natural partiality for their order induced those who presided in the church courts to treat the offenders that were brought before them with dangerous lenity, and sometimes, perhaps, made them shut their eyes altogether to the proofs of a churchman's guilt.

The Constitutions of Clarendon, as finally digested, were sixteen in number. They were presented for the acceptance of the council by the king, as a restoration or recognition of the ancient customs of the realm, or, as it was more specifically declared in the preamble, of the usages, liberties, and dignities which had prevailed and been maintained in the days of his grandfather and the other kings his predecessors. It must be admitted that this title was not a correct description as applied to all the articles. The instrument comprehended, as has been already observed, the entire scheme of reformation by which Henry proposed to bring the church under subjection to the civil authorities; and, however necessary certain of the clauses might be for this end, or however just and proper, they were undoubtedly innovations upon the laws and practice that had subsisted ever since the Conquest. The substance of the principal enactments was—that all cases, whether civil or criminal, in which a clergyman was concerned, should be tried and determined in the king's court; that appeals should lie from the archbishop to the king; and that no cause should be carried further than the archbishop's court (in other words, to Rome) without the king's consent; that no archbishop, bishop, or dignified clergyman, should depart from the kingdom without the king's leave; that no tenant in chief of the crown, and no officer of the royal household or demesne, should be excommunicated, or his lands put under an interdict, until application had been made to the king or the grand justiciary; that churches in the king's gift should not be filled without his consent; that when an archbishopric, bishopric, abbey, or priory became vacant, it should remain in the custody of the king, who should receive all its

rents and revenues; that the election of a new incumbent should be made upon the king's writ, in the royal chapel, and with the assent of the king; and that the person elected should do homage and fealty to the king before being consecrated.

To these propositions Becket, at an interview with the king some time before the meeting of the council, had, although with much reluctance, promised that he would give his assent; and all the other bishops had also expressed their readiness to acquiesce in them. But now the archbishop, on being formally asked by the king to fulfil his promise, to the surprise of all present, peremptorily refused to give any other answer than that he would render obedience to the said ancient customs of the realm, saving the rights of his order. Terrified at the rage into which the king broke out at this unexpected opposition, Becket's brethren vehemently implored him to yield. Meanwhile the door of the antechamber being thrown open, discovered a band of knights standing clad in armour, and with their swords drawn. In these alarming circumstances Becket's firmness was at last shaken; and he promised that, if the meeting should be adjourned for the purpose of having the enactments digested into a regular form, he would then do what was required of him. But when he retired into solitude he was confounded at the thought of his weakness. Filled with remorse, he resolved even yet to draw back, to whatever of reproach or danger he might, by so doing, expose himself. When, therefore, the meeting re-assembled on the following day, and copies of the Constitutions were produced, he peremptorily refused his signature. Neither entreaties nor threats could now move him. Retiring from the council, he wrote to the pope an account of all that had taken place, soliciting absolution for the momentary lapse of which he had been guilty; and, as a penance for the same crime, he condemned himself to an abstinence of forty days from the service of the altar.¹

The Constitutions of Clarendon, however, as assented to by the barons and the other prelates, became for the present the law of the land, notwithstanding the dissent and opposition of the archbishop.

It is only necessary to add here, that Henry, on his reconciliation with the pope, in 1172, only obtained absolution on solemnly promising to abolish all laws and customs hostile to the clergy that might have been introduced in his kingdom since the beginning of his reign—to re-instate the church of Canterbury in all the possessions it had held a year previous to Becket's departure; and to make restitution to all the friends of the late

primate who had been deprived of their property. To these, it is said, were added some other engagements which were not committed to writing; and one version of the oath taken by Henry makes him acknowledge the kingdom of England to be held by him in feudal subjection to the pope. This article, however, has generally been held to be a forgery; and while on the one hand the evidence of its authenticity is very weak, its inherent improbability on the other is certainly strong.

Notwithstanding Henry's promise to abolish the customs that infringed upon the rights of the clergy, the Constitutions of Clarendon remained unrepealed for some years after this time. But if they were still nominally law, they were little better than a dead letter. All effective opposition to the cause of which Becket had been the great champion, was for the present put down by his martyrdom, and the wonders that were believed to have followed it. After the interment of the body, crowds of the afflicted repaired to the spot, where the lame recovered the action of their limbs, the blind received sight, and the sick were healed.² Every day added to the number of the pilgrims and the miracles, and consequently to the spread and fervour of the delusion. The enthusiasm became general, and messenger after messenger was despatched to Rome with fresh tidings of prodigies, and supplications that Becket might be made a tutelary saint for the blessing and protection of England. This favour was at last granted by the pope; and the 29th of December, the day on which the saint was assassinated, was assigned to him in the calendar.³

It was not, however, till the year 1176 that, at a great council held at Northampton, the repeal, or rather the modification, of the Constitutions of Clarendon was formally effected. It was there agreed, though not without much opposition from many of the barons—first, that the clergy should not be brought to trial before the temporal courts on any charges except for offences against the forest laws; and, secondly, that no bishopric or abbey should be kept in the king's hands longer than a year, except in circumstances which might make it impossible to have the vacancy filled up in that time. In this state the law continued the remainder of the period now under review.

Before dismissing this reign, an event remains to be mentioned, which, although otherwise insignificant, is memorable as the first instance on record of any opposition being made to the common faith, and as such may be regarded as the earliest harbinger of the Reformation in England. About the beginning of the year 1166, a synod was held at Oxford, in the presence of the king, for the arraignment of certain foreigners accused

¹ *Gervase.*² *Gervase; Matt. Par.*³ *Baron, Annal. 1173.*

of heresy. It appears that five years before, several Germans, to the number of thirty men and women, had arrived in England, and began to disseminate their religious opinions; but as they had hitherto only converted one woman of low rank, and as their demeanour had been peaceful, they had been allowed to live unmolested. Attention, however, was at last called to the circumstance that their principles differed from the established creed, on which they were thrown into prison, and now brought for trial before the king. To the question of what was their belief, Gerard their leader answered that they were Christians, and venerated the doctrines of the apostles. But it is alleged that, when they were examined upon particulars, they spoke impiously of the eucharist, baptism, and marriage, and when urged with texts of Scripture, refused all discussion, declaring that they believed as they were taught, and would not dispute about their faith. When they were exhorted to recant, they received the admonition with scorn; and when threatened with punishment, they answered with a smile, "Blessed are they who suffer for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." As heresy was new in England, the judges were at a loss how to act; but canons had already been enacted by the council of Tours against the Albigenses, and sentence was pronounced in conformity with these. The accused were condemned to be branded in the forehead with a hot iron, and to be publicly whipped and expelled out of Oxford, while the king's subjects were forbidden by proclamation to shelter or relieve them. The enthusiasts went to their punishment in triumph, singing, "Blessed are ye when men shall hate you and persecute you." Their garments were cut off by the waist, their brows were seared, and their backs torn with scourges; and thus bleeding, and almost naked, in the depth of winter, they wandered about unsheltered among the fields, until they died. Such is the obscure account delivered by the contemporary writers, in whose eyes dissent in belief from the church of Rome was an incomprehensible anomaly. It is probable that these strangers, from the notions ascribed to them on the institution of marriage and the sacraments, were Cathari, or Albigenses.

The history of ecclesiastical affairs in England during the reign of Richard I. is almost a blank; every feeling was absorbed in the great subject of the Crusades; and the clergy, who had already gained all for which they had contended at home, found ample scope for their belligerent propensities in the fields of Palestine, to which many of them repaired in warlike array, notwithstanding the canons that had been enacted against their bearing arms. During this reign, the power of the popedom, which had been exerted in favour

of Richard in the negotiations for his release, was also directed effectually against him when he showed symptoms of opposition to Rome. Hubert, the primate, jealous of the monks of Canterbury, and desirous to abridge their privileges, had determined to raise up against them a rival body, in the form of an establishment of canons regular, for whom he proceeded to erect a splendid edifice at Lambeth, with the approbation of Richard. But the monks of Canterbury, alarmed for their rights, and suspecting that the gainful relics of Becket would be transferred to the new house, fiercely opposed the project, and appealed to the pope, Innocent III., who warmly espoused their cause, and directed a bull to the archbishop, in 1198, commanding him in a very imperious style to desist immediately from his proceedings. He afterwards addressed another bull to Richard, whom he threatened for his contumacy in abetting the archbishop; warning him that if he persevered, he should soon find in his punishment how hard it was to kick against the pricks. By a subsequent mandate, also addressed to the king, Innocent declared that he would not endure the least contempt of himself or of God, whose place he held upon earth. The lion-hearted king and the rebellious archbishop were equally dismayed at these menaces, and the obnoxious building was destroyed.¹

The history of the church in the reign of King John is principally a continuation of the same great contest respecting the appointment to the higher ecclesiastical offices between the clergy or the pope, on the one side, and the crown on the other, which had been carried on throughout the greater part of the preceding century. In the earliest ages of the Christian church, the election of bishops was by the voice of the clergy and the people of the diocese. After the establishment, however, of the feudal system in the different kingdoms of Europe, and the annexation to bishoprics of high political power and large landed possessions, the king naturally claimed the right of being at least a party in the nomination to an office which gave to its possessor so much weight in the state. The claim to a veto upon the election was as naturally extended to that of an absolute right of appointment, as soon as the crown found that it could not otherwise secure the office for its own nominee. Accordingly, this was substantially the position which the crown at last assumed, although the form in which it asserted its claim varied with circumstances. When it found itself obliged, for instance, to relinquish the absolute nomination of the bishop, it stood out for the right of granting or refusing to the individual elected that invest-

¹ Gervase, 1616-1624.

ture, without which he certainly could not draw the revenues of the see, even if he could exercise any of the spiritual powers of his office. The course taken by the church, on the other hand, equally varied in conformity to the course of events. In the first place, at a very early period, the interference of the laity was first reduced to a mere form, and then got rid of altogether. Subsequently the claim of the general body of the clergy of the diocese to a voice in the election was disputed, and the right of voting was asserted to reside solely in the chapter. As the chapter in many cases consisted of the monks of some religious house to which the cathedrals were held to belong, the natural enmity between the regular and the secular clergy here interfered materially to inflame the quarrel. This was the case, for instance, at Canterbury, where the chapter consisted of the monks of the great monastery of St. Augustine, who thus claimed the sole right of electing the Primate of all England. The regular clergy (that is, those living under monastic rule) were always, it may be observed, regarded by the court of Rome as the main support of its authority, and it usually took their side against the secular (so called, as living at large in the world). What the popes therefore endeavoured to effect in regard to the nomination of bishops, was to retain that power either in their own hands or in those of the chapters. Against the claim of the king to present in the first instance they constantly protested. In many cases, however, the chapters submitted to present the person named to them by the king. Even here, however, the question of investiture created a serious difficulty to be got over after the nomination had been settled. But the particular point upon which the dispute between John and Innocent III. hinged, was the power claimed by the Papal court of appointing to a bishopric vacated by the irregularity of the election, or by the unfitness of the person elected, the right being also assumed by it of deciding upon the irregularity or unfitness. It was upon the plea of such irregularity that the pope nominated Langton to the archbishopric of Canterbury.

Little or no change took place in the internal constitution of the English church in consequence of the Norman conquest; and its establishment remained through the whole of the period now under review nearly the same as it was before that event. The principal alteration was that made by the creation of two new sees—of Ely, in 1109, and of Carlisle, in 1133, in addition to the fifteen (including the two archbishoprics) that had existed in the Saxon times, being the same that still exist, with the exception of Oxford, Peterborough, Gloucester, Chester, and Ripon.

Before the Conquest the only order of monks known in England was that of the Benedictines,



BENEDICTINE MONK.¹—From Dugdale.

or observers of the rule of St. Benedict, instituted in the early part of the sixth century, which some conceive to have been brought over by Augustine, but which was most probably unknown in the country till a considerably later period, and certainly was first generally established by St. Dunstan in the tenth century. Nor perhaps was the rule of St. Benedict ever strictly observed by the English monks till after the Conquest. In the course of the twelfth century two new orders were introduced—the Cistercians, or Bernardines, in 1128, and the Carthusians, in 1180. Both these, indeed, may be considered as branches of the Benedictines, only distinguished by subjection to a discipline of still greater severity. The order of the Carthusians especially (founded at Chartreux, in France, by St. Bruno in 1080, whence their establishments in England were corruptly called Charter-houses) was the strictest of all the monastic orders, the members never being allowed to taste flesh, and being restricted on one day of every week to bread,



CARTHUSIAN MONK.² From Dugdale.

water, and salt. The Carthusians never became numerous in England. The order of the Cistercians (instituted at Cîteaux—in Latin, Cistercium—in Burgundy, in 1098, and afterwards greatly patronized by the celebrated St. Bernard) was chiefly distinguished by having its houses situated for the most part at a distance from all other habitations. There were a considerable number of them both in England and in Scotland.³

¹ The habit of the Benedictine monks was a black loose gown of stuff reaching to the heels, a cowl or hood of the same, and a scapulary. Under these was worn a habit of white flannel, and boots on the legs. From the outer habit, the Benedictines were commonly called Black Monks.

² The habit of the Carthusian monks was white, with an external coat of black stuff plaited.

³ Among the many illustrations of medieval manners which we owe to the Camden and similar societies, few are more in-

The most common form, however, which enthusiastic devotion assumed in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, was that of going on pilgrimage to some spot supposed to be of peculiar sanctity, either within the kingdom or abroad. After the martyrdom and canonization of Becket, his shrine at Canterbury became, and for ages continued to be the favourite resort of the pious, when they did not extend their penitential journey beyond the limits of their own country. Abroad, Rome, Loretto, but especially Jerusalem, Mount Sinai, and the other parts of the Holy Land, now attracted crowds of pilgrims, 'beyond the example of former times,' to use the words of Gibbon, "and the roads were covered with multitudes of either sex, and of every rank, who professed their contempt of life, so soon as they should have kissed the tomb of their Redeemer. Princes and prelates abandoned the care of their dominions; and the members of these pious caravans were a prelude to the armies which marched in the ensuing age under the banner of the cross." Out of this practice of pilgrimage grew the Crusades, in which the spirit of devotion formed a strange alliance with the military spirit, each communicating something of its peculiar colour and character to the other. Four of these extraordinary expeditions belong to the present period, of which the first (the consequence of which was the establishment of the kingdom of Jerusalem) set out in 1097, the second in 1147, the third (that in which Coeur de Lion took so distinguished a part) in 1189, and the fourth (which resulted in the conquest of Constantinople from the Greeks) in 1203. The Crusades, however, though professedly religious enterprises, produced less effect upon the religion of the age in which they were undertaken than upon most of the other great constituents of its social condition. Among the phenomena that sprung out of the Crusades, none presented a more expressive type of their character than the religious orders of knighthood. The two earliest and most distinguished of these—the Knights Hospitallers of St. John, and the Knights Templars—both acquired establishments and extensive possessions in this country

soon after their institution; the principal seat of the former having been established at St. John's Hospital in Clerkenwell, London; that of the latter at the Temple (to which they had removed from a previous residence in Holborn), many years before the close of the twelfth century.

As these two orders of military monks were so closely connected with the religious and civil history of the period, and were so influential, both as priests and soldiers, they require a fuller notice than we have given to the other monastic institutions. They had their origin in the oppression and cruelties with which the Christian pilgrims were visited in their journeys to the holy sepulchre. They first appeared in the form of Hospitallers, in the eleventh century, when they built an hospital dedicated to St. John within the walls of Jerusalem, for the reception and entertainment of pilgrims, and the relief of those who had been plundered in the journey, or were too poor to pay the exorbitant taxes levied by the infidels upon those who visited the sacred places. At first, they were but a community of monks, who followed the rule of St. Benedict, and devoted themselves to the humble duties of tending the sick and relieving the needy; but as their reputation increased, large donations of lands were bestowed upon the order, and gallant knights and men of high rank joined it, in the hope of thereby expiating their sins or escaping from the cares of the world. This wealth cherished ambition; these new recruits imparted a warlike spirit to the community; and during the Crusades, we find them risen into a great military power, at the head of which was a grand-master, exercising all the functions of a sovereign independent prince. Such an institution was particularly congenial to the warlike and devout spirit of the English; and, therefore, so early as A.D. 1100—only eight years after it was established at Jerusalem—a small body of these Hospital monks arrived in England, and during the same year, their house in London was erected. The branch thus planted in an English soil was quickly and abundantly fruitful; their commanderies, by which name their establishments were distinguished, were rich and nume-

teresting than the chronicle kept by the monk Jocelin, of St. Edmund's, in the twelfth century: *Chronica Jocelini de Brakelonda de rebus gestis Sansonis Abbatis Monasterii Sancti Edmundi*. In it the conventual fraternity present a very different aspect from that attributed to the monastic institutions of the middle ages by authors who think they cannot sufficiently exalt their merits. As landlords, they were so harsh as even to tear the doors from the cottages of their tenants in payment of arrears of rent. But Mr. Carlyle, in his *Past and Present*, has pronounced an opinion on Jocelin's work, part of which we may append:—"Jocelin, we see, is not without secularity. Our Dominus Abbas was intent enough on the Divine office; but then—his account books? One of the things that strike us most, throughout, in Jocelin's *Chronicle*, and indeed in Eadmer's *Anselm*, and other old monastic books, written evidently by pious men, is this,

that there is almost no mention whatever of personal religion in them; that the whole gist of their thinking and speculation seems to be 'the privileges of our order,' 'strict exaction of our dues,' 'God's honour' [meaning the honour of our saints], and so forth."—See *Past and Present*, by Thomas Carlyle, p. 80.

¹ Pilgrims to foreign parts were properly called *palmer*s, from the branches of the palm-tree, the emblem of victory, which they used to bear in their hands. In token of having crossed the seas, or of their intention of doing so, they were wont to put cockle or scallop shells in their hats—according to Ophelia's song in *Hamlet*:—

"How should I your true love know
From another one?
By his cockle hat and staff,
And by his sandal shoon."

rous; and so influential was the order throughout the country, that their superior ranked as the first of the English barons, and had, as such, a seat among the lords in parliament. This consequence they retained in England until the period of the Reformation, when their houses and endowments were swept away in the general confiscation. It is only necessary to add, that the Knights Hospitallers appear under different and successive names in history, according to the changes with which the order was visited. During the period of the Crusades, they were Hospitallers, from the Hospital they occupied; and Knights of St. John, from the name of the patron saint to whom the building was dedicated. Afterwards, on the expulsion of the Christians from the Holy Land, they were called Knights of Rhodes, in consequence of that island being assigned to them for their residence. The third change in their title occurred when, in consequence of the capture of Rhodes by the Turks, A.D. 1522, and their transference to the island of Malta, which was conferred upon their order by the Emperor Charles V., they adopted the name, which since that period they have retained, of "Knights of Malta."

A still more powerful and distinguished institution of soldier-monks, was that of the Templars, which originated A.D. 1118. At first they consisted of nine pious and valiant knights, who resolved, while their brethren of the Hospital devoted themselves to the care of the sick and the poor, to guard the highways that led to the holy sepulchre, and protect the pilgrims on their journey. They therefore selected for their patroness, the Virgin, whom they entitled "our dear Lady Mary," the "sweet mother of God;" and having adopted for their rule the canons of St. Augustine, they bound themselves by the three monastic vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience, to which, however, they added a fourth, of fighting incessantly in the defence of pilgrims and the Holy Land, against the heathen. Baldwin II., King of Jerusalem, assigned them a part of his palace for their abode; and as this building stood close by the church and convent of the Temple, the abbot and canons gave them a street leading to it from the palace, for the keeping of their stores and equipments; and from this circumstance, they obtained the names of "Brethren of the Temple of Solomon at Jerusalem," "Soldiers of the Temple," and "Templars."

During the first nine years of the existence of this order, its vow of poverty was strictly observed: the subsistence, and even the raiment of these gallant high-born soldiers were the alms which they received from the faithful; and even their first grand-master, Hugh de Payens, and his companion, Godfrey of St. Omer, had only

one war-steed between them. This fact was carefully commemorated by the seal of the institution, which represented two Templar knights riding upon one horse; and it was hoped, that having this emblem constantly before their eyes, the brethren would be reminded of their original poverty, and the duty of Christian humility. And that such was at first the effect, may be learned from a letter of St. Bernard, the legislator of the order, seventeen years after it was instituted, and when it had acquired wealth and consideration. Speaking of the knights of the Temple, he says, "They go and come at a sign from their master; they wear the clothing which he gives them, and ask neither food nor clothing from any one else. . . . They never sit idle, or go about gaping after news. When they are resting from warfare against the infidels—a thing which rarely occurs—not to eat the bread of idleness, they employ themselves in repairing their clothes and arms, or do something which the command of the master or the common need enjoins. There is with them no respect of persons; the best, not the noblest, are the most highly regarded; they endeavour to anticipate one another in respect, and to lighten each other's burdens. No unseemly word or light mocking—no murmur or immoderate laughter—is let to pass unproved, if any one should allow himself to indulge in such. They avoid games of chess and tables; they are adverse to the chase, and equally so to hawking, in which others so much delight. They hate all jugglers and mountebanks, all wanton songs and plays, and vanities and follies of this world. They cut their hair, in obedience to these words of the apostle, 'It is not seemly in a man to have long hair;' no one ever sees them dressed out; they are seldom ever washed; they are mostly to be seen with disordered hair, and covered with dust, brown from their corslets and the heat of the sun." After describing their fearless courage in battle, the illustrious abbot of Clairvaux adds, "Thus they are in union strange, at the same time gentler than lambs and grimmer than lions, so that one may doubt whether to call them monks or knights. But both names suit them, for theirs is the mildness of the monk and the valour of the knight. What remains to be said, but that this is the Lord's doing, and it is wonderful in our eyes? Such are they whom God has chosen out of the bravest in Israel, that, watchful and true, they may guard the holy sepulchre, armed with swords, and well-skilled in war."

A community so distinguished for valour, piety, and self-denial, and so powerful an instrument for the recovery of Palestine, and its maintenance against the infidels, was so completely accordant with the spirit and wants of the age,

that the Templars rose into high favour both with the ecclesiastical and secular powers. They were soon enabled to doff the piebald and threadbare raiment of charity, in consequence of a decent uniform being appointed for them by Pope Honorius, which consisted of a white mantle, to distinguish them from the Hospitallers, who wore a black one. Afterwards, they were commissioned by Pope Eugenius III. to wear a red cross on the breast, as a sign of their constant exposure to martyrdom, and this likewise to distinguish them from their brethren of the Hospital, whose cross was white. They either received or adopted also their far-famed banner, called in old French, *Bauseant*, in consequence of the black and white stripes of which it was composed, this name being generally applied to a horse of these colours; and *Bauseant* became also the war-cry of the Templars, and a word of terror wherever it was heard. The banner itself bore the red cross of the order painted upon it, and the humble self-denying text of Scripture, "*Non nobis, Domine, non nobis, sed nomini tuo, da gloriam*"—"Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy name give the glory"). These distinctions, however, were but preludes to more substantial benefits, which flowed into the order in the form of rich high-titled neophytes, large territorial endowments, and powerful houses, called preceptories, which rose in every country in Christendom, so that the Templars were soon more distinguished than the earlier community of Hospitallers, of whom they were at first the humble imitators. And such was the confidence reposed in the integrity and strength of the order, that by the beginning of the thirteenth century, it had become the custom of sovereigns in troublous times to deposit their treasures in Temple houses, as places of assured security.

The connection of the Templars with England was profitable in the highest degree to their community, and this, from an early period, as may be seen from the account taken of their possessions in the country by royal authority, A.D. 1185.¹ During this year, also, they removed from their residence of the Old Temple on the south side of Holborn, to their new house at the western extremity of Fleet Street, the site of which is still called the Temple. At his departure from the Holy Land, Richard Cœur de Lion sought and obtained permission from the grand-master to wear the habit of a Templar, that none might detect him in the dress of his avowed enemies; while John, his brother, attached himself to them as his best protection against the barons; bestowed upon them Lundy Island, at the mouth of the Bristol Channel, in addition to

their other English possessions; and intrusted the sum of 20,000 marks to their keeping. In the succeeding reign, when Henry III. (A.D. 1252) complained of the arrogance of the Templars and Hospitallers, and threatened to resume the enormous possessions that had been inconsiderately bestowed upon them, he was answered by the prior of the former community in these authoritative words:—"What sayest thou, O king! Far be it that thy mouth should utter so disagreeable and silly a word. So long as thou dost exercise justice thou shalt reign; but if thou infringe it, thou wilt cease to be a king!" This significant language quickly reduced Henry to submission.

The dress by which the Templars were distinguished, was, with the exception of colour, the same as that of the Hospitallers, and was supplied, along with arms



KNIGHT HOSPITALLER.—FROM Dugdale.

and equipments, from the common fund of the order. It consisted of a long white tunic, resembling in form that of the priests, and for head covering had a cap or hood attached to it; and both on front and back of the tunic, was a red cross of four arms, the lower one being the largest, so that it resembled the cross on which the

Saviour suffered. Beneath this mantle, was a linen shirt, bound with a girdle. The arms of



KNIGHTS TEMPLAR.

1 Jean de Brins, Ch. 12 G. off. y. de Magnaill, O. St. Yved, Branc. 1 Temple Ch., London.

the Templar, besides the usual suit of plate and mail, consisted of a shield, sword, lance, and mace; and owing to the heat of the Syrian climate, and the necessity of employing himself in constant military service, these arms, offensive and defensive, were of a lighter description than those commonly used by secular warriors. When

the Templar died, he was placed in a coffin in the habit of his order, and with his legs crossed; and it is in this costume and attitude that his effigy was represented upon his tomb. Such were the distinctive cha-

¹ Inquisition, in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. vi. part ii. p. 158, &c.

characteristics and costume of a community already doomed to ruin. Their crimes and arrogance were hated, their wealth and possessions were coveted; and though powerful, they were unable to make head against the hostility which they had so recklessly provoked. As a political community,

they were obnoxious to kings and statesmen; while as an ecclesiastical body, they were condemned by popes and councils: and thus the twofold character in which their strength had originated, also insured their downfall. The history of their suppression belongs to the succeeding period.

CHAPTER XI.—HISTORY OF SOCIETY.

A.D. 1066—1216.

Causes of delay in progress at this period—Commencement of learning under the Norman conquest—Colleges and schools of this period—Institution of chivalry—Training for knighthood—Education of pages and squires—Ceremonial in the investment of knighthood—Growth of English cities—Extent and grandeur of London—Mercantile progress—Jewish money-lenders—Flemish manufacturers—Agricultural population—Classes into which they were divided—Architecture of the period—Abbeys and churches—Saxon and Norman styles of architecture—Architecture of houses—Castles of the nobility—Modes of life among the nobles—Their names, titles, and armorial distinctions—Their retinues and style of travelling—Dress and ornaments of the nobles—Female dress and ornaments—Domestic life of the upper classes—Their hours of meals—Their diet—Sports and pastimes of the nobility—Gambling—Minstrels, jugglers, stage-players, &c.—Hunting and hawking—Horse-racing—Sports and amusements of the common people—Bowling, kayle-pins, the sword-dance, &c.—Water-tournaments—Rustic imitations of chivalrous sports—Depression of the national spirit at this period.



THE conquest of England by the Normans was an event scarcely to be deplored. The Saxon occupation of the country had now lasted 600 years; but the rate of national progress had been so slow, and at the time of the Conquest itself appeared to be so decisively arrested, that any impulse, however rude and severe, would have been preferable to such a stagnation. For this want of improvement, also, such causes were in operation as to make any other kind of remedy hopeless. At their arrival in England, the Saxons were a very different kind of people from their predecessors the Romans, in everything but valour and the love of conquest; and after their coming, 350 years of wars with the Britons, and afterwards of contention among themselves, had elapsed. This was anything but favourable to the improvement of barbarian invaders, more especially as almost every trace of Roman civilization had been swept away in the conflict, so that scarcely a lesson was left them to learn, or model to copy. And even when England was transformed from a Roman province into a Saxon kingdom, new wars ensued during nearly the whole of the remaining 250 years, in which the English had to maintain their ground, and struggle for very existence against an enemy more destructive and barbarous than themselves. Where was then the time or the opportunity for improvement, especially when the work had to begin from the foundation? Even the labours of Alfred scarcely endured a

single life-time, having been arrested by a new series of Danish invasions, in which the land was all but peopled anew with the most desperate of pirates and homicides. It was no wonder, therefore, if after the 600 years of interval, the Anglo-Saxons were so little superior to their ancestors who had arrived with Hengist and Horsa. They were still "*toto orbe divisos*"—as yet England formed scarcely a member in the great political family of nations; and upon the Continent her voice was unheard. But what made the case more hopeless still, was the degradation of the English aristocracy, who were sunk beneath the level of the people whom they were designed to elevate. Debased by profligacy, and immersed in gluttony, debauchery, and ignorance, the English thanes were at one time ready to sell the land and its inhabitants to Danish rovers, and at another to yield them up to the Norman conquerors. It is melancholy to think that Harold was the last of the Saxons, and that the fate of such a kingdom should have depended upon one man. But notwithstanding the gallant resistance of the people at Hastings, and the means still in reserve for twenty such conflicts, no sooner does Harold pass away, than the nobles despair and yield. It was full time that such leaders at least should be supplanted by a race of men, of whom any adventurous knight who could muster three or four score lances around his pennon might hope to win for himself a countship or even a kingdom, and establish a permanent dynasty; or who, even as a solitary

wanderer and exile, was certain to become a chief in the territory that gave him a home.

As might be expected, however, the first progress of the Normans after their conquest of England was slow, and from the same causes which had retarded that of the Saxons. Although superior to the conquered in refinement, they were still rude and illiterate; and as they were the smaller party, the utmost of their efforts for a long time were tasked, first to win, and afterwards to retain their ascendancy. The arts of war, therefore, rather than those of peace, occupied their immediate attention; and the march of civilization, instead of being accelerated, was in the first instance rather retarded by the change. But the shock was soon surmounted, and a foundation laid for future improvement during the course of the present period. William the Conqueror himself was a lover and patron of learning; Henry Beauclerk, his son, was distinguished for his scholarship; and Henry II. was not only accomplished in the learning of the period, but his sons also were distinguished for their literary acquirements. It is likewise to be noted, that although one of the earliest oppressions of the Conquest was the deposition of the English ecclesiastical dignitaries, yet their loss was little to be regretted on the score of learning, while their places were filled by foreign prelates of a much superior description. Of these, Lanfranc and Anselm were subtle metaphysicians and theologians; while Geoffrey, who established a school at Dunstable, and Godfrey, prior of St. Swithin's, were excellent Latin poets. Abbeys were also founded and libraries established for the promotion of literature and the extension of education; while schools in connection with cathedrals and monasteries were multiplied over the kingdom. It was chiefly, however, the clergy who availed themselves of these opportunities, for as yet, even of the Norman nobility, there were few who could either read or write. But, indeed, the education delivered at these seminaries was scarcely attractive enough for the stirring spirits of the young men of the day, being chiefly of a theological and scholastic character, mixed up, as might be supposed, with a full amount of the mere pedantry and show of scholarship. Such we learn from the description of Fitz-Stephen. "On holidays," he thus writes, "it is usual for these schools to hold public meetings in the churches, in which the scholars engage in demonstrative or logical disputations; some using enthymemes, and others perfect syllogisms; some aiming at nothing but to gain the victory, and make an ostentatious display of their acuteness, while others have the investigation of truth in view. Artful sophists on these occasions acquire great applause, some by a prodigious inundation and

flow of words, others by their specious but fallacious arguments. After the disputations, other scholars deliver rhetorical declamations, in which they observe all the rules of art, and neglect no topic of persuasion. Even the younger boys in the different schools contend against each other in verse about the principles of grammar, and the preterites and supines of verbs." Thus early had that course of education been in full vigour in England which continued for centuries, and as long as the Aristotelian system prevailed. But the seminary which was finally to surpass and eclipse all these institutions is thus described by Peter of Blois, a lively writer who flourished in the reign of Henry II.:—"In the year 1109, Joffrid, abbot of Croyland, sent to his manor of Cottenham, near Cambridge, Master Gislebert [Gilbert], his fellow-monk, and professor of theology, with three other monks who had followed him into England, who, being very well instructed in philosophical theorems, and other primitive sciences, went every day to Cambridge, and, having hired a certain public barn, taught the sciences openly, and in a little time collected a great concourse of scholars; for, in the very second year after their arrival, the number of their scholars from the town and country increased so much, that there was no house, barn, nor church, capable of containing them. For this reason they separated into different parts of the town, and imitating the plan of the Studium of Orleans, brother Odo, who was eminent as a grammarian and satirical poet, read grammar according to the doctrine of Priscian, and of his commentator Remegius, to the boys and younger students that were assigned to him, early in the morning. At one o'clock, brother Terriacus, a most acute sophist, read the logic of Aristotle according to the introductions and commentaries of Porphyry and Averroes, to those who were further advanced. At three, brother William read lectures on Tully's rhetoric and Quintilian's *Institutions*. But Master Gislebert, being ignorant of the English, but very expert in the Latin and French languages, preached in the several churches to the people on Sundays and holidays. From this little fountain which hath swelled into a great river, we now behold the city of God made glad, and all England rendered fruitful by many teachers and doctors issuing from Cambridge, after the likeness of the holy paradise." It will be noticed here, that in such a concourse of learned men from different countries, Latin was the conventional language, which was spoken with the ease and fluency of a living tongue. But to preach in it before illiterate rustic audiences, as Master Gilbert appears to have done!—The people, however, were probably charmed with the sound, and only the more convinced by how

little they could comprehend. Such phenomena are not rare in preaching. In this way, Giraldus Cambrensis roused the people of Wales to arms, while preaching a crusade in 1186 for the recovery of the holy sepulchre. He harangued them in Latin, of which they did not understand a word; but they wept, and hurried forward in crowds to enrol themselves for the war in Palestine.

As chivalry constituted the main principle of Norman life at this period, its usages require our chief attention in a sketch of the social and domestic habits of this era. Having its origin in the forests of Germany, and being common to all the Teutonic tribes, the institution of chivalry was first imported into England by the followers of Hengist and Horsa, but in a form as rude and simple as the arms they wore, or the manners by which they were distinguished. How little, indeed, of the pomp and circumstance of chivalry could be manifested by those whose chief offensive weapons were an axe, a spear, and a long crooked sex or sword, while their only defensive armour was a leathern helmet and light wooden target! The arrival of the Normans with their more complete panoply of chain and scale armour, their higher imaginativeness, and greater love of splendour and display, completely changed the scene. They had engrafted upon the original chivalry of the naked North, the arts and refinements of the South, with which they very speedily superseded the rude knighthood of the Anglo-Saxons. The education of a noble youth of England, therefore, at this period—and every Norman family was accounted noble—had a reference to the military training by which he was to maintain the ascendancy of his countrymen, the deeds he was to achieve, and the spurs he was expected to win. For this purpose, he was placed as a page in the household of some knight or noble of approved military reputation, under whose instructions he learned, during this first step of his noviciate, those exercises by which he was improved in strength, dexterity, and hardihood, as well as in knightly courtesy and gracefulness of demeanour, while his lessons combined sport and amusement with proficiency. One of these was fighting at the *pel*, which was the stump of a tree about the height of a man, and marked all over with the different parts of the human body. This he was vigorously to attack both with edge and point, until he could hit each part at pleasure, covering himself all the while with his shield to prevent reprisal. Besides this training for a hand-to-hand combat on foot, he was taught a knight's chief duty on horseback by tilting at the *quintain*. This was a pole set upright in the earth, with a shield fastened to it with thongs of leather, which he was expected to

detach from the pole with the point of his lance in full career, at the risk of being swept from the saddle if he failed. In these fierce ridings, the loss of his seat, or even of a stirrup, was to be eschewed as an inglorious failure. We find in one of the illuminated MSS. that this unshapely pole was at length elevated into the figure of a wooden Saracen, revolving upon a spindle, and armed with sword and shield. Here was an enemy sufficient to kindle the knightly and crusading zeal of the young tyro, as well as to task his utmost skill; for his object was to strike it full in the breast or face while he firmly maintained his seat, in which case his opponent, if made of flesh and blood, would have been a dead man. But if he struck aslant, or swerved from the centre, the Paynim wheeled rapidly round, and struck the assailant a degrading blow on the back with his wooden scimeter.

With these, and such exercises as these, amidst hot competition and merriment, the young pages of a noble household exercised themselves in the mimicry of war, by which they trained themselves to its stern realities. From the station of page the young aspirant attained to that of squire, in which he was not only to continue his military exercises, but join in the real business of war, by following his master to the field. During his intervals of leisure, he perfected himself in the arts of riding and tilting, and partook of the manly sports of hunting and hawking. The whole period of education for knighthood usually lasted seven or eight years—and from the demand it occasioned we may easily conceive how strongly a nobleman of high military repute must have fortified himself with future adherents, as well as how the friendships formed among the young pupils themselves, afterwards grew into political unions and coalitions. When the squire, after his long probation, was to obtain the coveted honour of knighthood, the investment was performed with such a combination of military and religious ceremonial as sufficed to mark it out as one of the very noblest of all earthly distinctions. Nights of prayer and watching in the chapel, and partaking of the eucharist, were to prepare him for the solemnity, as if the office for which he was in preparation was heaven-born and holy. To this was also attached in most cases the watching of his armour, which was hung over the altar. In this way, religion endeavoured to soften and ennoble by consecration an office so prone to violence and bloodshed. After these religious duties were fulfilled, and when the important day had arrived, the church was decked with the utmost splendour; a crowd was assembled, and after a solemn service in full choir, the priest at the altar administered the oaths of chivalry to the kneeling aspirant, and blessed his sword, which was thence-

forth set apart to deeds of noble and generous enterprise. These oaths were, that he would be loyal and obedient to his sovereign, a defender of the doctrines and immunities of the church, the champion of the ladies, and the especial protector of the orphan and the widow. His spurs were then buckled on by the lordly spectators present, or by the high-born ladies, whose honoured servant he was thenceforth to be considered. In like manner he was arrayed in his richest suit of armour; and when all was ready, the sovereign or the noble by whom the honour was to be conferred advanced and gave the accolade, exclaiming in a loud voice, "In the name of God, St. Michael, and St. George, I dub thee knight; be brave, hardy, and loyal." This accolade consisted of either one or three gentle strokes with the hand upon the cheek, or the flat of a sword upon the shoulder, indicating the last blows which the young knight was to receive without resentment or requital. Such were the principal ceremonies used on this important occasion, varying in splendour according to convenience and the rank of the recipient, but in every case made an imposing spectacle. There were times, however, when all this preparation and pomp were abridged; as in the case of active service, and especially upon a field of battle, after a signal victory had been won, when the young squire who had performed some remarkable deed of bravery, was thought worthy at once of the highest honours of chivalry. In this case, he was dubbed by the commander in the midst of blood and carcases, and with shorn and hasty ceremonial. But a knighthood conferred in such circumstances was of higher account than when it was bestowed amidst the peaceful pomp of the chapel and with "unhacked rapier," as it was the attestation of a valour already tried and proved; and as such, the recipient was a knight banneret, and entitled to take precedence of his companions. With what fidelity the oaths of chivalry were kept, or with what indifference they were broken, the history of every country has sufficiently recorded. With regard to the tilts, tournaments, and magnificent pageantries to which the institution gave rise, these, although now in full force in Italy, France, and Germany, were not as yet fully naturalized in England, from the fear that they might become hotbeds of combinations and conspiracies. It is only when the kingly authority was more firmly established, and the influence of the aristocracy suppressed, that they will fall under our notice among the sports and festivals of England.

While learning and war—the church and the army—were thus provided for, we now turn our eyes to the general condition of society both in town and country. Already, not only "the sweet security of streets" was felt doubly needful in the

new state of things, but also that spirit of centralization had vigorously commenced, which gives birth to national industry, wealth, and civilization. Thus, Bristol, Exeter, Winchester, Gloucester, and Chester, were already populous towns, to which may be added Dunwich, Lynn, Lincoln, and Norwich; and all of them were distinguished either for home or foreign trade, especially the latter, which was carried on with Ireland and the Continent. In like manner, the towns along the coast of England in general, which afterwards rose into opulence, were coming into note through their shipping and commercial enterprise. But even already the court and the Thames had imparted to London that pre-eminence which it still so immeasurably holds over every other English city; and the Latin style of Fitz-Stephen scarcely furnishes him with words of sufficient bulk and weight to describe its magnificence. It contained FORTY THOUSAND inhabitants! In the city and suburbs were 126 parochial churches and thirteen large conventual ones, while Ludgate was the extreme west end of the city. The inhabitants, too, were reckoned something better than mere ordinary citizens, and were called barons—just as the citizens of Rome in ancient times became the patricians of the overgrown Republic. Its traffic was carried on with every country, but chiefly with Germany; and the provisions that were garnered within its granaries, were the chief resource of the surrounding districts during the occasional visits of famine. A trade so brisk and so extensive, he adds, was also properly systematized, so that not only the merchants of every commodity, but the workmen of every craft had their respective places assigned to them. London also was curiously bounded, according to the ideas of the nineteenth century. The city was girdled with a great and high wall, having seven gates which were made double; and on the north and south it had towers and turrets at intervals; but on the south side, the wall was worn out and washed away by the ebb and flow of the Thames.¹ Such was the fate of the river-side fortifications in the time of Fitz-Stephen, and about the same period the stone bridge of London arose in their place, thus connecting both sides of the Thames, which had formerly been wedged asunder. Ludgate, as we have already mentioned, was the west end of London: the space between it and Westminster was a tract of fields and gardens. Smithfield, as yet a suburban locality, was then, as till lately, a cattle market, in which horses, cows, hogs, and other animals were sold. Moorfields was a large lake, formed by the confluence of several streams that turned mills. That great artery of London now called the City

¹ For a more particular account of London wall, the reader is referred to the engraving and note in vol. i. p. 41.

Road, with its countless ramifications of streets, consisted at that time of pasturage and corn-fields; while beyond that rural territory now known as Islington and Pentonville, a large tract of forest extended, stored with wild boars and other game, where the citizens enjoyed the recreation of hunting. Thus much for London, which even at that period was the marvel of foreigners on account of its greatness and its wealth. Well might the German barons who accompanied Richard I. exclaim, when they saw the magnificence of his reception within its walls: "O king! if our emperor had suspected this, you would not have been let off so lightly!"

While adverting to the mercantile character of the English towns, it is necessary to allude to those persons by whom the infant commerce and manufactures of the nation were at this period chiefly promoted. And first, among the men of business, we may mention the Jews, who even at this early period had perceived the facilities which England possessed for gainful traffic, and who flocked thither in great numbers. True to their national character, and the doom imposed upon them of having no abiding home or resting-place, they neither dealt in land nor bulky articles of merchandisc, neither built, created, nor manufactured; on the contrary, they dealt in money, the light symbol and representative of these substantialities; and that they might be enabled to gird up their loins and flee at a moment's warning, without the risk and labour of carrying gold and silver along with them, they symbolized the symbol itself, by the use of bills of exchange and letters of credit, so that they could carry their whole fortune away in the shape of a few scraps of paper or parchment. The towns were the natural abodes of such men, and especially the capital, where they pursued the vocation of money-lenders, and drove a thriving trade, on account of the prodigality of the Norman nobles. The law, too, was greatly in their favour, for while every Christian was prohibited from exacting any interest whatever upon a loan, the Jews were untouched by the statute, and might lay on their percentages to whatever amount they pleased. But although they were thus the brokers of the court, and money-lenders of royalty itself, their very profits made their situation more precarious than that of a farmer of taxes in the French revolution, or a Turkish pasha under the old régime; for like leeches they were compelled to disgorge as often as their tyrants were pleased to turn upon them; and in this way, the English kings were able to draw into the royal treasury the money of the people, without the odium of collecting it. The histories of Richard I. and John show how well these sovereigns understood such a simple and direct mode of finance. But this

was not the worst which these outcasts of the world were compelled to endure; and the record of their sufferings during the crusading frenzy forms one of the most melancholy as well as atrocious episodes in the ancient chronicles of England.

It was fortunate that another class of people were already settled in the country, from whom its mercantile interests were to derive more substantial benefits than could ever be obtained from Jewish usurers. These were Flemish emigrants, who, in consequence of the bursting of their dikes, had been deprived of the territory which they had won from the sea, and were therefore obliged to seek a more permanent home. They first came to England in the time of the Conqueror, and as they were brave as well as industrious men, they were located on the frontier of Wales, where they formed a sort of steady break-water against the stormy invasions of the Welsh. This colony was soon increased by fresh arrivals; and Henry II., perceiving the benefits to be derived from such a people, not only enlarged their territory, but endowed them with many political privileges. England had hitherto not been a manufacturing country, but the arrival of these Flemings introduced the preparation and weaving of wool, so that, in process of time, not only the home market was abundantly supplied with woollen cloth, but a large surplus made for foreign exportation. Unlike the Jews, too, these Flemings, while they formed a gallant border defence against the Welsh, and diffused industrial arts and habits among the English, were not only Christians, but kinsmen of the Anglo-Saxon race, and distinguished for that probity in their commercial dealings which afterwards became the characteristic of the English merchants at large. From England, these Flemings gradually introduced themselves into Scotland, where David I. protected them, and allowed them to be governed by their own laws and usages, so that Flemish corporations were to be found in the chief towns of Fife, Angus, Aberdeen, and Inverness, and in Edinburgh, Peebles, Lanark, Dumbarton, Glasgow, Ayr, and Perth. In this way, not only the Scottish manufactures originated, but the trade of Scotland with Flanders, which continued for centuries, and was of great utility to both countries. How steadfast and true these wool-combers and weavers were to their plighted word when the barons and belted knights of the north stood aloof, or forswore themselves and became traitors, was afterwards manifested in an incident which the whole annals of chivalry cannot surpass. When Berwick was taken by storm in 1297, by Edward I., a building called the Red Hall was occupied by a company of thirty Flemish merchants, whose tenure of occupation was

to defend it against the English to the last. They were summoned to surrender; but, true to their engagement, they continued their hopeless resistance for a whole day, until the building was set on fire, when they perished to a man in the flames.

We now pass from the towns to the rural districts, and from the nobles and citizens to the peasantry of England. In the *Doomsday Book* we find, that besides the land which was private property or common right, there was "terra regis," or land belonging to the crown, either by royal inheritance or forfeiture. Land itself was chiefly measured among the Saxons by the hide, and among the Normans by the caracnte; but whether these measures were the same, or how many acres were comprised in each, it is now difficult to determine. As the expansion of the feudal system after the Norman conquest necessarily multiplied the tenures on which land was held, we now find the peasantry divided into *liberi homines*, or free men; *sochemanni*, or socmen; *bordarii*, or boors; *servi*, probably personal attendants; and *homines*, or men whose service, whatever it was, belonged to the feudal superior. All these seem to have more or less enjoyed a certain amount of personal property or freedom, although of what kind, and to what amount, we are unable to ascertain. Still, however, wherever bondage had existed in the Saxon times, it was either left undisturbed, or altered for the worse, through the right of the conquerors to do what they pleased with their own; and this must have chiefly fallen upon the *villeins*, who still composed the greater part of the English population. It was not, therefore, without cause that the cry was so popular and so frequent for the restoration of the laws of Edward the Confessor. Eadmer, the historian, informs us, that these serfs were so oppressed with exactions in the form of taxes, as sometimes to offer their ploughs to the king, having nothing more to bestow. As for the progress of agriculture, it must have been very slow in England during the whole of this period, on account of the internal wars and commotions that continued almost without a pause from the arrival of William the Conqueror to the death of King John.

The taste of the Normans for magnificent buildings was well attested by the churches, palaces, and castles which they erected in every land where they obtained the predominance; and after the conquest of so rich a country as England, these architectural predilections had scope for full exercise. Accordingly, while the greater part of the principal cathedrals and abbeys of the kingdom owed their origin to this period, a style of architecture was introduced superior to any that had yet been attempted in England. This, indeed was to be expected where Norman

prelates bore rule, and where the resources of the nation were at their command, for the realization of their utmost wishes. Such exertions gave full scope to the swelling ambition and superabundant activity both of bishop and noble, while they were enduring monuments of the power and talent of the founders. We almost lose sight, indeed, of the national oppression under which these glorious buildings arose, in the contrast which such achievements present to the doings of the thanes and bishops of the Anglo-Saxon period. But while monasteries and cathedrals were thus so largely multiplied, castles sprang up in still greater profusion. This was a natural consequence of the tenure by which the conquerors held possession; and during the reign of Stephen the necessity had so greatly increased, that 1115 castles were spread over the land. The style in which these edifices were erected, whether ecclesiastical, castellated, or domestic, was that prevalent at the time in Normandy; but it cannot in strictness be said to have been introduced into England at the Conquest, for Edward the Confessor, who had been brought up in the Norman court, had surrounded himself with Normans, and employed Norman architects on his buildings. It is expressly stated that he built the abbey church of Westminster in a "new style of architecture,"¹ and that many other churches were imitated from it. This must undoubtedly refer to the introduction of the Norman as a great improvement on the Saxon style; and the Conquest, which followed so closely on the death of this king, would extend and confirm the change. These buildings were no doubt considered magnificent in comparison with those which preceded them; but these also in their turn were soon deemed too small, and were swept away with as ruthless a hand as were those of their Saxon predecessors. Even the abbey of Westminster, built by the Confessor, suffered the same fate as the rest, no part, except possibly the crypt, being now in existence.

The Norman style continued in use for about 130 years—that is, until the time of Richard I., about the end of whose reign it passed into the early English style. It may be conveniently divided into three periods—the Early, from the Conquest to 1100; the Middle or enriched, from 1100 to about 1180; and the Transition, from about this time to the end of the century. These dates cannot be absolutely fixed, but are an approximation sufficiently near for general purposes. The Norman style is thus distinguished from the Saxon: in the Saxon the towers were lofty in proportion to their width, and were without buttresses or staircases; their masonry was peculiar,

¹ Quam ipse novo compositionis genere construxerat.—*Matt. Paris.*

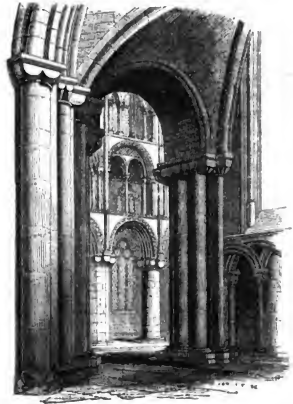
and their windows, when of more than one light, were divided by a rude baluster, supporting a long impost through the thickness of the wall. In the Norman the towers were lower in proportion—were strengthened with buttresses, and had in general staircases, either in projecting turrets or within the thickness of the wall; their masonry had not the peculiar framework or quoins, and their windows were divided by small shafts instead of balusters. The mouldings, too, in the Saxon are few and simple, while in the Norman they are so numerous and ornamental, as to form an important characteristic of the style.

On the first view of a Norman building we are struck with its solid and massive, though somewhat flat appearance, while the absence of a spire, its comparatively low tower, round-headed windows and doors, almost flat buttresses, ornamented string courses, and the use of the zigzag and other mouldings in the most profuse manner, serve at once to distinguish it from any of the later styles. In the interior we find the same character: massive piers, round-headed windows, and a low vaulted or flat ceiling, impart an air of gloomy magnificence, which we never find in the buildings of a later period. This is particularly the case in the early structures; for the Normans, not being good builders, were obliged to compensate for want of skill by piling together immense masses of materials; but even then, instances are recorded of their edifices falling as soon as erected.

The general plan of small churches in this style is that of a parallelogram, consisting of a nave and chancel, with the tower either at the west end or at the junction of the two. In large churches the plan is generally cruciform, the tower being placed at the intersection of the cross, and sometimes the west end is flanked by two towers. The east end frequently terminated in a circular projection or *apse*, and in large conventual buildings or cathedrals there are frequently several of these both at the east end and on the transepts, where they served as chapels. Its vertical arrangements consisted of three tiers or stages, divided by mouldings or string courses, the lower of which was occupied by a semicircular arch resting on piers, separating the nave and choir from the aisles; the second contained the triforium (which in some instances was only a passage in the wall), the front of which opened into the body of the church by an arch, divided by a shaft into two lights, as at Norwich and Winchester Cathedrals, or subdivided into smaller arches, as at Malmesbury. This tier is by some early writers called also the *blind-story*, to distinguish it from the next or *clear-story*, in which are the windows above the aisles. In this upper story, also, there is a passage in the wall.

VOL. I.

When the building was vaulted or intended to be vaulted, a small shaft was carried up from the piers, and from this sprung the ribs and arches



PART OF THE SOUTH TRANSEPT AND NAVE, Peterborough Cathedral.

of the vaulting. In the early Norman buildings, however, the architects did not venture to throw vaults over the large spaces, but contented themselves with covering these with a flat boarded ceiling (as at Peterborough), and vaulting the aisles. The earliest vaults are what are called barrel vaults, that is merely a semi-cylinder reaching from side to side, as in the chapel of the Tower of London. Afterwards plain arches were thrown from pier to pier, and the space between was vaulted with diagonal groins without ribs, as in the crypt at Canterbury. These were at a still later period strengthened by vaulting ribs, which in later times were ornamented with the zigzag and other mouldings.

The piers which support the arches, are in the earlier examples strikingly solid and massive, being merely plain square or circular masses of masonry, sometimes having capitals and bases, and sometimes merely an impost to relieve the outline. The square piers were frequently recessed at the angles, and in some cases had half pillars attached to their sides; and the circular ones in some instances had the plain surface relieved by lines cut in a lozenge or spiral form, as at Durham and Norwich Cathedrals. As the style advanced, these solid piers were reduced to more moderate proportions of round or octagonal pillars, and in the time of the transition were frequently very tall and slender.

The capitals of these piers and pillars are among the most important features of this style. The upper member or *abacus* is in general square, but its profile is also square, having its lower edge sloped or *chamfered* off. It was sometimes cut up into smaller mouldings, but its general form remains; and it continues to the end of the style to be one of its most important characteristics. One

of the earliest forms of the capital, and which with various modifications is found in all periods of the style, is what is called the *cushion capital*. It is frequently divided into two or many parts, and is also sometimes enriched with sculpture of foliage and figures; but under all these modifications it may still be taken as the primary form of the Norman capital. Throughout the whole of the Saxon and Norman period, there is an evident imitation

of the classical styles, and of these the Corinthian seems to have made the greatest impression upon the minds of the workmen. We find in the Saxon capital, the rudest possible imitation of the Corinthian volute, and it forms also one of the most striking marks of the early Norman. The volutes at the angles are distinct, and in place of the caulicoli, a plain block is left, as may be seen in the example from the chapel in the Tower of London, and this form, with some modifications, was in use in early Norman work, and is also very valuable in distinguishing this style. This imitation of the Corinthian capital continued throughout the style,

but it was carried to the greatest perfection in the transition period, during the reigns of Henry II. and Richard I.—a period at which Norman sculpture attained its greatest excellence, as the examples from Oakham Castle and Canterbury Cathedral will evince, in which the volutes, the caulicoli, and the foliage, are all evidently imitated. It may be also noticed, that in

these examples the abacus is no longer square, but has its angles cut off, and in some instances it is circular, thus showing the transition to the circular form of the style that next came into use. The arches were almost universally round-headed, until the period of the transition, when the pointed form was used along with or frequently instead of it. The pointed arch must not be taken as a certain criterion of transition date, as we have examples

of it combined with solid early Norman piers, as at Malmesbury Abbey; but these examples are rare, and the mixture of the two forms may generally be taken as evidence of transition. The windows were universally round-headed, until the transition period. In the early examples they are quite plain, but they had afterwards frequently small shafts in the jambs, as at Steetley, or were enriched with the zig-zag, as at St. Cross. Sometimes they were divided into two lights by a small shaft, and these again were frequently included under a large arch.

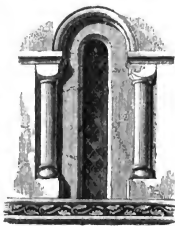
The doorways were the features on which the Norman architects lavished their decorations in



CUSHION CAPITAL.



CAPITAL—Chapel in Tower of London.

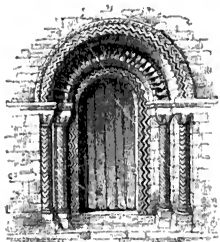
TRANSITION NORMAN CAPITAL,
hall of Oakham Castle.TRANSITION NORMAN CAPITAL,
Canterbury Cathedral.NORMAN WINDOW, Steetley,
Derbyshire.NORMAN WINDOW, St. Cross,
Hampshire.

with some modifications, was in use in early Norman work, and is also very valuable in distinguishing this style. This imitation of the Corinthian capital continued throughout the style,

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The doorways were the features on which the Norman architects lavished their decorations in

greatest profusion; and though perfectly plain doors are to be found in this style, they were more frequently overlaid with ornament—and it is to



NORMAN DOORWAY, Earls-Barton, Northamptonshire.

this circumstance that they owe their preservation. In many instances, where every other part



CHEVRON MOULDING.

of the church has been rebuilt, the doorway has been preserved. Throughout the genuine Norman, the doorways were round-headed, but became pointed in the transition period. The door itself is often square-headed, and the space called the *tympanum*, between that and the arch, is frequently filled with sculpture, representing the three persons of the Trinity, saints, or allegorical devices, as at Barfreston, Ely, Rochester, Malmesbury, &c. The doorways were sometimes six or eight times recessed, and had as many shafts in the jambs; the capitals, imposts, jambs, and arches being elaborately carved with the mouldings peculiar to the style. The most prevalent of these is the zigzag or chevron. It is used in all parts of Norman buildings where ornament could be introduced, and at all periods of the style. It is the most easily executed of all decorations, and is therefore employed by various savage nations, for the ornaments of their weapons and canoes. We find it likewise in debased Roman work; but the most ancient example known, is one on the Nineveh sculptures, brought home by Mr. Layard, where it occurs round the head of a window, as in Norman times, but in this instance it consists of only a single line. The other mouldings used are so numerous, that only a few of the most common can be enumerated. These are the lozenge, the billet, both round and square, the saw-tooth, the cable, the nail-head, the chain, the beak-head, the pellet,

the embattled, &c. Those of the early period, beside the zigzags, consist chiefly of lozenges, the billet, and such others as are shallow and easy of



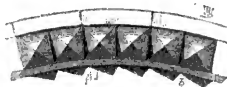
LOZENGE MOULDING.

execution. For the ornamentation of flat spaces, a kind of shallow work cut on the surface in



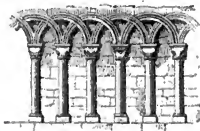
BILLET MOULDING.

various patterns, as lozenges, scalework, &c., was much used. This was called *diaper work*, and was employed for the same purpose both in the



NAIL-HEAD MOULDING.

thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.¹ Small arcades, either simple or interlacing, were also used for the purpose of decoration, particularly on fronts and towers, as at Norwich.

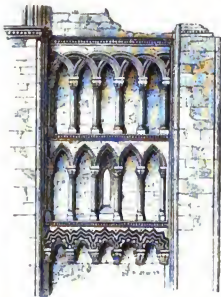


INTERLACING ARCADE, Norwich Cathedral.

The characters here given refer chiefly to the style in its purity; but soon after the middle of the twelfth century, towards the end of the reign of Henry II., a change came over it, by the introduction of the pointed arch. This seems to have been caused by the necessity of vaulting over spaces with unequal sides. It is evident, that though the semicircular arch might suit for the longer space, it would not for the shorter one, and therefore the use of the pointed arch was needed; and this once introduced, its convenience and applicability became so evident, that the use of the semicircular arch in the beginning of the next century, was entirely superseded by the

¹ See cut, St. Edmundsbury gateway, vol. I. p. 247.

pointed one. During this period, it was used not only for convenience but decoration, as may be seen at Oxford Cathedral, and in the remains of the Norman portion of Croyland Abbey, where

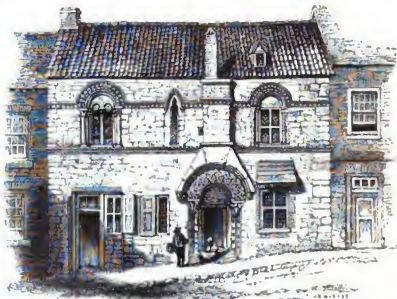


TRANSITION INTERLACING AND POINTED ARCADES.—Part of the west front, Croyland Abbey.

in both cases the round-headed and pointed arcades are used alternately, for the purpose of ornament. The Temple Church, London, and Oxford Cathedral, may be mentioned as good specimens of this period of transition, but by far the most valuable is Canterbury Cathedral. The rebuilding of this church was completed in 1110, and it was dedicated in 1130; but in 1172 it was almost entirely destroyed by fire, and the monks employed a Frenchman, named William of Sens, to rebuild it. He had nearly completed the choir in 1179, when having been injured by a fall, he resigned the work into the hands of another master, called William the Englishman, who continued the work, and completed what is called "Becket's Crown" in 1184. The whole of these proceedings are minutely recorded by Gervase, a monk of the place, who witnessed them, and his narrative is particularly valuable for distinguishing between early and late Norman work. If we examine the remaining portions of the old building, we shall find that they agree exactly in character with the early Norman work at Lincoln and elsewhere, while the portions built between 1172 and 1184 have the pointed arch, and the other features of the transition period.¹

Of the domestic buildings of this period, as

contradistinguished from the castellated, we have a few existing remains, which, though imperfect, can still enable us to trace their original arrangement. The usual ground plan of the house seems to have been a parallelogram, comprising merely a large room or hall, which occupied the entire height of the building, and two rooms at the end of the hall, the lower being the cellar, and the upper the *solar* or sleeping-room, which served also for a sitting-room, and was in fact the only private room in the house. To these a kitchen and other outhouses were attached; and in large houses there was a chapel. The king's houses at the time seem to have had no other accommodation. The hall served for the common living room of the master and his dependants. At one end the floor was raised a little higher than the rest, and on this raised part, which was called the *daïs*, was placed crossways the principal table of the hall, and in the body were the tables for the servants and inferior guests. The floor of the hall served also for their sleeping place, the *solar* being reserved for the master and his family. The hall, as at Oakham Castle, was frequently divided into three parts by rows of pillars and arches, like the nave and aisles of a church; between these pillars curtains were hung, and by this means the aisles were separated from the body of the hall, and the sleeping apartments rendered more private. We find by Saxon MSS., particularly that of Cædmon, that this arrangement prevailed also



THE JEWS' HOUSE, LINCOLN.

in Saxon times, and frequent allusions to it are to be found in the ancient poems and romances.

The hall was usually on the ground floor, but sometimes it was on the first floor; and, in this case, the lower story was vaulted, and the communication with the upper story was by an external staircase. A house of this kind is shown in the Bayeux Tapestry. The Jews' House, Lin-

¹ Professor Willis' *Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral*. [The crypt—see cut, vol. i. p. 280—belongs to the former church; and the capital—figured on p. 370, vol. i.—to the latter.]

court, and the keep; while the main entrance through the outer wall was protected by the barbican, with its narrow archway, and strong gates and portcullis. It was no wonder that with such a net-work of walls, division of courts, and multiplied means for the defenders both of safety and annoyance, the dislodgment of an obnoxious magnate should have been so hard a task even when the royal banner marched against him. While so much was done for security and resistance, nothing was left for domestic comfort but the keep, which formed the residence of the



NORMAN KEEP, Hedingham Castle, Essex.

baron and his family. This was the innermost of all the buildings, to which the defenders retreated only in the last extremity, and was so strongly constructed, that in the ruins of castles it generally survives as a recording monument of departed greatness. A domicile erected on such a principle must, according to our modern ideas, have been sufficiently comfortless, where every window was a shot-hole, and every apartment a battery, and where light could not be admitted without also inviting an enemy. But such as it was, it was the constant home of lordly knights and high-born dames; and, therefore, their taste and ingenuity as well as their resources were employed to make the most of it.

But if the homes of the period still continued to be uncomfortable, all this mattered little with a people who cared not for domestic life, and whose happiness was to be found in action and open display. A large hall in which a crowd could be banquetted, rich armour, splendid dress, and a numerous retinue, constituted the chief insignia of distinction as well as source of happiness for a people who would have found an indoor life a very weariness. In these, therefore, the noble and wealthy of England were not want-

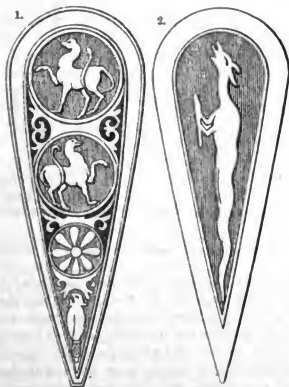
ing. And in the first place, who was that happy individual who paraded himself before the admiring crowd with such pomp and glitter? Had he been Tom, or Dick, or Harry, he would have been nothing, as these simple epithets might have belonged to any one; and he chose an addition to his one name, that the world might perceive he was somewhat. It was usually from the district in which he was born, or the estate which his ancestors had inherited, and hence the foreign places that were so often incorporated in the designations of our old English nobility. He thus showed that he had come from somewhere, and been the son of somebody, even before he fought his way to wealth and distinction at Hastings. If he held a place at court, this circumstance was equally good; and by using its title in addition to his Christian name, all the world could know that he was stabler or door-keeper to the sovereign, and therefore not a person to be overlooked. In this way, the *dapifers* were the chief nobles, and afterwards the Kings of Scotland. Or, if he had the good chance to be the son of an illustrious personage, even though it should be illegitimately, he added his father's name to his own, with the prefix of Fitz, and thus shone by the reflected light of his princely parentage. This distinction of a twofold appellation was so important, that when Henry I., by his right of royal wardship, resolved to bestow the hand of a rich and noble heiress upon his illegitimate son Robert, the lady flatly refused the match. "My father, and my grandfather," said the pouting beauty, "had each two names, and foul shame it were in me to marry a man who has only one." The king soon removed her scruples by giving his son the surname of Fitz-Roy, and the fortunate bridegroom was afterwards that illustrious Earl of Gloucester who so gallantly upheld the cause of Matilda in the reign of Stephen. Another mode of being known and distinguished was by the insignia of heraldry. As the different parts of defensive armour continued to increase until the wearer was completely covered from head to heel, it was generally impossible to recognize him in the confusion of conflict; and as no one cares to do brave deeds anonymously, the difficulty was removed by the adoption of some cognizance from which the champion could be recognized both by friend and enemy. In this case, some trivial ornament at first was thought enough; and thus the illustrious descendants of that count who wore a sprig of broom in his helmet, were afterwards famed throughout Europe for centuries under the name of Plantagenet. Sometimes the cognizance was a favourite war-cry by which a leader animated his followers, or summoned them to the rescue. Sometimes it was an animal or other figure painted upon the shield,

which, like a sign-board, announced the resident of the iron mass behind it. In this way, quartered



SHIELD BEARING BADGE, HELMET, SWORD, AND BANNER.—FROM a MS. in the Bibliothèque de Mans.

shields and embroidered surcoats, and crests and mottoes, grew into notice, and expanded into the



SHIELDS BEARING BANNERS.—1, FROM a MS. Bible in the Bibliothèque Impériale, Brussels, Dépôt des Cordeliers. 2, From a Psalter in the same collection.

complicated science of heraldry. Besides these different modes, the nobility of the period sought distinction in the throng of their followers; and these trains, especially in a long journey, were

generally composed of strange materials. As inns were out of the question at this time throughout England, all the necessaries for an encampment or a bivouac had to be carried along with them; and thus waggons of provisions, ale, dress, and furniture accompanied the march. As feuds were frequent, and robber-barons to be found in every county, this singular retinue was defended in front, flank, and rear, by knights, squires, and spearmen, who were ready for the worst, though each mile should bring them a fresh encounter. And finally, as such a kind of travelling was rather dull without the resources of amusement, jesters, dancers, mimics, and dice, and sometimes still more questionable characters, formed part of the procession. All this upon a large scale was exhibited in the royal progresses of Henry II., as we learn from the letters of Peter of Blois; and we can easily conjecture how in such cases royalty was imitated by nobility.

But it was in dress that the Norman aristocracy of England chiefly showed their rank, wealth, and taste; and in this they resembled their ancestors the Danes, whose love of gay clothing and rich ornaments was almost equal to their craving for bloodshed and plunder. A liking of this nature could not well exist without capricious mutations, and therefore the changes in fashion from the time of William the Conqueror to that of Henry III., were so many, that it becomes difficult as well as tiresome to follow them. At one time the hair of the men was shorn closely behind, and the upper lip shaved; at another, the hair was worn of such effeminate length that the church took the alarm; and while the practice was denounced by edicts, the long flowing locks of the male part of a congregation were often menaced by shears and razor, which the preachers plucked from their sleeves, when they arrived at the practical application of their sermons. Nay, on one occasion of this kind, when long beards were the order of the day, the Bishop of Sees, after declaiming against them before Henry I. and his courtiers, descended at the end of the discourse, and with his scissors cropped off the beards both of king and congregation. After such clerical rebukes, it is no wonder if, at the close of this period, we sometimes find the pictures of men without beard or mustachio—more especially as monks were the limners. Even when the hair was not sufficiently long for the exquisite taste of the wearer, he sometimes enriched it with false locks, and thus flaunted a streamer that equalled the gayest. But what country or generation has been free of such head-fopperies, from the ancient Egyptian periwig in the glass case of the British Museum, to the pig-tail that still languidly lingers between the shoulders of the octogenarian? As for the gene-

ral articles of dress at this period, they consisted of a hood, or a cap, shaped like a Scottish bonnet, a cloak, a tunic, a pair of long tight hose, leg bandages, and shoes or short boots. All this, however, was but the ground-work, which fashion over-

could endure the heat of a Syrian campaign under a heavy load of armour, and fight gallantly from morning to night upon a fair field!

In all these fopperies, the male sex appear to have so completely anticipated the ladies, that

little change can be found to have taken place in female costume and ornament. The gown and kerchief were still the principal articles of outer clothing, while the hair, which was worn long, was at one time plaited, and at another inclosed in a silken case, or bound with a ribbon. The under garment or tunic, where the front was given to view, was laced up, while its sleeves were so long that they were sometimes knotted up to prevent them from trailing on the ground— and the same was the



GENTLEMEN OF THE TIME OF JOHN.—From an enamelled cup, presented by King John to the town of Lynn.

case with the kerchiefs or veils, which would otherwise have dragged behind like a train. But these exaggerations were abandoned during the reign of Henry II., when a better taste dis-

laid or transmuted at pleasure. In this way, the cloaks became long or short; the sleeves of the tunic were sometimes so lengthened, that the hand was overlapped and concealed; while the boots and shoes, instead of being adapted to the shape of the foot, and the convenience of walking or riding, were curled up at the points like rams' horns, and sometimes were fastened to the knee with a gold chain. To such extravagance was this fashion, which seems to have been an European one, afterwards carried in Germany, that the Austrian men-at-arms were unable to charge the Swiss at the battle of Sempach, until they had hewn off their boot points, which were so plentiful, the ballad informs us, that they would have filled a waggon. The costliness of the stuff of which these different articles of dress were made, and the richness with which they were befurred and embroidered, was a matter of great import; and William Rufus on one occasion threw away a new pair of hose, because they cost only three shillings, declaring that a king should wear nothing so cheap. He seems to have been of a different opinion from King Stephen, that "worthy peer," who thought his hose too dear at half-a-crown. Towards the close of this period, the bonnet was sometimes discarded, that the hair might be more fully seen and admired; and in this case, the exquisites of the time of King John wreathed their long locks into ringlets with curling-tongs, and bound them with gay ribbons. At other times, a streamer was attached to the hood, of such preposterous length that it nearly reached the middle of the leg. And yet, these were the men who



SLEEVE OF TWELFTH CENTURY, AND FEMALE WITH LONG KNOTTED SLEEVES. From a Psalter in Douce's Collection.

carded the long knotted sleeves and skirts for a more succinct and graceful costume. In this case, the gown was gathered closely to the waist with a girdle, and the veil demurely fastened beneath the chin, so that the whole head was covered. Sometimes the younger ladies wore their hair short and curled, while the elder ones appear with a hood, furnished with a long streamer behind, like that of the gentlemen. The female ornaments of gold and articles of jewellery may be presumed to have been nearly or altogether the same as in the former period, as rings, chains, and brooches are adapted to every taste, and not liable to the mutations of more flexible or transitory articles.

In turning to the domestic style of life which now prevailed in England, we find that, with all



LONG TRESSES AND FEMALE COSTUME.—From sculptures on the Port de Macon, Rouen Cathedral.

the additional splendour which was introduced, little improvement was as yet made in the sub-



LADIES OF THE TIME OF JOHN.—From an enamelled cup, presented by King John to the town of Lynn.

stantial comforts of a home. The floor was still carpeted, or rather littered, with rushes, however lordly might be the hall; and as these rushes appear to have been seldom renewed, they must have been plentiful receptacles both of damp and dust. On this account Fitz-Stephen quotes it as an instance of the princely magnificence of Thomas à Becket when chancellor, that he caused the floor of his dining-room to be covered every morning with clean straw or hay in winter, and green branches of trees in summer. The historian, however, adds a startling fact which we could not otherwise have surmised, and it is—that all this was for the comfort of those guests who were obliged at dinner to sit upon the floor, from no room being found for them at table! The

general regulations in the daily routine of a household may be learned from the following rhyme of the period, which had probably all the authority of a well-established proverb:—

“ Lever a cinque, diner a neuf,
Souper a cinque, coucher a neuf,
Fait vivre d'ans nonante et neuf.”

To rise at five, to dine at nine,
To sup at five, to bed at nine,
Makes a man live to ninety and nine.

Here we have a four hours' morning fast before the first meal, followed by eight hours of endurance before the second and last succeeded. This, and only two meals a-day, was perhaps the most marked change effected by the Conquest, when the four, and sometimes five heavy Saxon meals *per diem* of the preceding period are taken into account. Another striking change was in the new nomenclature imposed upon the articles of diet. While feeding and rearing, the animals suited to the table retained their Saxon names, but as soon as they were killed they became, to all intents, Norman. Thus, a cow became beef, a calf veal, a sheep mutton, a sow pork, a deer venison, and a fowl a pullet. Amidst these

transitions it is somewhat significant that bacon remained unaltered. We formerly noticed the large droves of swine that constituted the principal live stock of the Anglo-Saxon farmers. Their conquerors were probably too proud, as well as too dainty, to meddle with such fare, and had therefore left it untouched, as only fitted for the vanquished.

Of the style of cookery during the Norman period we only know that rich spices were in plentiful use, and that the Normans themselves were not only moderate but also dainty eaters—epicures in the best sense of the term, in

contrast to the Saxons, who, we must confess, were sheer gluttons in comparison. We learn the names of several choice dishes in Blount's *Ancient Tenures*, such as *diligroust*, *karumpie*, *maupigirnum*, but of what they consisted, or how they were prepared, we are left wholly in the dark. At solemn feasts the boar's head—that long after continued to be the chief ornament of the baronial hall and Christmas festival—was already a dainty dish, and as such was brought in at the coronation of Prince Henry, eldest son and junior king to Henry II., amidst a loud blare of trumpets. The peacock, in like manner, was such a cherished ornament of the table that either already, or soon after, kings, knights, and nobles, were wont to swear solemnly over it before they ate it, when

they pledged themselves to some great chivalrous enterprise. The crane was a bird for the common meals of nobles and princes. The finest wheat was made into simnel and wastel cakes, and spice-bread (*panis piperatus*), and used at the tables of the rich, in addition to common loaves; and the chief drinks, as before, were spiced wines, morat, pigment, and hippocras, for the wealthy, and ale and cider for the middle classes. But that much coarseness and discomfort still predominated at the board both of castle and palace—and that, too, at the period of Henry II.—may be learned from the following copious description, given by Peter of Blois, who doubtless had endured his full share of the annoyances he describes:—"I often wonder how any one who has been used to the service of scholarship and the camps of learning, can endure the annoyances of a court life. Among courtiers there is no order, no plan, no moderation, either in food, in horse-exercise, or in watchings. A priest or a soldier attached to the court has bread put before him which is not kneaded, not leavened, made of the dregs of beer; bread like lead, full of bran and unbaked; wine spoiled, either by being sour or mouldy—thick, greasy, rancid, tasting of pitch, and vapid. I have sometimes seen wine so full of dregs put before noblemen, that they were compelled rather to filter than drink it, with their eyes shut and their teeth closed, with loathing and retching. The beer at court is horrid to taste and filthy to look at. On account of the great demand, meat, whether sweet or not, is sold alike: the fish is four days old, yet its stinking does not lessen its price. The servants care nothing whatever whether the unlucky guests are sick or dead, provided there are fuller dishes sent up to their masters' tables. Indeed, the tables are filled (sometimes) with carrion, and the guests' stomachs thus become the tombs for those who die in the course of nature. Indeed, many more deaths would ensue from this putrid food, were it not that the furnishing greediness of the stomach (which, like a whirlpool, will suck in anything) by the help of powerful exercise, gets rid of everything. But if the courtiers cannot have exercise (which is the case if the court stays for a time in town), some of them always stay behind at the point of death."

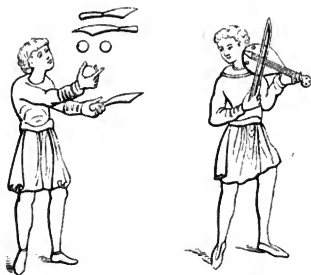
Such was the sorry kind of life enjoyed or endured by the paladins of Henry II. Well might they be trained and hardened for the worst that soon after was to be encountered in the crusade of Richard I. Indeed, after such an account, we may almost question if the story, which the minstrels of the day recorded, of Richard himself having eaten a Saracen boy, cooked into the likeness of pork, was wholly fabulous.

Of the sports and pastimes of England during

this period, the authors and illuminated MSS. of the day are so full, that in most cases a brief notice is all we can afford. In regard to the sedentary amusements, dicing, as might be expected among such a military people as the Normans and Saxons, was keenly practised during the intervals of peace as a substitute for the excitement of conflict. It was at a game of dice, as we have seen, that the young sons of William the Conqueror were employed at the town of L'Aigle, when the dangerous quarrel broke out among them. Ten different games of dice were practised at the period; and so prevalent had these become that Richard I. of England, and his royal brother of France, were obliged, while on their way to Palestine, to enact the most stringent laws against them. By these it was decreed that only the two kings might play, and such of their retainers as they were pleased to command to that effect, and in their own presence; but in this case no noble, knight, or priest, was to lose more than 20s. in one day and night, under a penalty of four times that amount. In the same manner the servants of archbishops, bishops, earls, and barons, might play at the command of their masters; but if any menials presumed to partake of such indulgences without leave, they were to be whipped naked round the camp on three successive days. The same was to be the punishment of every soldier under the rank of priest or knight, while every sailor so offending was to be ducked three times in the sea. As it was known, however, that these rules were likely to be often infringed, in spite of the terrors of flogging and ducking, the offender was allowed to escape the punishment on payment of a fine towards the redemption of the holy sepulchre. The evil, however, went on in spite of the denunciations of the church, and even the halls of monasteries were pervaded with the rattle of the dice-box, while estates were lost and won, and hot blood and quarrels excited by the practice. This profusion with which property was staked was the natural consequence of the facility with which it had been acquired, and the Norman conquerors of England only acted as robbers or pirates were wont to do after every fortunate windfall.

But gambling, however attractive, was not sufficient for the castle of the Norman noble, where himself and his numerous throng of retainers lived in garrison, surrounded by dangerous rivals and an unsettled people; and other indoor sports were gladly welcomed to enliven the dulness of the passing day. For this purpose, there was the Norman troubadour and the Saxon gleeman, who led a homeless but merry life, wandering from hamlet to hamlet, and from tower to tower, singing to harp or rote the achievements of Rollo and Charlemagne, or the wild romances

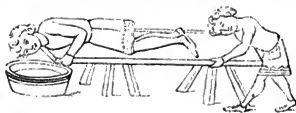
of the early Heptarchy. Next to these, were companies of strolling dramatists, who acted what the others sang; and as their plays were sufficiently coarse, both in language and incident, being adapted to the taste of their auditories, they were condemned by the church, while every priest was forbid to attend or countenance them. Then, there were buffoons, jesters, and mimics—men whose business it was to create the luxury of a laugh, and drive a trade in jokes; and posture-masters, tumblers, and dancers, who astonished the onlookers by their feats of agility. And though last not least, there was the juggler,



JUGGLER AND MUSICIAN.—Cotton MS. Tib. C. 6.

who generally headed the party, and whose feats in the art of sleight-of-hand imparted to the full what the poet calls "the pleasure of being cheated." Besides these feats of conjuration, he often exhibited that play of balls and knives which is still of common practice at every village fair, and which never ceases to startle the wondering or sympathizing spectators. These strange bands, who appear from the writers of the period to have been very numerous, were in all likelihood chiefly composed of Saxons dispossessed by the Conquest—men who had no alternative between such a precarious life, and that of outlaws in the greenwood—and who afterwards pursued from habit and inclination an employment they had adopted from necessity. In this way they recovered from their proud masters a small pittance of their own original inheritance, or amused their sorrowing countrymen amidst the severe inflictions of the Norman ascendancy. We find that not only men, women, and children were employed in these feats of dexterity and strength, but also bears, horses, and monkeys, who were taught to dance, fetch, and carry, and imitate the actions of human beings. Among the in-door amusements of the common people of this time, the game of *bob-apple* seems to have been a favourite. The tempting fruit was to be caught with the

mouth as it floated in a large tub of water, while the diver was to attempt it poised upon his two



BOB-APPLE.—MS. Royal Library, 2. B. VII.

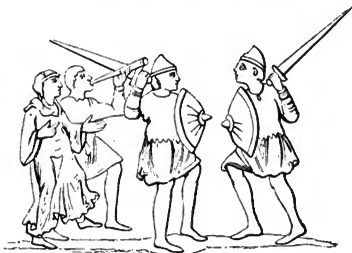
hands, and leaning in ticklish balance over the flood below. To add also to his chance of a good ducking, the end of the platform on which he rested might be tilted up, by which his equipoise, however exact, was easily destroyed. Another mode of this game was to suspend the apple from the ceiling by a string, and attempt to secure it with the teeth only; and in this case, the abortive mumblings of the players afforded full scope for jeers and merriment.

Such, as we learn from paintings and chronicles, were the chief sedentary amusements of England during the period. In passing to the active sports, the first place must be given to hunting, as it formed not only so important a part in the history of the country, but was so fruitful a source of its misery. Mention has already been made of the depopulation of the New Forest, which the Conqueror appropriated to himself, and converted into a royal hunting ground. The great feudal Norman barons, among whom the land was subdivided, and who ruled over their own territory with regal authority, were not slow to imitate the example of the sovereign; and thus they inclosed large portions of their baronies for the preservation of game, having first destroyed the cottages, and driven out the occupants. In this way, new forests upon a limited scale were multiplied over the whole of England, and guarded with such jealous care by their proprietors, that to hunt the king's deer was visited with the penalties of high treason, while a trespass upon the inclosures of a noble was frequently expiated with loss of life or mutilation of limb. When the hunt was up, the same reckless disregard of common justice and humanity prevailed: the lordly train drove headlong through pasture-land and corn-field, indifferent to the desolation they occasioned or the families they ruined; while the wretched peasantry, instead of being permitted to bemoan themselves in their hovels, were obliged to wait at the door with food and refreshments for those who were thus trampling down their harvests. This furious love of hunting, too, was not confined to the nobler animals of game—to wild boars and stags—but descended even to rabbits; and in one of the illuminated MSS. of the period, we have a king and

his attendants employed at full gallop in a rabbit-hunt. As many of the Anglo-Norman ladies partook of the military character, and had shared in the dangers of their lords, they were not to be excluded from a pleasure so suited to their dispositions; and therefore they too pursued the deer with hound and horn, and brought down the quarry with their arrows. Next to hunting, was the sport of hawking, which, as we have seen, had been in full favour in England prior to the Conquest. To the Norman nobles, however, it does not seem to have been sufficiently accompanied with stir, danger, and excitement, and therefore they left it as an effeminate amusement to women and priests. Horse-racing, which was practised upon a small scale in England, in the days of Bede and his contemporaries, does not as yet seem to have made great progress: indeed, during the whole period of chivalry, when mail-clad men were almost exclusively the riders, strength rather than speed was chiefly valued in a horse. We learn, however, from Fitz-Stephen, the biographer of Thomas à Becket, that horse-racing was occasionally practised with war-horses and hackneys in Smithfield.

While the active sports of the nobility of England were those of conquerors and tyrants, those of the common people were both few and cheerless. Hunting and hawking were out of the question, on account of the exclusive jealousy with which these amusements were guarded; and beyond a little poaching on their own grounds with clap-net and crossbow, with small birds for their game, they appear to have had nothing better—except, indeed, when they repaired to Sherwood, and enlisted among the bold outlaws of Robin Hood. We find, however, from the MSS. of the period, that several of those games, which are now the favourites of the commons of England, were in equal practice among the peasantry in the days of the earliest Plantagenets, and had perhaps been imported by their ancestors from the shores of the Baltic. The chief of these was bowling. Another, commonly called the game of kayle-pins, consisted in striking down small conical pieces of wood with the throw of a cudgel—a sport almost the same as that of nine-pins, now so common among children and schoolboys, and which is still kept up at country fairs, where the top of each pin supports a prize to reward the successful thrower. Cudgel-playing, and the fence of sword and buckler, are frequent in the pictorial delineations of this era, and were in great favour among the English commons, as they have always been among every martial people, in spite of the dangers with which they are attended. A more sportive form of

these warlike amusements was the sword-dance, which was performed to the sound of music. In a picture of this kind, two dancers are manoeuvring against each other with large swords and bucklers, while every movement is directed by a bag-piper's melody, so that the combatants know when to strike and ward in perfect safety. Amidst



SWORD-DANCE AND PIPER.—From Strutt.

these rougher sports, wrestling was certain not to be neglected; and one warlike form which it assumed, was the tilting of men horsed upon the backs or shoulders of their companions, where each grappled with his antagonist, and endeavoured to throw him to the ground. Foot-racing and the game of foot-ball, spear-throwing, and archery are also included among the sports of the period; while cock-fighting, bull-baiting, and bear-baiting—these chief amusements of a later day—appear to have been already commenced in England among the larger towns. Fitz-Stephen also describes a game in vogue among the London citizens which may be called the water-tournament, or rowing (not riding) at the ring,



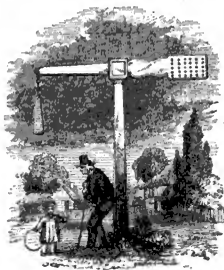
WATER-TOURNAMENT.—MS. Royal Library, 2. B. VII.

which was performed in the following fashion:—A mast was set up in the midst of the river Thames, to which a shield was nailed; a boat was rowed at full speed against it, and a man standing in warlike attitude at the stern, with his lance or pole couched, took aim at the shield as he flew past it. But woe to the luckless wight who could not retain a firm footing, while his weapon closed or was shivered in the encounter! in this case, he was thrown backward like an unhorsed knight, and laid sprawling in the depths of the river, amidst a peal of universal

merriment. But as drowning in addition to discomfiture would have been too much, boats were always in readiness to fish up the unsuccessful, so that nothing worse occurred than a sound ducking. The same drolling imitation of the sports of chivalry was practised on land. A pole of sufficient height was planted in the ground, at the top of which a transverse beam, having at one end a bag of sand and at the other

giant, and unseated the unlucky tilter by a blow between the shoulders, unless he eluded it by dexterous ducking or sharp spurring. By these two sports of land and water, the citizens and peasantry of England might furtively caricature the solemn military games of their Norman oppressors, and enjoy the merriment and stir of a tournament, without the bloodshed and broken bones with which it was usually accompanied.

Such is a brief sketch of the sports and amusements of the people of England during this period of transition. We know well that many others must have existed among them, in consequence of the exclusively Saxon character with which the sports of after periods were strikingly pervaded, when happier times than the present recalled them into active exercise. But from the Conquest to the death of John, the unfortunate natives were compelled to feel that they were a conquered people; and holding their very lives, as they did, at the pleasure of the victors, the spirit of nationality was almost crushed out of them, so that they were in no mood to play and be merry. But even at the close of this period, political causes were in operation through which they were to recover their rights, and become the free and independent people they had once been. Hereafter, therefore, we shall be enabled to recognize a more distinct, as well as more happy national physiognomy in the character and condition—the avocations and amusements—of the commons of “merry England.”



ANCIENT QUINTAIN, at Otford, Kent.

a board, revolved as easily as a weathercock to the touch. This board constituted the mark at which the peasantry, mounted on their clumsy untrained horses, rode with staves couched in full career; but no sooner was the board struck than the sand-bag revolved like the fist of a

BOOK IV.

PERIOD FROM THE ACCESSION OF HENRY III. TO THE END OF THE REIGN OF RICHARD II.—183 YEARS.

FROM A.D. 1216—1399.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

England.		Germany.	
1216 HENRY III.	1314 LOUIS X.	1212 FREDERIC II.	1276 ADRIAN V.
1272 EDWARD I.	1316 PHILIP V.	1251 CONRAD IV.	1276 JOHN XXI.
1307 EDWARD II.	1322 CHARLES IV.	1254 INTERREGNUM.	1277 NICHOLAS III.
1327 EDWARD III.	1328 PHILIP VI.	1273 RODOLPH.	1281 MARTIN IV.
1377 RICHARD II.	1350 JOHN.	1292 ADOLPHUS.	1285 HONORIUS IV.
	1364 CHARLES V.	1298 ALBERT I.	1287 NICHOLAS IV.
	1380 CHARLES VI.	1308 HENRY VII.	1294 CELESTINE V.
Scotland.		1314 LOUIS V.	1294 BONIFACE VIII.
1249 ALEXANDER III.	Castile and Leon.	1347 CHARLES IV.	1303 BENEDICT XI.
1286 MARGARET.		1378 WENCESLAUS.	1305 CLEMENT V.
1292 JOHN BALIOL.	1230 FERDINAND III.		1316 JOHN XXII.
1296 INTERREGNUM.	1252 ALPHONSO X.		1334 BENEDICT XIII.
1306 ROBERT I.	1284 SANCHE IV.		1342 CLEMENT VI.
1329 DAVID II.	1295 FERDINAND IV.		1352 INNOCENT VI.
1371 ROBERT II.	1312 ALPHONSO XI.		1362 URBAN V.
1390 ROBERT III.	1350 PEDRO.		1370 GREGORY XI.
France.			1378 URBAN VI. and CLEMENT VII.
1223 LOUIS VIII.	1366 HENRY II.		1389 BONIFACE IX. and CLEMENT VII.
1226 LOUIS IX.	1367 PEDRO (restored).		1394 BONIFACE IX. and BENEDICT XIII.
1270 PHILIP III.	1369 HENRY II. (restored).		
1285 PHILIP IV.	1379 JOHN I.		
	1390 HENRY III. and CATHERINE OF LANCASTER.		

CHAPTER I.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.

HENRY III., SURNAMED OF WINCHESTER.—ACCESSION, A.D. 1216—DEATH, A.D. 1272.

Henry III. succeeds his father John—The Earl of Pembroke appointed Protector—The Dauphin attempts to obtain the crown of England—His various encounters—His defeat at Lincoln—Defeat of a French fleet off Dover—The Dauphin compelled to abandon England—Reforms made in the laws—Earl of Pembroke dies—Quarrels among his successors in the regency—War proclaimed against France—Its inglorious termination—Hubert de Burgh, the chief minister, cruelly treated—Peter des Roches, his successful rival, banished—Henry III. marries Eleanor—Influx of foreigners into England—Unpopularity of Henry—He makes war on France—He is defeated—Applies to parliament for aid, and is refused—His iniquitous shifts to raise money—His solemn promises and oaths to parliament—His wasteful attempts to obtain Sicily for one of his sons—He is dismayed by an armed meeting of his parliament—The Earl of Leicester heads their opposition—Meeting of the "Mad Parliament" at Oxford—Its character and proceedings—The barons divided among themselves—Henry III. prepares to oppose them—A civil war commences—Leicester defeats Henry near Lewes—Prince Edward escapes from captivity—Edward raises an army—He defeats and slays Leicester at the battle of Evesham—Henry III. restored to the throne—Prince Edward departs to the Holy Land—Death of Henry III.

AS soon as they had buried John at Worcester, the Earl of Pembroke, the marshal of England, marched with the royal army and Prince Henry, the deceased king's eldest son, to the city of Gloucester. On the day after their arrival, being the feast of St. Simon and St. Jude, Oct. 28th, 1216, Henry was crowned in the church of St. Peter, belonging to the abbey of Gloucester, by Gualo, the pope's legate, whose services in supporting the royal cause

were of great value and efficacy. The ceremony was precipitated; no English bishops were present, except those of Winchester, Bath, and Worcester; no lay nobles, save the Earls of Chester, Pembroke, and Ferrers, and four barons. The scanty retinue was completed by a few abbots and priors. The prince took the usual oaths "upon the gospels and relics of saints." The crown had been lost, with the rest of the regalia, in the Wash, and, instead of it, Gualo put a plain ring of gold on his head. Henry was only ten years old when he went through these solemnities, without understanding

them. It required no great force or persuasion to induce him to consent to do homage to the pope for England and Ireland, and to swear to pay the 1000 marks a-year which his father had promised. The clergy of Westminster and Canterbury, who considered their rights invaded by this hurried and informal coronation, appealed to Rome for redress; Gualo excommunicated the appellants, who, however, persevered; and this matter occasioned considerable trouble, which did not end till the ceremony was repeated in a more regular manner.

A great council was held at Bristol on the 11th of November following; and there the Earl of Pembroke was chosen Protector, with the title of *Rector Regis et Regni*. His pure character and many eminent qualities—his temper, prudence, and conciliating manners—his experience in public affairs, and his military skill—all seemed to point him out as the most eligible person; but some jealousies arose on the part of the great Earl of Chester, and Pembroke did not assume the style of "Rector" till the end of the month of November. At the same great council of Bristol, Magna Charta was carefully, and on the whole skilfully revised, with the view of satisfying the demands of the barons who adhered to Louis, without sacrificing the royal prerogative. These measures, however, were not considered conclusive, for Pembroke prudently left several clauses open for future discussion, when all the barons of the kingdom should be reconciled, and should meet again in one council. As yet the greater number of the nobles were on the side of Louis, who not only held London and the rich provinces of the south, but was powerful both in the north and the west, where the King of Scotland and the Princes of Wales supported his cause.²



HENRY III.—From his tomb in Westminster Abbey.

When Louis learned the death of John, he fancied that all opposition would presently cease.

To take advantage of the consternation which he fancied must prevail among the royal party, he again pressed the siege of Dover Castle with great vigour, and, finding himself still incapable of taking it by force, he skilfully worked upon the fears and misgivings of the garrison, representing to them that they were fighting for a king who no longer existed, and whose death freed them from the obligation of their oaths of fealty. He tempted the governor, the brave Hubert de Burgh, with the most magnificent offers; and, when these failed, he threatened to put Hubert's brother to death. But threats were as ineffectual as promises; and, finding he was losing precious time, the French prince finally raised the siege, and returned to London, where the Tower, which had hitherto held out, was given up to him on the 6th of November. From London Louis marched to Hertford, and laid siege to the castle there, which he took on the 6th of December. He then attacked the castle of Berkhamstead, which he reduced on the 20th of the same month. Both these castles made a stout resistance, costing him many men; and the taking of that of Berkhamstead was a loss rather than a gain, for it led to a quarrel with Robert

Fitz-Walter, to whom he refused the custody of the castle. But his mistrust of the English was made every day more evident. From Berkhamstead Louis marched to St. Alban's, where he threatened to burn the vast abbey to the ground if the abbot did not come forth and do him homage as legitimate King of England; but the abbot, it is said, escaped on paying a fine of eighty marks of silver. For a long period the carnage of war had been brought to a pause, by unanimous consent, on the seasons of our Saviour's birth and suffer-

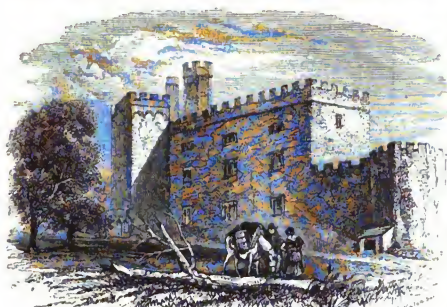
¹ The tomb of Henry III. is on the north side of the shrine of the Confessor, and has been richly ornamented with inlaid work. On the top lies the effigy of the king. On the head is a crown of very simple and elegant form. His hands have supported the sceptre and orb, which have been removed. Over the left shoulder is thrown the royal mantle, fastened on the right by a fermail or clasp. Beneath is the tunic. On the legs are boots, on which are represented, as embroidered in fret work, golden lions passant-guardant; the same ornament decorates a square and a lozenge-shaped pillow which are placed under the head. The style in

which this image is executed is of the finest cast; it is very probably Italian workmanship. The folds of the drapery are beautifully disposed, and the head has much of the simple majesty of the antique or Greek school. Sandford gives this inscription as remaining, in uncial characters, round the tomb of Henry III. :—

ICI GIST HENRI IADIS REY DE ENGLITERRRE REYNOMR DE IRLAYNDE DVC DE AQUITAYNE LE FILZ LE ROY IOHAN IADIS REY DE ENGLITERRRE A KZ DEV FACE MERCY AMEN.

² Rymer; Carte; M. Paris.

ing. Christmas was now at hand, and a truce was agreed upon which was to last till a fortnight | sturdy patriots, who treated him very roughly, and would have made him a prisoner, but for the



HERTFORD CASTLE.—From an old view in the British Museum.

after the Epiphany. At the expiration of this truce Pembroke willingly agreed to another, which did not expire till some days after the festival of Easter. Each party hoped to gain by this long armistice, and both were extremely active during its continuance. Louis, in Lent, went over to France to procure supplies of men and money; and Pembroke recruited in England, and drew off many of the nobles, during the absence of the French prince. Louis left the government in the hands of Enguerrand de Coucy, a nobleman of great quality, but of very little discretion, under whose misrule the French became more arrogant than ever, and the English barons were made to feel that, by securing the throne to a foreign prince, they should impose upon themselves foreign nobles for masters. At the same time the clergy, in obedience to the orders of Gualo the legate, read the sentence of excommunication in the churches every Sunday and holiday against the partizans of Louis. Hubert de Burgh, as constable of Dover Castle and warden of the Cinque ports, was in constant communication with the best mariners in England, and he kept them true to young Henry. Philip d'Albiny put himself at the head of a popular party in Sussex, where one William de Collingham collected a thousand gallant archers—rough English yeomen, who would allow of no truce with the French, and cared not for the armistice concluded by the Earl of Pembroke. On his way to the coast, Louis came into collision with these

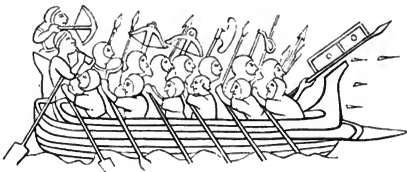
sent the Count of Perche with 600 knights and 20,000 armed men to relieve it. On their march, this mixed army of English, French, Flemings, and all kinds of mercenaries, committed great havoc, plundering the peaceful inhabitants, and wantonly burning the churches and monasteries. They succeeded, however, in their first object, Pembroke's forces raising the siege, and retiring before superior numbers. Flushed with this success, the Count of Perche marched away to Lincoln; the town received him, but the castle resisted; and when he laid siege to it, he was foiled by a woman—Nichola, the widow of Gerard de Camville, who held the custody of Lincoln Castle by hereditary right, and made a brave defence. While the confederates were wholly occupied with this siege, Pembroke suddenly collected a force of 400 knights, 250 cross-bowmen, many yeomen on horseback, and a considerable body of foot, and appeared before Lincoln in admirable order. The count for a time would not believe that the English would venture to attack him within a walled town; and though his superiority in cavalry would have given him an advantage in the open country, he rejected the advice of some English barons who were with him, and would not march out of the town. He continued to batter the castle until he found himself engaged in a fatal street contest. To animate Pembroke's force, Gualo now excommunicated Prince Louis by name, and pronounced the curse of the church against all his adherents, dispensing, at the same time, full absolution, and promises of eternal life, to the other party. The regent took advantage, in the most skilful manner, of the count's blunder: he threw all his crossbows into the castle by means of a postern.

¹ The remains of Hertford Castle consist of little more than an embattled wall and a mound, probably the base of the keep. An edifice of brick was built on the site of the castle, probably late in the time of James I., or in that of Charles I., or perhaps then re-edified, as some parts of it appear of earlier date.

These yeomen made great havoc on the besiegers by shooting from the castle walls; and seizing a favourable opportunity, they made a sortie, drove the enemy from the inside of the northern gate of the city, and enabled Pembroke to enter with all his host. The French cavalry could not act in the narrow streets and lanes: they were wounded and dismounted, and at last were obliged to surrender in a mass. The victory was complete: as usual, the foot-soldiers were slaughtered, but the "better sort" were allowed quarter: only one knight fell, and that was the commander, the Count of Perche, who threw away his life in mere pride and petulance, swearing that he would not surrender to any English traitor. This battle, facetiously called by the English "the Fair of Lincoln," was fought on Saturday, the 20th of May, 1217.

Its effect was to keep Louis cooped up within the walls of London, where plots and disturbances soon forced him to propose terms of accommodation. In the middle of June a conference was held at a place between Brentford and Hounslow, but it led to nothing.

Philip of France had been so scared by the threats of Rome, that he durst not send reinforcements in his own name; but he urged that he could not prevent Blanche of Castile, the wife of his son Louis, from aiding her own husband in his extremity; and under this cover another fleet and army were prepared for England. It was not till the 23d of August that this fleet could sail from Calais: it consisted of eighty great ships, and many smaller vessels, having on board 300 choice knights, and a large body of infantry. On the next day, the great festival of St. Bar-



SHIP OF THE TIME.¹ War Galley with iron prow or beak.—Camb. Matt. Paris.

tholomew, as they were attempting to make the estuary of the Thames, in order to sail up the



SEA FIGHT.²—Matt. Paris, Bennett Coll. C. V. XVI.

river to London, they were met by the hero of Dover Castle, the gallant De Burgh. Hubert had only forty vessels great and small, but he gained

the weather-gage, and by tilting at the French with the iron beaks of his galleys, sunk several of the transports with all on board. He after-

¹ Vessels of this kind seem to have been constructed in imitation of the war-galley of the Greeks and Romans, being fitted with a formidable beak of iron for the purpose of running into and splitting the vessels opposed to them. In this example the steersman bears a horn or speaking trumpet. Besides the rowers, the galley is manned by soldiers wielding crossbows, spears, axe, and sling. A banner is borne in front; the quarrels of the cross-bowmen fly ahead.

² This illumination (Matt. Paris, Bennett Coll. C. V. XVI.) seems literally to illustrate a passage in De Burgh's defeat of the French ships off Dover, even to the decapitation of Eustace le

Moine, or the Monk, who had left his monastery in Flanders for the life of a sea-rover; and having given offence to the English, as well as being considered unworthy of knightly quarter, his head was struck off on the deck of the captured vessel. Here the vessels, for the purpose of a close hand-to-hand engagement, are grappled by a hook and chain. The combatants are armed with swords and pole-axes, and the broad Danish axe. In the assailing vessel a warrior plies a sling, and another, in a studded jerkin, discharges from a crossbow bottles of quicklime to blind the opponents. The different kinds of head-gear are worthy of notice.

wards grappled with the enemy, fastening his ships to theirs by means of hooks and chains, and in the end he took or destroyed the whole fleet, with the exception of fifteen vessels.

This decisive naval victory gave the death-blow to the project of Louis. That prince, however, acted generously and nobly in the midst of his difficulties: he would not abandon his friends, but said, when pressed, that he was ready to agree to any terms not inconsistent with his honour, or the safety of his English adherents. The prudent regent was glad enough to promise good terms to these barons, who, whatever might be their after errors, had been among the foremost champions of English liberty, and had assisted in obtaining the Great Charter, which he himself loved as much as any of them. There were also many other nobles, on the same side, equally averse to proceeding to extremities against countrymen, former friends, and relations. The final terms were easily settled in a conference held on the 11th of September, on an islet of the Thames near Kingston. It was agreed that the English barons who had continued to adhere to Louis, besides having their estates restored to them, should enjoy the customs and liberties of the kingdom, and all improvements thereof, equally with others. The privileges of London, as of all other cities and boroughs, were to be confirmed, and the prisoners on both sides taken since Louis' first landing, were to be released without ransom, unless where previous arrangements had been made between parties. Louis was to give up all the castles he possessed, and to write to Alexander, King of Scotland, and Llewellyn, Prince of Wales, to induce them to restore all the fortresses and places they had taken, if they would be included in the treaty. He also acquitted the English nobles of their oaths and obligations to him, and promised never to enter again into any confederacy with them to Louis's prejudice; and the barons made a like engagement on their own behalf. The French prince and his adherents swore to observe these articles, and to stand to the judgment of the church, upon which they were all absolved by the legate.¹ Louis was so poor, that he was obliged to borrow money from the citizens of London to defray the expenses of his journey home. On the 14th of September, a safe conduct was granted to him: he was honourably escorted to the sea-side by the Earl of Pembroke, and he sailed for France with his foreign associates. On the 21d of October, a few refractory barons, the only remnant of a great party, went to court, and were exceedingly well received there. On the fourth day of the same month, a

new charter for the city of London was promulgated; and a few days later, the regent, for the general good of the nation, concluded with Haquin or Haco, King of Norway, a treaty of free commerce between the two countries. At the same time, this excellent regent's prudence and equity did more than a written treaty in reconciling conflicting parties at home. He was accessible and courteous to all, taking especial care that no man should be oppressed for his past politics. His authority, however, did not extend to the church, and Gualo severely chastised many of the English abbots and monks who had ventured to disregard his excommunications.

In all these transactions no mention had been made of Eleanor, the Maid of Brittany, who still occupied her dungeon or her cell at Bristol, nor was her name ever breathed during the civil wars which followed—a proof how little female right was then regarded; for, by the rules of succession as now recognized, she was the undoubted heiress to the throne. Henry began his reign in leading-strings, and owing to his weak and defective character, he never freed himself from such absolute guidance, but passed his whole life in a state of tutelage and dependence—being now governed by one powerful noble, or by one foreign favourite, and now by another. Isabella, the selfish queen-mother, abandoned her child in the midst of his troubles, and hurried back to Guienne in search of a new husband. It conveys a strange notion of the delicacy of those times, to find that the Count of la Marche, from whom John had stolen her, consented to take her back, and remarried her with great pomp. Every day the peace of the country was made more secure—"the evil will borne to King John seeming to die with him, and to be buried in the same grave."² But the determination to preserve the liberties which had been wrung from him was alive and active, and a second confirmation of Magna Charta was granted by the young king. Besides that the benefits of the charter were now extended to Ireland, several alterations were made in the deed, and a clause was added, ordering the demolition of every castle built or rebuilt since the beginning of the war between John and the barons. Other clauses were withdrawn, to form a separate charter, called the Charter of Forests. By this instrument, which materially contributed to the comfort and prosperity of the nation, all the forests which had been inclosed since the reign of Henry II., were thrown open; offences in the forests were declared to be no longer capital; and men convicted of the once heinous crime of killing the king's venison, were made punishable only by fine or imprisonment.

¹ *Rym.*

² *Speed. Chron.*

Meanwhile the spirit of insubordination which had arisen out of the civil war was gradually coerced or soothed by the valour and wisdom of the Earl of Pembroke, who was singularly averse to the cruelties and blood-shedding which had formerly disgraced all similar pacifications. But the excellent protector did not long enjoy the happy fruit of his labours: he died in the year 1219, about the middle of May, and was buried in the church of the Knights Templars at London, where his tomb or statue is still to be seen, with an inscription which scarcely exaggerates his virtues as a warrior and statesman. His authority in the state was now shared between Hubert de Burgh, the justiciary, the gallant defender of Dover Castle, and Peter des Roches (a Poictevin by birth), Bishop of Winchester. These ministers were jealous of each other: De Burgh was the more popular with the nation; but Des Roches, who had the custody of the royal person, possessed the greater influence at court, and among the many foreigners who, like himself, had obtained settlements and honours in the land. Dissensions soon broke out; but dangerous consequences were prevented by the skill of Pandulph, who had resumed the legateship on the departure of Gualo. On the 17th of May, 1220, young Henry was crowned again by Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, whom the pope had permitted to return to the kingdom. In the following year, Joanna, the eldest sister of Henry, was married at York, to Alexander, the King of Scotland; and nearly at the same time, one of the Scottish princesses who had been delivered to John, and who had ever since remained in England, was married to Hubert de Burgh, the justiciary. Pandulph then returned to Rome, having previously demanded, in the name of the pope, that no individual should hold more than two of the royal castles. On his departure, how-



WILLIAM MARSHAL
[the elder], EARL OF
PEMBROKE.¹—From
his effigy in the
Temple Ch., London

¹ "He died in 1219 at his manor of Caversham, near Reading, in Berkshire. . . . Matthew Paris assigns to him the following epitaph, which styles him a Saturn, as a severe castigator of the Irish; an Apollo, as the glory and honour of England; a Mercury, as a diplomatist in Normandy; and a Mars, as a warlike and invincible knight against the French:—

Sum quem Saturnum sibi sensit Hybernia, Solem
Anglia, Mercurium Normannia, Gallia Martem.

The costume of this figure very well accords with the period of William Marshal the elder's decease. He wears a hauberk of chain mail, long surcoat, and on his shield is a lion rampant."—*Stothard's Monumental Effigies of Great Britain.*

ever, little respect was paid to the orders from Rome. Many of the barons—chiefly foreigners imported by John—refused to deliver up the fortresses which they pretended to hold in trust till the young king should be of age. While De Burgh insisted on their surrender, his rival Des Roches favoured the recusant chiefs. Plots and conspiracies followed; but in 1223, the justiciary, with the assent of the pope and the great council of the nation, declared Henry of age; and in the course of the following year he succeeded in getting possession of most of the disputed castles, taking some of them by siege and assault. Des Roches then gave up the struggle, under pretence of making a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and many of the foreign adventurers followed him out of England. Though not a cruel man, Hubert de Burgh was far more severe than the Earl of Pembroke; for at the taking of Bedford Castle he hanged eighty of the foreign garrison, knights and others, who had been in the habit of committing frightful excesses in the country.

In the following year (1225), A.D. 1225. one of the main springs of the English constitution, which checks the abuse of power, by the mode of allotting money, began its salutary movements. Louis, the French prince, who had now succeeded his father Philip on the French throne, unmindful of his promises, overran some parts of Guienne and Poictou, and took the important maritime town of Rochelle. The young king summoned a *parliament* (for that name was now coming into use) to meet at Westminster; and there Hubert de Burgh, having opened the proceedings by an explanatory speech, asked for money to enable the king to recover his own. At first the assembly refused to make any grant, but it was finally agreed that a fifteenth of all moveable property should be given, on the express condition, however, that the king should ratify the two charters. Henry, accordingly, gave a third ratification of Magna Charta, together with a ratification of the Charter of Forests, and sent fresh orders to some of his officers, who had hitherto treated them with little respect, to enforce all their provisions.² In the month of April, Richard, Earl of Cornwall, the king's brother, was sent to Guienne, under the guidance of the Earl of Salisbury, with an English army. But the French king had taken the cross against the Albigenses, an unfortunate people in the south of France, who were called heretics, and treated more cruelly than Saracens. A Papal legate interfered, threatened the English with excommunication if they raised obstacles to Louis in his holy war, and, at last, made both parties agree to a truce for one year.

² *Matt. Par.*: Brady.

Before the term expired, the French king died at Paris, after a brief reign of three years, and was succeeded by his son Louis IX., who was only in his twelfth year. A stormy minority ensued; and Henry, who was now twenty years of age, might have taken advantage of it, had his character and his own circumstances been somewhat different from what they were. But the English king had little more real manhood than the child on the French throne; his barons were by no means anxious for the foreign war, and the armistice was subsequently renewed year after year, the English never recovering Rochelle, and the French making no further progress of importance. In the meantime, though he ruled with a firm hand, Hubert de Burgh was not always able to cause the government to be respected, and to maintain the tranquillity of the country.

A.D. 1229. It was at length, however, resolved to carry war into France.

Henry was twenty-two years old, Louis only fifteen; but Blanche, the mother of the latter prince, and regent of the kingdom, had composed all dissensions, and put the kingdom into a posture of defence. When Henry went to Portsmouth, he found that the shipping provided was not sufficient to carry over his army, and after a violent altercation with Hubert de Burgh, who was accused of being the cause of this deficiency, the expedition was given up till the following year. At length the English king, elated by the promises and invitations of the barons of Guicenne, Poitou, and even many nobles of Normandy, set sail for the Continent, and landed at St. Malo, in Brittany, where he was joined by a host of Bretons. He advanced to Nantes, where, like his father before him, he wasted his time and his means in feasts and pageantries, leaving the malcontents in Normandy and Poitou to curse their folly in committing their fortunes in the cause of so unwelcome a prince. In the meantime young Louis, accompanied by his mother, who shared all the hardships of a campaign, took several towns belonging to Henry. In the beginning of October the English king returned home, covered with disgrace; and his ally, the Duke of Brittany, was obliged to appear at the foot of the throne of Louis with a rope round his neck.¹ De Burgh had accompanied his master on this expedition; and, in spite of his known honour, bravery, and ability, the king, and some favourites with whom he had surrounded himself, attempted to throw all the blame of the miserable failure upon Hubert. The people, however, took a different view of the case, and set Henry down as a trifler and a coward. When

he applied to parliament for a further grant of money, and complained of the poverty to which his French expedition had reduced him, they refused the aid, and told him that, through his thoughtlessness and extravagance, his barons were as poor as himself.

A.D. 1232. Hubert had now been eight years at the head of affairs. He enjoyed the good opinion of the people, whom he had never wantonly oppressed; but many of the nobles envied him his power, and hated him for his zeal in resuming the castles and other possessions of the crown. But for his tried fidelity, and his courage in the worst of times, that crown in all probability would never have been worn by the helpless Henry. But the proverbial ingratitude of princes was fostered in the present case by other circumstances, the most cogent of all being, that the minister was *rich* and the king wofully in want of money. On a sudden, Hubert saw his old rival Peter des Roches, the Poitevin Bishop of Winchester, reappear at court, and he must have felt from that moment that his ruin was concerted. In fact, very soon after, Henry threw off his faithful guardian and able minister, and left him to the persecutions of his enemies. The frivolous charges brought against Hubert almost lead to a conviction that he was guilty of no breach of trust or abuse of authority—of no real public crime whatever. Among other things, he was accused of winning the affections of the king by means of magic and enchantment.² The fallen minister took refuge in Merton Abbey. His flight gave unwonted courage to the king, who vapoured and stormed, and then commanded the mayor of London to force the asylum, and seize Hubert dead or alive. The mayor, who seems a strange officer to employ on such an occasion, set forth with a multitude of armed men; but the king being reminded by the Archbishop of Dublin of the illegality and sacrilegiousness of such a procedure, despatched messengers in a great hurry and re-called the mayor. In the end, the Archbishop of Dublin, the only one among the great men who did not forsake Hubert, obtained for him a delay of four months, that he might prepare for his defence, and for the interval, the king gave him a safe conduct. Relying on these letters-patent, De Burgh departed to visit his wife, the Scottish princess, at St. Edmundsbury; but he had scarcely begun his journey when the king, notwithstanding his plighted faith, listened to his enemies, and sent a knight—one Sir Godfrey de Crancumb—with 300 armed men, to surprise and seize him. Hubert was in bed at the little town of Brentwood, in Essex,

¹ Daru, *Hist. de Bret.*

² Matt. Par.

when this troop fell upon him. He contrived to escape, naked as he was, to a parish church, where, with a crucifix in one hand, and the host in the other, he stood firmly near the altar, hoping that his attitude and the sanctity of the place would procure him respect. His furious enemies, however, were not deterred by any considerations, and, bursting into the church with drawn swords, they dragged him forth, and sent for a smith to make shackles for him. The poor artizan, struck with the sad state of the great man, and moved with generous feelings, said he would rather die the worst of deaths than forge fetters for the brave defender of Dover Castle and the conqueror of the French at sea. But Sir Godfrey and his "black band" were not to be moved by any appeal: they placed the earl on horseback, naked as he was, and, tying his feet under the girths, so conveyed him to the Tower of London. As soon as this violation of sanctuary was known, an outcry was raised by the bishops; and the king was in consequence obliged to order those who had seized him to carry the prisoner back to the parish church; but at the same time he commanded the sheriff of Essex, on pain of death, to prevent the earl's escape, and to compel him to an unconditional surrender. The sheriff dug a deep trench round the sanctuary—erected palisades—and effectually prevented all ingress or egress. Thus cut off from every communication—unprovided with fuel and proper clothing (the winter was setting in)—and at last left without provisions, Hubert de Burgh came forth, on the fortieth day of his beleaguering, and surrendered to the "black band," who again carried him to the Tower of London. A few days after, Henry ordered him to be enlarged, and to appear before the court of his peers; but it is said that this decent measure was not adopted until Hubert surrendered all his ready money, which he had placed for safety in the hands of the Knights Templars. When Hubert appeared in court in the midst of his enemies, he declined pleading: some were urgent for a sentence of death, but the king proposed an award which was finally adopted by all parties. Hubert forfeited to the crown all such lands as had been granted him in the time of King John, or been obtained by him, by purchase or otherwise, under Henry. He retained for himself and his heirs the property he had inherited from his family, together with some estates he held in fief of mesne lords. Thus clipped and shorn, the brave Hubert was committed to the castle of Devizes, there to abide, in "free prison," under the custody of four knights appointed by four great earls. Within these walls, which had been built by the famous Roger, Bishop of Sarum, whose adventures in some respects resembled his own, Hubert remained for

nearly a year, when he was induced to adopt a desperate mode of escape, by learning that the custody of the castle had just been given to a dependent of his bitter enemy the Poitevin Bishop of Winchester. In a dark night he climbed over the battlements, and dropped from the high wall into the moat, which was probably in part filled with water. From the moat he made his way to a country church; but there he was presently surrounded by an armed band, led on by the sheriff. Circumstances, however, were materially altered: several of the barons who had before been intent on the destruction of the minister were now at open war with the king, and anxious to secure the co-operation of so able a man as De Burgh. A strong body of horse came down, released him from the hands of his captors, and carried him off into Wales, where the insurgent nobles were then assembled. Some eighteen months later, when peace was restored, Hubert received back his estates and honours: he was even re-admitted into the king's council; but he had the wisdom never again to aspire to the dangerous post of chief minister. At a subsequent period the king again fell upon him, but, it appears, merely to enrich himself at his expense, for the quarrel was made up on Hubert's presenting Henry with four castles.¹

The Poitevin bishop, who succeeded to power on the first displacement and captivity of Hubert, soon rendered himself extremely odious to all classes of the nation. He encouraged the king's growing antipathy to the English barons, and to Magna Charta; he taught him to rely on the friendship and fidelity of foreign adventurers rather than on the inconstant affection of his own subjects; and he crowded the court, the offices of government, the royal fortresses, with hosts of hungry Poitevins, Gascons, and other Frenchmen, who ruled and wasted at their pleasure. The business of politics was as yet in its infancy: the nature of an opposition, constitutional and legal in all its operations, was as yet a discovery to be made; nor could men in their times and circumstances be expected to understand such things. The barons withdrew from parliament, where they were surrounded by armed foreigners, and took up arms themselves. When again summoned, they answered, that unless the king dismissed his Poitevins and the other foreigners, they would drive both them and him out of the kingdom. Peter des Roches averted his ruin for the present by sowing dissensions among the English nobles. Several battles or skirmishes, which defy anything like a clear narration, were fought in the heart of England and on the Welsh borders. Richard,

¹ *Matt. Par.*: *M. West.*: *Wylks.*: *Chron. Dunst.*: *Holinshed.*

Earl of Pembroke, the son of the virtuous protector, to whom King Henry was so deeply indebted, was treacherously and most barbarously murdered; and, following up his temporary success, the Poictevin bishop confiscated the estates of several of the English nobles without any legal trial, and bestowed them on adventurers from his own land. Edmund, the new Archbishop of Canterbury, who had succeeded Langton, took up the national cause, and threatened the king with excommunication if he did not instantly dismiss Des Roches and his associates. Henry trembled and complied: the foreigners were banished, and the archbishop for a short time governed the land with great prudence, and according to the charters. But Henry's dislike both of his native nobles and of the charters increased with his years, and his foreign favourites resumed their ascendancy.

A.D. 1236. Henry now married Eleanor, daughter of the Count of Provence, who came to England with a numerous retinue, and was soon followed by fresh swarms of foreigners. The Bishop of Valence, the queen's maternal uncle, was made chief minister. Boniface, another uncle, was promoted to the see of Canterbury; and Peter, a third uncle, was invested with the earldom of Richmond, and received the profitable wardship of the Earl Warenne. The queen invited over damsels from Provence, and the king married them to the young nobles of England of whom he had the wardship. This was bad enough, but it was not all: the queen-mother, Isabella, whom the nation detested, had now four sons by the Count of la Marche, and she sent them over all four—Guy, William, Geoffrey, and Aymer—to be provided for in England. The king heaped honours and riches upon these half-brothers, who were soon followed by new herds of adventurers from Guienne. Henry had resumed, with the pope's permission, nearly all the grants of estates he had made to his native subjects; but even the resources thus obtained were soon exhausted, and he found himself without money and without credit. When he asked aids from the parliament, the parliament told him that he must dismiss the foreigners who devoured the substance of the land, and they several times voted him small supplies, on the express condition that he should do so, and also redress other grievances; but he forgot his promises as soon as he got the money. The barons then bound him by oath; and Henry took the oath, broke them, and acted just as before.¹

A.D. 1242. Isabella, the queen-mother, added alike to the odium in which she was held by the English, and to the embarrassments

and unpopularity of her son, by hurrying him into a war with France. Louis was now in the prime of manhood, and immeasurably superior in all eminent qualities to his rival. He was loved and respected by his subjects; whereas Henry was despised by his. When the English parliament was called upon for a supply of men and money, they resolutely refused both, telling the king that he ought to observe the truce which had been continually renewed with France, and never broken (so at least they asserted) by Louis. By means not recorded, Henry contrived to fill thirty hogsheads with silver, and, sailing from Portsmouth with his queen, his brother Richard, and 300 knights, he made for the river Garonne. Soon after his landing he was joined by nearly 20,000 men, some his own acknowledged vassals, some the followers of nobles who had once been the vassals of his predecessors, and who were now anxious, not to re-establish the supremacy of the English king in the South, but to render themselves independent of the crown of France by his means or at his expense.² Louis met Henry with a superior force on the banks of the river Charente, in Saintonge, and defeated him in a pitched battle near the castle of Taillebourg. The English king retreated down the river to the town of Saintes, where he was beaten in a second battle, which was fought on the very next day. His mother's husband, the Count of la Marche, who had led him into this disastrous campaign, then abandoned him, and made his own terms with the French king. Henry fled from Saintes right across Saintonge, to Blaye, leaving his military chest, the sacred vessels and the ornaments of his moveable chapel-royal, in the hands of the enemy. A terrible dysentery which broke out in his army, some scruples of conscience, and the singular moderation of his own views, prevented Louis from following up his successes, and induced him to agree to a truce for five years.

A.D. 1244. When Henry met his parliament this year, he found it more refractory than it had ever been. In reply to his demands for money, they taxed him with extravagance—with his frequent breaches of the Great Charter—they told him, in short, that they would no longer trust him, and that they must have in their own hands the appointment of the chief justiciary, the chancellor, and other great officers. The king would consent to nothing more than another ratification of Magna Charta, and therefore the parliament would only vote him twenty shillings on each knight's fee for the marriage of his eldest daughter to the Scottish king. After this he looked to a meeting of parliament as a meeting of his personal enemies, and to avoid it

¹ Matt. Par.; Chron. Dunst.; Ann. Waterk.

² Mevray.

he raised money by stretching his prerogative in respect to fines, benevolences, purveyances, and the other undefinable branches of the ancient revenue. He also tormented and ransacked the Jews, acting with regard to that unhappy people like a very robber; and he begged, besides, from town to town, from castle to castle, until he obtained the reputation of being the sturdiest beggar in all England. But all this would not suffice, and, in the year 1248, he was again obliged to meet his barons in parliament. They now told him that he ought to blush to ask aid from his people whom he professed to hate, and whom he shunned for the society of aliens; they reproached him with disparaging the nobles of England by forcing them into mean marriages with foreigners. They enlarged upon the abuse of the right of purveyance, telling him that the victuals and wine consumed by himself and his un-English household—that the very clothes on their backs were all taken by force and violence from the English people, who never received any compensation; that foreign merchants, knowing the dangers to which their goods were exposed, shunned the ports of England as if they were in possession of pirates; that the poor fishermen of the coast, finding they could not escape his hungry purveyors and courtiers, were frequently obliged to carry their fish to the other side of the Channel; and they added other accusations still more minute and humiliating.¹ In reply to the remonstrance of his barons, Henry gave nothing but fair promises which could no longer deceive, and he got nothing save the cutting reproof to which he had been obliged to listen.

The king now racked his imagination in devising pretexts on which to obtain what he wanted. At one time he said he was resolved to re-conquer all the continental dominions of the crown; but, unfortunately, all men knew that Louis had departed for the East, and that Henry, who had not shone in the field, had contracted the most solemn obligations not to make war upon him during his crusade. He next took the cross himself, pretending to be anxious to sail for Palestine forthwith; but here again it was well known he had no such intention, and only wanted money to pay his debts and satisfy his foreign favourites. At a moment of urgent necessity he was advised to sell all his plate and jewels. "Who will buy them?" said he. His advisers answered, "The citizens of London, of course." He rejoined bitterly, "By my troth, if the treasures of Augustus were put up to sale, the citizens would be the purchasers! These clowns, who assume the style of barons, abound in all things, while we are wanting in common necessities."² It is said

that the king was thenceforth more inimical and rapacious towards the Londoners than he had been before. To annoy them and touch them in a sensitive part, he established a new fair at Westminster, to last fifteen days, during which all trading was prohibited in London. He went to keep his Christmas in the city, and let loose his purveyors among the inhabitants; he made them offer New-year's gifts; and shortly after, in spite of remonstrances, he compelled them to pay him the sum of £2000 by the most open violation of law and right.

In A.D. 1253, Henry was again obliged to meet his parliament, and this he did, averring to all men that he only wanted a proper Christian aid that he might go and recover the tomb of Christ. If he thought that this old pretence would gain unlimited confidence, he was deceived. The barons, who had been duped so often, treated his application with coldness and contempt; but they at last held out the hope of a liberal grant on condition of his consenting to a fresh and most solemn confirmation of their liberties. On the third day of May the king went to Westminster Hall, where the barons, prelates, and abbots were assembled. The bishops and abbots were apparelled in their canonical robes, and every one of them held a burning taper in his hand. A taper was offered to the king, but he refused it, saying he was no priest. Then the Archbishop of Canterbury stood up before the people and denounced sentence of excommunication against all those who should, either directly or indirectly, infringe the charters of the kingdom. Every striking, every terrific part of this ceremony was performed: the prelates and abbots dashed their tapers to the ground, and as the lights went out in smoke, they exclaimed—"May the soul of every one who incurs this sentence so stink and be extinguished in hell!" The king subjoined, on his own behalf—"So help me God! I will keep these charters inviolate, as I am a man, as I am a Christian, as I am a knight, and as I am a king crowned and anointed!" His outward behaviour during this awful performance was exemplary; he held his hand on his heart, and made his countenance express a devout acquiescence; but the ceremony was scarcely over when, following the impulse given him by his foreign favourites, he returned to his old courses, and thus utterly up-rooted whatever confidence the nation yet had in him.³

With the money he thus obtained he went to Guienne, where Alphonso, the King of Castile, had set up a claim to the earldom, and induced many of the fickle nobles to revolt against the English crown. This expedition was less dis-

¹ *Matt. Par.; Matt. West.; Chron. Dunelm.*² *Matt. Par.*³ *Matt. Par.; Matt. West.; W. Hemmingford.*

honourable than the former ones; indeed it was successful on the whole, and led to a friendly alliance between England and Castile—Prince Edward marrying Eleanor, the daughter of Alphonso. But Henry concealed these arrangements for some time, in order to obtain a fresh grant from his parliament, under colour of carrying on the war. He returned penniless; for the partial re-establishment of his authority in the south of France seems never to have benefited his exchequer. The expedients to which he had recourse in England, rendered him more and more odious and contemptible. When his fortunes were at this low ebb, he blindly embarked in a project which immensely increased his embarrassments. This project was no other than to raise one of his sons to the throne of the Two Sicilies. On the death of Frederick II., who died excommunicated, Pope Innocent offered the crown to Henry for his second son, Prince Edmund; and the beggared and incapable king joyfully closed with the proposal, agreeing to march presently with a powerful army into the south of Italy, accepting an advance of money from the pope to enable him to commence the enterprise, and proposing also to raise what more it might be necessary to borrow on the pope's security. Had the energy and the means of the English king at all corresponded with the activity and cunning policy of the Roman priest, who only sought to make the Sicilies a fief of the Holy See, there is little doubt that the prince might have obtained a dependent and precarious throne; but Henry was placed in circumstances in which he could do little, and, wavering and timid, he did nothing at all, except giving his son the empty title of "King of Sicily." The pope ordered the English clergy to lend money for the expedition, and even to pawn the property of their church to obtain it.¹ The clergy of England were not very obedient; but whatever sums were raised were dissipated by the king or the Roman legate, and, in the end, the pope brought a claim of debt against Henry to the amount of more than £100,000, which, it was alleged, had been borrowed on the Continent, chiefly from the rich merchants of Venice and Florence. Henry, it appears, had never been consulted about the borrowing or spending of this money; but the pope was an imperative accountant—a creditor that could enforce payment by excommunication,

interdict, and dethronement; and Henry was obliged to promise that he would pay, and to rack his weak wits in devising the means. Backed by the pope, he levied enormous contributions on the churches of England and Ireland. The native clergy were already disaffected, but these proceedings made them as openly hostile to the king as were the lay barons. The wholesale spoliation of the church had also the effect of lessening the clergy's reverence for the pope, and of shaking that power which had already attained its highest pitch, and which was thenceforward gradually to decline. When called upon to take up some of the pope's bills, the Bishop of Worcester told Rustan, the legate, that he would rather die than comply; and the Bishop of London said that the pope and king were, indeed, more powerful than he, but if they took his mitre from his head, he would clap on a warrior's helmet. The legate moderated his demands and withdrew, fully convinced that a storm was approaching, and that the Sicilian speculation had completed the ruin of the bankrupt king.² As long as his brother Richard, the great Earl of Cornwall, remained in England, and in possession of the treasures he had hoarded, there was a powerful check upon insurrection; for though the earl's abilities in public affairs seem hardly to have been equal to his wealth, still the influence he possessed in the nation was most extensive. He had repeatedly opposed the illegal courses of the king, and had even been out in arms with the barons more than once; but he was averse to extreme measures, and, from his position, not likely to permit any invasion of the just prerogative of the crown. The Germans were setting up their empire for sale, and Richard's vanity and ambition induced him to become a purchaser. Having spent immense sums, he was elected, in the beginning of 1256, as "King of the Romans," which was considered the sure step to the dignity of emperor. But there was a schism among the electors, part of whom, a few weeks later, gave their suffrages to Alphonso, King of Castile. Richard, however, went over to the Continent, was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, and left the crown of England to be dragged through the mire.

A.D. 1258. A scarcity of provisions disposed the people to desperate measures. On the 2d of May, Henry called a parliament at Westminster. The barons, who had formed a new confederacy, went to the hall in complete armour. As the king entered, there was a rattling of swords: his eye glanced timidly along the mailed ranks; and he said, with a faltering voice, "What means this? Am I a prisoner?" "Not so," replied Roger Bigod; "but your foreign fa-

¹ "No country was so intolerably treated by this pope [Gregory IX.] and his successors as England throughout the ignominious reign of Henry III. Her church seemed to have been so richly endowed only as the free pasture of Italian priests, who were placed by the mandatory letters of Gregory IX. and Innocent IV. in all the best benefices. If we may trust a solemn remonstrance in the name of the whole nation, they drew from England in the middle of the thirteenth century, 60,000 or 70,000 marks, a sum far exceeding the royal revenue."—Hallam.

² *Matt. Par.*

vourites and your own extravagance have involved this realm in great wretchedness: wherefore we demand that the powers of government be intrusted and made over to a committee of bishops and barons, that the same may root up abuses and enact good laws." One of the king's foreign half-brothers vapoured and talked loudly, but as for himself, he could do nothing else than give an unconditional assent to the demands of the barons, who thereupon promised that, if he proved sincere, they would help him to pay his debts, and prosecute the claims of his son in Italy. The parliament then dissolved, appointing an early day to meet again at Oxford, where the committee of government should be appointed, and the affairs of the state finally adjusted.¹

The present leader of the barons, and in all respects the most remarkable man among them, was the Earl of Leicester. It is evident that the monkish chroniclers were incapable of understanding or properly appreciating the extraordinary character of this foreign champion for English liberties; and those writers have scarcely left materials to enable us to form an accurate judgment. Simon de Montfort was the youngest son of the Count de Montfort in France, who had gained an unhappy celebrity in the barbarous crusades against the Albigenses. In right of his mother, Amicia, he had succeeded to the earldom of Leicester; but he appears to have been little known in England until the year 1238, when he came over from his native country, and married Eleanor, the Countess-dowager of Pembroke, a sister of King Henry. This match was carried by the royal favour and authority; for Richard, Earl of Cornwall, the king's brother, and many of the English barons, tried to prevent it, on the ground that it was not fitting a princess should be married to a *foreign* subject. But the earl had no sooner secured his marriage, and made himself known in the country, than he set himself forward as the decided opponent of foreign encroachment and foreign favourites of all kinds; and such was his ability, that he caused people to overlook the anomaly of his position, and to forget that he himself was a foreigner. He not only captivated the good-will of the English nobles, but endeared himself in an extraordinary de-

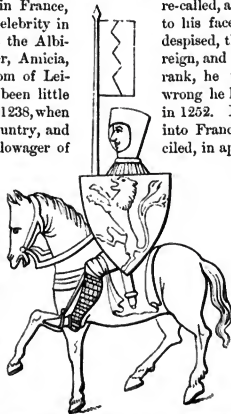
gree to the English people, whose worth and importance in the state he certainly seems to have been one of the first to discover and count upon. His devotional feelings (which, upon no ground that we can discover, have been regarded as hypocritical) gained him the favour of the clergy: his literary acquirements, so unusual in those times, increased his influence and reputation. There seems to be no good reason for refusing him the merits of a skilful politician; and he was a master of the art of war as it was then understood and practised.

The favour of the king was soon turned into a hatred as bitter as Henry's supine and not cruel nature was capable of: it seemed monstrous that a foreigner should be, not a courtier, but the popular idol, and Leicester was banished the court. He was afterwards intrusted with the government of Guienne, where, if he did not achieve the impossibility of giving entire satisfaction to the turbulent and intriguing nobles, he did good service to the king, his master, and acquitted himself with ability and honour. Henry, however, was weak enough to listen to the complaints of some of his Southern vassals, who did not relish the firm rule of the earl. Leicester was hastily

re-called, and his master called him traitor to his face. Thus insulted by a man he despised, the earl gave the lie to his sovereign, and told him that, but for his kingly rank, he would make him repent the wrong he had done him.² This happened in 1252. Leicester withdrew for a season into France, but Henry was soon reconciled, in appearance, and the earl returned to England, where his popularity increased in proportion to the growing weakness and misgovernment of the king. He was one of the armed barons that met in Westminster Hall, and now he was ready to follow up those demonstrations at Oxford.

On the 11th of June the parliament, which the royalists called the "Mad Parliament," met at Oxford. Having no reliance on the king, who had so often broken both promise and oath, the great barons summoned all who owed them mili-

tary service to attend in arms on the occasion. Thus secured from the attack of the foreigners in the king's pay, they proceeded to their object with great vigour and determination. The committee of government was appointed without a



SIMON DE MONTFORT, EARL OF LEICESTER.
From a window in Chartres Cathedral.

¹ *Matthew of Paris; Chron. T. Wykes; Rymer.*
Vol. I.

² *Matthew of Paris.*
60

murmur on the part of the timid Henry: it consisted of twenty-four members, twelve of whom were chosen by the barons and twelve by the king. The king's choice fell upon his nephew Henry, the son of Richard, the titular King of the Romans; upon Guy and William, his own half-brothers; the Bishops of London and Winchester; the Earls of Warwick and Warenne; the abbots of Westminster and St. Martin's, London; on John Mansel, a friar; and Peter of Savoy, a relation of the queen's. The members appointed by the barons were the Bishop of Worcester; the Earls Simon of Leicester, Richard of Gloucester, Humphrey of Hereford, Roger of Norfolk, earl-marshal; the Lords Roger Mortimer, John Fitz-Geoffrey, Hugh Bigod, Richard de Grey, William Bardolf, Peter de Montfort, and Hugh Despencer. The Earl of Leicester was at the head of this supreme council, to the maintenance of whose ordinances the king, and afterwards his son Edward, took a solemn oath. The parliament then proceeded to enact that four knights should be chosen by the votes of the freeholders in each county, to lay before the parliament all breaches of law and justice that might occur; that a new sheriff should be annually chosen by the freeholders in each county; and that three sessions of parliament should be held regularly every year; the first, eight days after Michaelmas; the second, the morrow after Candlemas Day; and the third, on the first day of June.

The benefits derived from the acts of this parliament were prospective rather than immediate, for the first consequences were seven or eight years of anarchy and confusion, the fruits of insincerity and discontent on the part of the court, and of ambition and intrigue on the part of the great barons. Prince Edward, the heir to the throne, the Earl of Warenne, and others, took the oaths to the statutes or provisions of Oxford with unconcealed reluctance and ill-humour. Though their leaders were liberally included among the twenty-four guardians of the kingdom, the foreign faction was excessively dissatisfied with the recent changes, and said openly, and wherever they went, that the acts of Oxford ought to be set aside as illegal and degrading to the king's majesty. Irritated by their opposition and their secret intrigues, Leicester and his party seared the four half-brothers of the king and a herd of their relations and retainers out of the kingdom. The departure of these foreigners increased the popularity of the barons with the English people; but they were seduced by the temptations of ambition and an easy triumph over all opposition; they filled up the posts vacated in the committee of government with their own adherents, leaving scarcely a member in it to represent the king; and they finally lodged

the whole authority of government in the hands of their council of state, and a standing committee of twelve persons. This great power was abused, as all unlimited power, whether held by a king, or an oligarchy, or a democracy, ever will be, and the barons soon disagreed among themselves.¹

A.D. 1259. About six months after the meeting at Oxford, Richard, King of the Romans, having spent all his money among the Germans, was anxious to return to England that he might get more. At St. Omer he was met by a messenger from Leicester, who told him that he must not set foot in the kingdom unless he swore beforehand to observe the provisions of Oxford. Richard finally gave an ungracious assent: he took the oath, joined his brother, and immediately commenced organizing an opposition to the committee of government.² Soon after his arrival it was seen that the barons disagreed more than ever. The Earl of Gloucester started up as a rival to Leicester, and a violent quarrel—the first of many—broke out between these two powerful lords. Then there was presented a petition from the knights of shires or counties, complaining that the barons had held possession of the sovereign authority for eighteen months, and had done no good in the way of reform. A few improvements, chiefly regarding the administration of justice, were then enacted; but their slender amount did not satisfy the nation, and most of the barons were more anxious for the prolongation of their own powers and profits than for anything else. By degrees two factions were formed in the committee: when that of Gloucester obtained the ascendancy, Leicester withdrew into France. Then Gloucester would have reconciled himself with the king, but as soon as Prince Edward saw this, he declared for Leicester, who returned. The manoeuvres and intrigues of party now become almost as unintelligible as they are uninteresting—reconciliations and breaches between the Leicester and Gloucester factions, and then between the barons generally and the court—a changing and a changing again of sides and principles, perplex and disgrace a scene where nothing seems fixed except Leicester's dislike and distrust of the king, and a general but somewhat vague affection among the barons of both parties for the provisions of Magna Charta.

A.D. 1261. Henry, who had long rejoiced at the division among the barons, now thought the moment was come for escaping from their authority. He had a Papal dispensation in his pocket for the oaths he had taken at Oxford, and this set his conscience quite at ease.

¹ Rymer; *Annal. Burt.*; *Matt. West.*

² Rymer.

On the 2d of February he ventured to tell the committee of government that, seeing the abuse they had made of their authority, he should henceforward govern without them. He then hastened to the Tower, which had recently been repaired and strengthened, and seized all the money in the mint. From behind those strong walls he ordered that the gates of London should be closed, and that all the citizens should swear fresh fealty to him. The barons called out their vassals and marched upon the capital. Prince Edward was amusing himself in France at a tournament, and it was agreed by both parties to await his arrival. He came in haste, and, instead of joining his father in the Tower, joined the barons. In spite of this junction—or perhaps we ought rather to say, in consequence of it—many of the nobles went over and joined the king, who published the pope's bull of dispensation, together with a manifesto in which he set forth that he had reigned forty-five years in peace and according to justice, never committing such deeds of wrong and violence as the barons had recently committed. For a time he met with success, and Leicester returned once more to France, vowing that he would never trust the faith of a perjured king.¹

Another change and shifting of parts now took place in this troubled drama: the Earl of Gloucester was dead, and his son, a very young man, instead of being the rival, became for a while the bosom friend of Leicester. Prince Edward, on the other hand, veered round to the court, and had made himself unpopular by calling in a foreign guard. In the month of March young Gloucester called his retainers and confederates together at Oxford, and the Earl of Leicester returned to England in the month of April, and put himself at their head. The great earl at once raised the banner of war; and after taking several royal castles and towns, marched rapidly upon London, where the mayor and the common people declared for him. The king was safe in the Tower; Prince Edward fled to Windsor Castle; and the queen, his mother, attempted to escape by water in the same direction; but, when she approached London bridge, a cry ran among the populace, who hated her, of "Drown the witch!" and filth and stones were thrown at the barge. The mayor took pity on her, and carried her for safety to St. Paul's.²

The King of the Romans contrived to effect a hollow reconciliation between the barons and his unwarlike brother, who yielded everything, only reserving to himself the usual resource of breaking his compact as soon as circumstances should

seem favourable. It is true his subjects had repeatedly exacted too much, but it is equally certain that he never made the smallest concession to them in good faith, and with a determination to respect it. Foreigners were once more banished the kingdom, and the custody of the royal castles was again intrusted to Leicester and his associates. This was done, and peace and amity were sworn in July; but by the month of October the king was in arms against the barons, and nearly succeeded in taking Leicester prisoner. This new crisis was mainly attributable to a condition exacted by that great earl, that the authority of the committee of government should not only last for the lifetime of the king, but be prolonged during the reign of his successor. Up to this point Prince Edward had pretended a great respect for his oath, professing to doubt whether an absolution from Rome could excuse perjury, and he had frequently protested that, having sworn to the provisions of Oxford, he would religiously keep that vow; but this last measure removed all his scruples, and denouncing the barons as rebels, traitors, and usurpers, he openly declared against them and all their statutes.

A.D. 1264.

To stop the horrors of a civil war, some of the bishops induced both parties to refer their differences to the arbitration of the French king. The conscientious and justice-loving Louis IX. pronounced his award in the beginning of February. He insisted on the observance of the Great Charter; but otherwise his decision was in favour of the king, as he set aside the provisions of Oxford, ordered that the royal castles should be restored, and that the sovereign should have full power of choosing his own ministers and officers, whether from among foreigners or natives. The barons, who were better acquainted than Louis with the character of their king, well knew that if the securities they had exacted (with too grasping a hand, perhaps) were all given up, the provisions of the national charters would be despised, as they were previously to the parliament of Oxford; and they therefore resolved not to be bound by the award, which, they insisted, had been obtained through the unfair influence of the wife of Louis, who was sister-in-law to King Henry. The civil war was therefore renewed with more fury than ever. The strength of the royalists lay in the counties of the north and the extreme west; that of the barons in the midland counties, the south-east, the Cinque ports, and, above all, in the city of London and its neighbourhood. At the tolling of the great bell of St. Paul's the citizens of London assembled as an armed host, animated by one daring spirit. In the midst of this excitement they fell upon the unfortunate Jews, and, after plundering them, massacred

¹ *Matt. West.; Wikes.; Carte.*

² *Wikes.; West.; Trinct.; Chron. Dunst.*

above 500—men, women, and children—in cold blood. In other parts of the kingdom the royalists robbed and murdered the Jews under pretext of their being friends to the barons; and the barons' party did the like, alleging that they were allied with the king, and that they kept Greek fire hid in their houses in order to destroy the friends of liberty.¹

The opening of the campaign was in favour of the royalists; but their fortunes changed when they advanced to the southern coast and endeavoured to win over the powerful Cinque ports. Leicester, who had remained quietly in London organizing his forces, at length marched from the capital with the resolution of fighting a decisive battle. He found the king at Lewes, in Sussex—a bad position, in a hollow—which Henry, relying on his superiority of numbers, did not quit on the earl's approach. Leicester encamped on the downs about two miles from Lewes. On the following morning, the 14th of May, leaving a

strong reserve on the downs, he descended into the hollow.

The two armies soon joined battle. On the king's side were the great houses of Bigod and Bohun, all the foreigners in the kingdom, the Percys with their warlike borderers, and from beyond the Borders, John Comyn, John Baliol, and Robert Bruce—names that were soon to appear in a very different drama. On the earl's side were Gloucester, Derby, Warenne, the Despensers, Robert de Roos, William Marmonion, Richard Grey, John Fitz-John, Nicholas Seagrave, Godfrey de Lucy, John de Vesey, and others of noble lineage and great estates. Prince Edward, who was destined to acquire the rudiments of war in the slaughter of his own subjects, began the battle by falling desperately upon a body of

Londoners, who had gladly followed Leicester to the field. This burgher militia could not stand against the trained cavalry of the prince, who chased and slew them by heaps. Eager to take a bloody vengeance for the insults the Londoners had offered his mother, Edward spurred forward, regardless of the manœuvres of the other divisions of the royalist army. He was as yet a young soldier, and the experienced and skilful leader of the barons made him pay dearly for his mistake. Leicester made a concentrated attack on the king, beat him most completely, and took him prisoner, with his brother the King of the Romans, John Comyn, and Robert Bruce, before the prince returned from his headlong pursuit. When Edward arrived at the field of battle, he saw it covered with the slain of his own party, and learned that his father, with many nobles besides those just mentioned, were in Leicester's hands, and shut up in the priory of Lewes. Before he could recover himself he was



LEWES PRIORY, as it appeared in 1773.²—Grose's Antiquities.

charged by a body of horse, and made prisoner. The Earl Warenne, with the king's half-brothers, who were again in England, fled to Pevensey, whence they escaped to the Continent.³ The victory of the barons does not seem to have been disgraced by cruelty, but it is said to have cost

¹ Wykes; West.; Dunst.

² "The great Cluniac priory at Southover, commenced in 1072 and completed in 1078, owes its origin to the piety or superstition of William, the first Earl de Warren, and his lady Gundreda, fifth daughter of William the Conqueror. . . . Its walls embraced an area of 32 acres, 2 roads, and 11 porches; and from the only description of it that remains—in the letter of Portmann (published in Brown Willis' *History of Mitred Abbeys*, vol. ii, p. 26), addressed to his employer in the work of its destruction—it is evident that the building was not less remarkable for its magnificence than for its extent. The length of the church was 150 ft., having an altitude of 63 ft.; its circumference 1538 ft. It was supported by thirty-two pillars, standing equally from the walls, eight of which were very lofty, being not less than 42 ft. high, 13 ft. thick, and 45 ft. in circumference; the remaining twenty-four were 10 ft. thick, 25 ft. in circumference, and 28 ft. in height. The belfry was placed over the centre of the church at an elevation of 105 ft., and was supported by eight lofty pillars above mentioned. The roof

over the high altar was 93 ft. high. The steeple stood at the front of the church, and was 90 ft. high; its walls were 10 ft. thick. On the right of the high altar was a vault, supported by four pillars, and from this recess there branched out five chapels, which were bounded by a wall 70 yards in length. A higher vault, supported by four masonry pillars, 14 ft. in diameter and 45 ft. in circumference, was probably on the left side of the high altar, and correspondent with the one just mentioned, from which branched out other chapels or cells of the monks. The chapter house and the church were by far the most splendid portions of this stately pile. In the former were interred the remains of the founder of the monastery and of his countess, several of his successors in the barony, and some distinguished nobles, more or less connected with the establishment. The latter was richly adorned by the painter and the sculptor; and was distinguished by the magnificence of the funeral monuments by which it appears to have been crowded."—*Sussex Gazette*, by James Taylor.

³ Matt. Par.; Wykes; West.; Chron. Dunst.

the lives of more than 5000 Englishmen, who fell on the field. On the following morning a treaty, or the "*Mise of Lewes*," as it was called, was concluded. It was agreed that Edward and his cousin Henry, the son of the King of the Romans, should remain as hostages for their fathers, and that the whole quarrel should be again submitted to a peaceful arbitration. But Leicester, who had now the right of the strongest, kept both the king and his brother prisoners as well as their sons, and, feeling his own greatness, began to be less tractable. Although the pope excommunicated him and his party, the people regarded the sentence with indifference; and many of the native clergy, who had long been disgusted both with pope and king, praised him in their sermons as the reformer of abuses—the protector of the oppressed—the father of the poor—the saviour of his country—the avenger of the church. Thus supported, and indeed carried forward by a boundless popularity, he soon forced all such barons as held out for the king to surrender their castles, and submit to the judgment of their peers. These men were condemned merely to short periods of exile in Ireland; not one suffered death, or chains, or forfeiture. Every act of government was still performed in the name of the king, whose captivity was made so light as to be scarcely apparent, and who was treated with every outward demonstration of respect. The queen had retired to the Continent before the battle of Lewes, and having busied herself in collecting a host of foreign mercenaries, she now lay at Damme, in Flanders, almost ready to cross over and renew the civil war. The steps taken by Leicester show at once his

entire confidence in the good-will of the nation, and his personal bravery and activity. He summoned the whole force of the country—from castles and towns, cities and boroughs—to meet in arms on Barham Downs, and having encamped them there, he threw himself among the mariners of England, and, taking the command of a fleet, cruised between the English and Flemish coasts to meet the invaders at sea. But the queen's fleet never ventured out of port, her land forces disbanded, and that enterprise fell to the ground.

The ruin of Leicester was effected by very different means. Confident in his talents and popularity, he ventured to display too marked a superiority above his fellows in the same cause; this excited hostile feelings in several of the barons, whose jealousies and pretensions were skilfully worked upon by Prince Edward, who had by this time been removed from Dover Castle, into which he had been thrown after the battle of Lewes, and placed, with his father, in the enjoyment of considerable personal liberty, by the order of a parliament which Leicester had summoned expressly to consider his case, in the beginning of the present year (1265);¹ and which is memorable in the history of the constitution as the first in which we have certain evidence of the appearance of representatives from the cities and boroughs.² The Earl of Derby opened a correspondence with the prince, and the Earl of Gloucester set himself up as a rival to Montfort, and then, by means of his brother, Thomas de Clare, who had been placed about the prince's person, concerted a plan for releasing Edward. This plan was successful; and on Thursday in Whitsunweek the prince escaped on a fleet horse

¹ "The year 1265 was one of the most memorable in the annals of England. The barons, indignant at an award which imposed obedience on all English subjects, without affording them safety, again turned their arms against the recreant king. Two of the unhappy and inglorious victories of civil war were achieved by the vigorous genius of Prince Edward; while, on the other hand, Simon de Montfort, at the very moment of his fall, set the example of an extensive reformation in the frame of parliament, which, though his authority was not acknowledged by the punctilious adherents to the letter and forms of law, was afterwards legally adopted by Edward, and rendered the parliament of that year the model of the British parliament, and in a considerable degree affected the constitution of all other representative assemblies. It may, indeed, be considered as the practical discovery of popular representation. The particulars of the war are faintly discerned at the distance of six or seven centuries. The reformation of parliament, which first afforded proof from experience, that liberty, order, greatness, power, and wealth, are capable of being blended together in a degree of harmony which the wisest men had not before believed to be possible, will be held in everlasting remembrance."—Sir James Mackintosh, *Hist. of Eng.*, vol. I. p. 256.

² Of the cities and towns of England, M. Guizot remarks:—"Previous to the Norman conquest, many were rich, populous, important; their inhabitants were soon taking part in national events; the citizens of Canterbury appeared, under Ethelred II., in the county court, and those of London concurred in the election of several kings. Nevertheless it is almost certain that the

towns never sent deputies to the Saxon Witenagemot; their rights were confined within the circuit of their walls, and when they mingled in public affairs, it was in a casual and irregular way, without having a place assigned to them in the government by any institution—any permanent custom.

"After the Conquest, the decline of the towns was great; commerce, the source of their wealth, suffered most of all by the disorder and oppression that followed; York fell in a short time from 1607 houses to 967; Oxford from 720 to 243; Chester from 487 to 282; Derby from 243 to 140, &c. In losing their importance they lost also their rights; and the lord, whether the king or some other, within whose domain they were situate, disposed almost at his absolute will of the property and fortunes of their inhabitants.

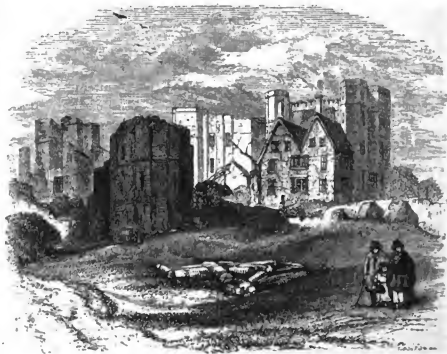
"Dating from the reign of Henry I. they gradually recovered; from that prince the city of London received its first charter, and some articles prove that it had not lost all its ancient liberties. Under Henry II.—a prince who applied himself to the establishment of order—the towns advanced more rapidly; in several the inhabitants acquired from their lord the ownership of the ground on which they stood, and redeemed the individual tributes he arbitrarily imposed on them by a fixed impost, and by holding their town in *fee-farm*, a kind of tenure analogous to that of *scutage*. They then formed themselves into a corporation, sometimes received a charter, and thus entered into possession of the municipal government. Grants of charters became frequent, dating from the reign of King John."—*Ensis sur l'Histoire de France*.

which had been conveyed to him, and joined the Earl of Gloucester at Ludlow, where the royal banner was raised. The prince was made to swear that he would respect the charters, govern according to law, and expel foreigners; and it was upon these express conditions that Gloucester surrendered to him the command of the troops. This earl was a vain, weak young man, but his jealous fury against Leicester could not blind him to the obvious fact that but few of the nobility would make any sacrifices for the royal cause unless their attachment to constitutional liberty were gratified by such pledges.

About the same time Earl Warenne, who had escaped from the battle of Lewes, landed in South Wales with 120 knights and a troop of archers; and other royalist chiefs rose in different parts of the country, according to a plan which seems to have been suggested by the military sagacity of Prince Edward. The Earl of Leicester, keeping good hold of the king, remained at Hereford, while his eldest son, Simon de Montfort, with a part of his army, was in Sussex. The object of the prince was to prevent the junction of these separated forces, and to keep the earl on the right bank of the Severn. Edward destroyed all the bridges and boats on that river and secured the fords; but, after some skilful manœuvres, the earl crossed the Severn and encamped near Worcester, where he expected his son would join him.

But Simon's conduct in war was not equal to his father's, for he allowed himself to be surprised by night near Kenilworth, where Edward took his horses and treasure, and most of his knights, and forced him to take refuge, almost naked, in the castle there, the principal residence of the De Montfort family. The earl, still hoping to meet his son's forces, advanced to Evesham, on the river Avon. On the morning of the 4th of August, as he looked towards the hills in the direction of Kenilworth, he saw his own standards advancing. His joy, however, was but momentary; for he discovered, when too late to retreat, that they were his son's banners in the hands of his enemies, and, nearly at the same time, he saw the heads of columns showing themselves on either flank and in his rear. These well-conceived combined movements had been executed with unusual precision—the earl was surrounded—every road was blocked up. As he observed

the skilful way in which the hostile forces were disposed, he uttered the complaint so often used by old generals—"They have learned from me the art of war;" and then, it is said, he added, "The Lord have mercy on our souls, for I see our bodies are Prince Edward's." He did not, however, neglect the duties of the commander, but marshalled his men in the best manner. He then spent a short time in prayer and took the sacrament, as was his wont, before going into battle. Having failed in an attempt to force the road to Kenilworth, he formed in a solid circle on the summit of a hill, and several times repulsed the charges of his foes, who gradually closed round him, attacking at all points. The king being in the earl's camp when the royalists appeared, was encased in armour which concealed his features, and was put upon a war-horse. In one of the charges the imbecile old man was dismounted, and in danger of being slain, but he cried out, "Hold your hand, I am Harry of Winchester," and the prince, who happened to be near, ran to his rescue and carried him out of the *mêlée*. Leicester's horse was killed under him, but the earl rose unhurt from his fall, and fought bravely on foot. A body of Welsh were broken and fled, and the number of his enemies still seemed to increase on all sides. He then asked the royalists if they gave quarter? and was told that there was no quarter for traitors. His



KENILWORTH CASTLE.—From a drawing by J. Wykeham Archer.

gallant son Henry was killed before his eyes, the bravest and best of his friends fell in heaps

¹ The manor of Kenilworth was an ancient demesne of the crown; its castle was demolished in the war of Edmund Ironside and Canute the Dane, early in the eleventh century. Geoffrey de Clinton, in the reign of Henry III., built here a strong castle, and

around him, and at last the great earl himself died with his sword in his hand.¹

The hatred of the royalists was too much inflamed to admit of the humanities and usages of chivalry. No prisoners were taken; the slaughter, usually confined to the "meaner sort," who could not pay ransom, was extended to the noblest and wealthiest, and all the barons and knights of Leicester's party, to the number of 180, were despatched.² After the battle the corpse of Leicester was brutally mangled, and treated with every kind of indignity; but by the people his memory was affectionately cherished, and long after he was spoken of among them under the title of "Sir Simon the Righteous."

After the decisive victory of Evesham, the king, resuming the sceptre, went to Warwick, where he was joined by his brother, the King of the Romans, who, with many other prisoners taken by Leicester at Lewes, now first recovered his liberty. Early in the next month, on the "feast of the Translation of St. Edward," a parliament assembled at Winchester. Here it was seen that, even in the moment of success, the king could not venture to revoke any part of the Great Charter. His victory had been achieved by the arms of English barons, who, generally

speaking, had concurred in the former measures against his faithless government, and whose opposition to the Earl of Leicester's too great power had in no sense weakened their love of constitutional safeguards, or their hatred of an absolute king. Led away, however, by personal animosities, the parliament of Winchester passed some severe sentences against the family and partisans of the late earl, and deprived the citizens of London of their charter.

A desperate resistance was thus provoked, and successive insurrections broke out in different parts of the kingdom. Simon de Montfort and his associates maintained themselves for a long time in the isles of Ely and Axholm; the Cinque ports refused to submit; the castle of Kenilworth defied several royal armies; and Adam Gourdon, a most warlike baron, maintained himself in the forests of Hampshire. Prince Edward's valour and ability had full occupation for nearly two years, and at last it was found necessary to relax the severity of government, and grant easier terms to the vanquished, in order to obtain the restoration of internal tranquillity. With this view a committee was appointed of twelve bishops and barons, and their award, called the "Dictum de Kenilworth," was confirmed by the

founded a monastery at the distance of about a quarter of a mile from it. The tower called Caesar's is of the Norman period; the massive walls are in some parts 16 ft. in thickness. Large additions made by John of Gaunt are distinguished by the title of Lancaster buildings. Subsequent additions, called Leicester buildings, comprise the remains of a noble banqueting hall, called the White Hall, 86 ft. long by 45 ft. wide; and the Gate-house. These are all shown in the accompanying view, together with one of the towers belonging to the mural boundary, called Luna Tower.

¹ *Contin. Matt. Par.*; *M. West.*; *Chron. Mailros.*; *Chron. Dunst.* "Though Simon de Montfort was slain—his lifeless remains outraged—his acts branded as those of an usurper—and his name, held in abhorrence by the powerful, was distinguished only by the blessings of the poor and the praise of the learned—yet, in spite of authority and prejudice, his bold and fortunate innovation survived.

"When the barons originally took up arms against John, they exercised the indisputable right of resistance to oppression. They gave a wholesome warning to sovereigns, and breathed into the hearts of nations a high sense of their rights. But in this first stage they knew not how to improve their victory; they took no securities, and made no lasting provision for the time to come. Both parties might have won successive victory with no other fruit than alternate tyranny.

"In the second stage of the contest the national leaders obtained, in the Great Charter, a solemn recognition of the rights of mankind; and some provisions which, by reserving to a national assembly the power over many taxes, laid the foundation of a permanent and effective control over the crown. Still the means of redressing grievances chiefly lay in an appeal to arms—a coarse and perilous expedient, which, however justifiable by an extreme necessity, is always of uncertain issue, and of which the frequent repetition is incompatible with the peace and order of human society. Such were the plans of government in the Great Charter, the provisions of Oxford, and the *mise* or agreement of Lewes.

"The third epoch is distinguished by the establishment of a permanent assembly, which was on ordinary occasions capable of checking the prerogative by a quiet and constant action, yet strong enough to oppose it more decisively if no other means of

preventing tyranny should be left. Hence the unspeakable importance of the new constitution given to parliament by Simon de Montfort. Hence also arose the necessity under which the succeeding king, with all his policy and energy, found himself of adopting this precedent from a hated usurper. It would have been vain to have legally strengthened parliament against the crown, unless it had been actually strengthened by widening its foundations, by rendering it a bond of union between orders of men jealous of each other, and by multiplying its points of contact with the people—the sole allies from whom succour could be hoped. The introduction of knights, citizens, and burgesses into the legislature, by its continuance in circumstances so apparently inauspicious, showed how exactly it suited the necessities and demands of society at that moment. No sooner had events thrown forward the measure, than its fitness to the state of the community became apparent. It is often thus that in the clamours of men for a succession of objects, society, by a sort of elective attraction, seems to select from among them what has an affinity with itself, and what easily combines with it in its state at the time. The enlargement of the basis of the legislature thus stood the test which discriminates visionary prospects from necessary repair and prudent reformation. It would be nowise inconsistent with this view of the subject, if we were to suppose that De Montfort, by this novelty, paid court to the lower orders to gain allies against the nobility—the surmise of one ancient chronicler, eagerly adopted by several modern historians. That he might entertain such a project as a temporary expedient is by no means improbable. To ascribe to him a more extensive foresight would be unreasonable in times better than his. If the supposition could be substantiated, it would only prove more clearly that his ambition was guided by sagacity—that he saw the part of society that was growing in strength, and with which a provident government ought to seek an alliance—that, amidst the noise and confusion of popular complaint, he had learned the art of deciphering its often wayward language, and of discriminating the clamour of a moment from demands rooted in the nature and circumstances of society."

—*Macintosh.*

² Some ten or a dozen knights who were found breathing after the carnage were permitted to live, or, at least, to have that chance of living which their wounds allowed.

king and parliament. The Earl of Gloucester, whose personal quarrel with Leicester had been the chief cause of the overthrow of the baronial oligarchy and the restoration of Henry, quarrelled with the king and once more took up arms, alleging that even the "Dictum de Kenilworth" was too harsh, and that the court was seeking to infringe the provisions of Oxford, and breaking the promises given on the field of Evesham. The dissatisfied Londoners made common cause with him, and received him within their walls; but losing heart at the approach of the king's army, Gloucester opened negotiations, and submitted on condition of receiving a full pardon for himself. At the same time the Londoners compounded for a fine of 25,000 marks. The pope most laudably laboured to diffuse the spirit of mercy and moderation; and the gallantry and generosity shown by Prince Edward on one occasion did more in subduing opposition than a hundred executions on the scaffold could have done. In a battle, fought in a wood near Alton, the prince engaged Adam Gourdon hand to hand, and vanquished that redoubtable knight in fair single combat. When Adam was brought to the ground, instead of despatching him, he generously gave him his life. On that very night he introduced him to the queen at Guildford, procured him his pardon, received him into his own especial favour, and was from that time forward most faithfully served by Sir Adam.¹

¹ *Contin. Matt. Par.*

² "It is curious that in the most disturbed period of this turbulent reign, when ignorance seemed to be thickening and the human intellect to decline, there was written and given to the world the best treatise upon law of which England could boast till the publication of Blackstone's *Commentaries* in the middle of the eighteenth century." It would have been very gratifying to me if this work could have been ascribed with certainty to any of the chancellors whose lives have been noticed. The author, usually styled Henry de Bracton, has gone by the names of Brycton, Britton, Briton, Breton, and Brete; and some have doubted whether all these names are not imaginary. From the elegance of his style, and the familiar knowledge he displays of the Roman law, I cannot doubt that he was an ecclesiastic who had addicted himself to the study of jurisprudence, and as he was likely to gain advancement from his extraordinary proficiency, he may have been one of those whom I have commemorated, although I must confess he rather speaks the language likely to come from a disappointed practitioner than of a chancellor who had been himself in the habit of making judges. For comprehensiveness, for lucid arrangement, for logical precision, this author was unrivalled during many ages. Littleton's work on *Tenures*, which illustrated the reign of Edward IV., approaches Bracton; but how barbarous in comparison are the *Commentaries* of Lord Coke, and the law treatises of Hale and Hawkins!"—Campbell's *Lives of the Chancellors*.

³ I cannot conclude the present chapter without observing one most prominent and characteristic distinction between the constitution of England and that of every other country in Europe; I mean its refusal of civil privileges to the lower nobility,

* "This book must have been written between the years 1262 and 1267, for it cites a case decided in the 4th of Henry III., and takes no notice whatever of the statute of Marlbridge, which passed in the 52d of Henry III."

A.D. 1267.² On the 18th of November, two years and three months after the battle of Evesham, the king, in parliament at Marlborough, adopted some of the most valuable of the provisions of the Earl of Leicester, and enacted other good laws.³ Thus all resistance was disarmed, and the patriots or the outlaws in the Isle of Ely, who were the last to submit, threw down their arms and accepted the conditions of the "Dictum of Kenilworth." As soon as the country was thoroughly tranquillized, Prince Edward and his cousin Henry took the cross, in which they were followed by nearly 150 English lords and knights. Having taken many precautionary measures in case his father should die during the grant of a new charter, with the restoration of their liberties, to the citizens of London, and a free pardon to a few nobles who still lay under the king's ban, Edward departed with his wife, Eleanor, his cousin Henry, and his knights, in the month of July, 1270. Many of the choicest chivalry of England left their bones to bleach on the Syrian shore; but the fate of Henry d'Almaine, as they called the son of the King of the Romans, was more tragical, as well as much more unusual. He was assassinated in a church at Viterbo, in Italy, by his two cousins, Simon and Guy de Montfort, who, with their mother, the Countess of Leicester, King Henry's own sister, had been driven out of England, and who consi-

or those whom we denominate the gentry. In France, in Spain, in Germany, wherever, in short, we look, the appellations of nobleman and gentleman are synonymous. Those entitled to bear them by descent, by tenure of land, by office, or royal creation, have formed a class distinguished by privileges inherent in their blood from ordinary freemen. Marriage with noble families, or the purchase of military fiefs, or the participation of many civil offices were, more or less, interdicted to the commons of France and the Empire. Of these restrictions, nothing, or next to nothing, was ever known in England. The law has never taken notice of gentlemen. From the reign of Henry III. at least, the legal equality of all ranks below the peerage was, to every essential purpose, as complete as at present. Compare two writers nearly contemporary—Bracton with Beaumanoir—and mark how the customs of England are distinguishable in this respect. The Frenchman ranges the people under three divisions—the noble, the free, and the servile; our countryman has no generic class but freedom and villenage. No restraint seems ever to have lain upon marriage; nor have the children even of a peer been ever deemed to lose any privilege by his marriage with a commoner. The purchase of lands held by knight service was always open to all freemen. A few privileges indeed were confined to those who had received knighthood. But upon the whole there was a virtual equality of rights among all the commoners of England. What is most particular is, that the peerage itself imparts no privilege except to its actual possessor. . . . There is no part, perhaps, of our constitution so admirable as this equality of civil rights; this *isonomia* which the philosophers of ancient Greece only hoped to find in democratical government. From the beginning our law has been no respecter of persons. . . . It is, I am firmly persuaded, to this peculiarly democratical character of the English monarchy, that we are indebted for its long permanence, its regular improvement, and its present vigour."—Hallam's *State of Europe during the Middle Ages*, vol. II. pp. 476-478.

dered the King of the Romans as the bitterest enemy of their house. That vain old man, the King of the Romans, was rejoicing in the possession or display of a young German bride, and was still flattering himself with the hopes of the imperial crown, when the melancholy catastrophe of his son reminded him of the vanity of human wishes. He did not long survive the shock; he

died in the month of December, 1271; and in the following winter his brother, the King of England, followed him to the grave, expiring at Westminster, after a long illness and great demonstrations of piety, on the feast of St. Edmund, the 16th of November, 1272. Henry had lived sixty-eight years, and had been fifty-six years a king—at least in name.

CHAPTER II.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1272—1290.

EDWARD I., SURNAMED LONGSHANKS.—ACCESSION, A.D. 1272—DEATH, A.D. 1307.

Prince Edward proclaimed king during his absence—His romantic exploits in Syria—Attempt to assassinate him—His return homeward—His tournament with the Count of Chalons—His coronation feast in London—The Jews in England robbed and cruelly persecuted—Edward's expedients to raise money—His design to reduce Britain into one kingdom—State of Wales at his accession—He invades Wales—The Welsh submit—Their subsequent rebellion—Edward again invades Wales—Llewellyn the Welsh prince slain—His brother David executed—Wales reduced to an English province—Affairs of Scotland—Reign of Alexander II. of Scotland—His contentions with the pope—His alliance with England—Feud of the Scottish families of Bisset and Athole—Assassination of the Earl of Athole—Appeal of Bisset from Alexander II. to the King of England as lord paramount—Consequences of this appeal—Death and character of Alexander II.—Succeeded by Alexander III.—Contentions of the Scottish nobles during his minority—Interferences of the King of England with the Scottish government—Revolutions they occasioned—Scotland invaded by the Norwegians—Their fleet shattered by a storm—They are defeated at Largs—Intercourse between Alexander III. and the King of England—Mortality in Alexander's family—His own sudden death at Burghisland—His daughter Margaret proclaimed Queen—Feuds and compacts of the Scottish nobility under her minority—Edward I. contracts his son to Margaret—She dies on her passage from Norway to Scotland.



FROM the abbey church of Westminster the barons, who had attended his father's funeral, went to the new temple and proclaimed the absent Edward by the style of "King of England, Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitaine." This was on Sunday, the 20th of November, four days after the demise of Henry. A new great seal was

made; Walter de Merton was appointed chancellor; Walter Gifford, Archbishop of York, the Earl of Cornwall, a surviving son of Richard, King of the Romans, and the Earl of Gloucester, assumed conjointly the office of guardians or regents of the kingdom; and such wise measures were taken that the public peace was in no way disturbed; and the accession of Edward, though he was far away, and exposed to the chances of



GREAT SEAL OF EDWARD I.¹

war and shipwreck, was more tranquil than that of any preceding king since the Conquest.

When Edward departed on the crusade he
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found that the French king, instead of sailing

¹ This seal measures 4 inches in diameter.

for Syria or Palestine, had turned aside to attack the Mussulman King or Bey of Tunis. The Kings of Sicily had some old claims to tribute from this African state, and the Italian crown, after hovering over the heads of so many princes, had at last settled on that of Charles of Anjou, who, with the assistance of the pope, won it from Manfred, the illegitimate Swabian, at the battle of the Grandella, fought near Benevento, in the year 1266. This Charles was the ferocious, unworthy brother of the amiable Louis IX.; and it is generally supposed that, for his own selfish ambition and interests, he craftily induced the French king to turn his arms against Tunis; though it is also probable that the exaggerated accounts of the wealth of that city acted as a strong temptation with the crusaders in general. Louis landed on the African shore in the midst of summer, and took the camp and town of Carthage; but the excessive heat of the climate, the want of provisions, and even of wholesome water, and the pestilential miasmata from bogs and swamps, soon caused dreadful maladies among his host. The king himself was attacked by a fatal dysentery, and he laid himself down to die among the ruins and fragments of ancient Carthage.

When Prince Edward arrived, he found that Louis was dead, and that more than half of his army had perished by disease. The survivors had, however, made advantageous terms with the Bey of Tunis, and showed little inclination to leave that country and encounter fresh dangers in Palestine. The English then re-crossed the Mediterranean to Sicily (a short voyage of 150 miles); but Edward would not renounce his project, or return home. He passed the winter at Trapani, vowing that, though all his soldiers should desert him, he would go to Acre attended only by Fowen, his groom. Early in the following spring he set sail from Sicily, and he landed at Acre,¹ which was now almost the only residue of the crusaders' conquests in the East, with a force which did not exceed 1000 men. But the fame of Richard was still bright on those shores;

and, while the Mahometans trembled, the Christians gathered round the standard of the successor of Lion-heart, to whom Edward was scarcely inferior in physical strength and courage, while he was his superior in coolness and policy. Bondocar, the Sultan of Babylon, who had prepared to take Acre by assault, immediately retreated from its vicinity, and, crossing the desert, went into Egypt. Edward advanced, and obtained temporary possession of Nazareth, which was taken by storm. The prince, and many of the English with him, were soon after attacked with sickness, and returned to Acre, where they lingered some fifteen months, doing little or nothing; for the first enthusiasm among the Latin Christians had subsided upon seeing that Edward had scarcely any money, and received no reinforcements. The English chivalry distinguished itself by many feats of arms, and revived the glory of the national name; but, after all, the only other solid advantages gained were the capture of two castles and the surprise and partial plunder of a caravan. The Mahometans were not strong enough to attack Acre, which, chiefly by Edward's means, was so fortified as to be enabled to defy them for twenty years longer, when the Mamelukes of Egypt took it and drove the crusaders and their descendants from every part of the Holy Land. Edward on his side was always too weak to attempt any extensive operations. His presence, however, both annoyed and distressed the Turks, and an attempt was made to get rid of him by assassination. The Emir of Jaffa, under pretence of embracing the Christian religion, opened a correspondence with the English prince, and gradually gained his confidence. The emir sent letters and presents, till his messengers were allowed to pass and repass without examination or suspicion. On the Friday of Whitsunweek, about the hour of vespers, as Edward was reclining on a couch, with nothing on him but a loose robe, the emir's messenger made his usual salam at the door of his apartment: he was admitted; and as he knelt and presented a letter with one hand, he drew a con-

¹ Akka, under the name of St. Jenn d'Acre, played an eminent part in the Crusades, especially when, after being taken in 1187, by Saladin, it fell into the hands of the Christians four years later. The latter kept possession for 100 years of this strong key to the land. In the beginning of this period, Jerusalem declined a little from its high station, and 'Akka increased in greatness and power, to a degree no other city in Palestine ever attained. Then the haven of 'Akka was crowded with ships from all the commercial nations in Europe. The pilgrim hordes first stopped ashore on its pier. Mighty kings and princes gathered their treasures within its walls, and adorned the fair city with splendid churches and palaces. Others again, such as Richard Cœur de Lion of England, Philip Augustus of France, and St. Louis, fortified it with almost impregnable walls and ramparts. During that period the Templars, the Hospitallars, the German Brethren of the Cross, and Knights of St. Lazarus, ruled in 'Akka with a high hand. In 1263, indeed, it was at-

tacked, and even besieged till 1272, by Bondocar, King of Egypt; but Henri de Lusignan, King of Jerusalem, managed to make peace with him, and persuaded him to retire. But the year 1291 put an end for ever to 'Akka's power. After a bloody combat, the city fell into the hands of El-Ashraf, chief of the Saracens. The whole Christian population was barbarously massacred, excepting a few who escaped to the ships. The city was set on fire, and with it fell the sway of the Christians in Palestine. Dapper, in his description of its destruction, quotes the remark of a writer, who says—"All the elements seem to have united their powers to annihilate this city; the very soil was stained with the blood of its inhabitants; the waters swallowed them up alive; the flames in a very short time reduced those splendid buildings to ashes, and the inhabitants were suffocated by the clouds of vapour and smoke which rose from the conflagration."—*Van de Velde's Syria and Palestine*, vol. i. p. 273.

cealed dagger with the other, and aimed a blow at the prince's heart. Edward, though wounded, caught the murderer in his iron grasp, threw him to the ground, and despatched him with his own weapon. The prince's wound was not deep, but the dagger had been smeared with poison: when he learned this fact, he made his will, and gave himself up as lost. The English soldiers would have taken a horrid vengeance upon the poor Turks in their power, but he restrained their fury, and made them reflect on what might befall the helpless Christian pilgrims then at Jerusalem. Fortunately there was at Acre an English surgeon with skill and nerve enough to pare away the sides of the wound; and the grand-master of the Templars sent some precious drugs to stop the progress of the venom. The piety, the affectionate attentions of his loving wife, Eleanor, may have contributed very effectually to his cure, but there is no good ground for believing that she sucked the poison from her husband's wound.¹

Henry had already implored his son to return to England, and now Edward gladly listened to proposals of peace made by the sultan, who was so much engaged with other wars in the interior as to have little time to spare for the prosecution of hostilities on the coast. A truce was therefore concluded for ten years, and then Edward sailed again for Sicily. Theobald, Archdeacon of Liège, who had accompanied the prince to Palestine, had been recalled some months before from Acre to fill the vacant chair of St. Peter. At Trapani, Edward received an earnest invitation from this old companion and steadfast friend, now Gregory X., to

visit him at Rome. The prince crossed the Faro of Messina to travel by land through the Italian peninsula. At a mountain village in Calabria he met messengers, by whom he was informed, for the first time, of the death of his father. By the month of February, 1273, he was at Rome; but his friend, the pope, being absent, he stayed only two days in the Eternal City, and then turned aside to Civita Vecchia, where the pope received him with honour and affection. Edward demanded justice on the assassin of Henry d'Almaine: but Simon de Montfort, one of them, had gone to account for his crimes before a higher tribunal; and as Guy de Montfort had absconded, the King of England was obliged to be satisfied with a very imperfect vengeance. Leaving the pontiff, he continued his journey through Italy, and was received in triumph at every town. The admiring Milanese presented him with some fine horses and purple mantles. His exploits in Palestine, limited as they had been, had gained him the reputation of being the Champion of the Cross; the dangerous wound he had received (if he had died of it he would have been enrolled among saints and martyrs) created an additional sympathy in his favour; and, as if people knew he would be the last king to embark in the Crusades, he was hailed with ex-

traordinary enthusiasm. On crossing the Alps, Edward was met by a deputation from England. He travelled on to Paris, where he was courteously received by his cousin, Philip le Hardi, and did homage to that king for the lands which he held in France.

Notwithstanding the tranquil state of the



EFFIGY OF ELEANOR, Queen of Edward I.²
From her tomb in Westminster Abbey.

¹ *Hemingford; Chron. Pepini in Muratori; Matt. West.; Wykes.* The story of Eleanor's sucking the wound is not mentioned by any chronicler living near the time. It seems to be of Spanish origin, and to have been first mentioned a century or two after the time.

² Edward caused a monument to be erected to Eleanor's memory near that of his father in the Confessor's Chapel, on which is placed her recumbent image of copper, gilt; and round the verge of the tomb the following inscription in uncial letters:—
ICV GYST ALIANOR LADIS REYNDE DE ANGLETERRE FEMME AL RE
EDWARD PIZ LE RE OVNTIF DEL ALME DE LI DAV FVR BA PITE FVT
MERCI. AMEN.

The effigy of Queen Eleanor like that of Henry III., is remark-

able for the beauty of its execution. The form of the crown and the style of the drapery are so similar to that of the monument of Henry III. that it may be strongly conjectured that both effigies were executed by the same hand under the direction of Edward I. The features of the queen are remarkably regular, and have an air of commanding beauty. "The statue of Eleanor," says Walpole, "is said to have been modelled from her person after death, and probably by an Italian sculptor, from which all the others were copied (the figures on the crosses erected at the places where her body rested on the way to Westminster); and it has been asserted that it was considered as the worthy prototype of the numerous images of the Virgin Mary for a century afterwards."

country, and the loyal disposition of his subjects, it must excite some surprise to see, that after so long an absence, Edward had no anxiety to reach England.¹ Instead of crossing the Channel, he turned back from Paris, where he had stayed a fortnight, and went to Guienne. The motives generally assigned for his protracted stay on the Continent are, his wish to await the decisions of a general council of the church, which the pope had summoned to meet at Lyons, and the distracted state of Guienne, or Aquitaine, which province seems never to have been tranquil for a year at a time. But it is pretty evident that the English king entertained suspicions of Philip, a far less conscientious sovereign than his father, Louis IX., who had been severely blamed by the French for not taking advantage of the weakness of Henry III. to drive the English out of all their continental possessions. The dark shadows of some deep and disgraceful intrigues are visible; and it seems to us, that when the pope warned Edward against the swords of the assassins, he did not apprehend danger from the ruined and fugitive Guy de Montfort, so much as from more prosperous and more powerful agents. In the month of May, 1274, while the English king was in Guienne, he received a challenge, couched in all the nice terms and circumlocutions of chivalry, from the Count of Chalons, to meet him lance to lance in a tournament. This fashion was then at its height, and knights and nobles of high renown, and princes royal, were accustomed to defy each other in the name of God, of the blessed Virgin Mary, and of their respective saints and mistresses, and to invite one another, out of love and reverence, to joustings and tiltings, which often terminated in blood and death or fractured limbs. Edward considered himself bound in honour as a true knight to accept the count's challenge, and on the appointed day he entered the lists, as stalwart and fearless a combatant as ever sat in saddle. He was attended by 1000 champions; but the Count of Chalons rode to the spot with nearly 2000. Whispers of bad faith on the part of the count had already been heard,

and the sight of this unfair advantage probably confirmed the worst suspicions of the English. The image of war was converted into its stern reality—a sanguinary battle ensued, in which the foot-soldiers took part as well as the knights. The English cross-bowmen drove the French infantry from the field, and then mixing with the English horse, who were far outnumbered by their opponents, they overthrew many of the count's knights by stabbing their horses or cutting their saddle-girths—two operations against all rule, and deemed infamous in the code of chivalry. The count himself, a man renowned for his physical strength, after charging Edward several times with his lance, rode in, and grasping the king round the neck, endeavoured to unseat him. Edward sat like a rock, and gave the proper touch with the spur—his war-horse sprang forward, the count was pulled out of his saddle, and hurled to the ground with a dreadful shock. He was remounted by some of his knights; but, sorely bruised and stupefied by his fall, he cried out for quarter. Edward was so enraged that he kept hammering on the iron armour of his suppliant foe for some time, and at last rejected his sword, and made him surrender to a common foot-soldier—an extremity of disgrace which a true knight would have avoided at the cost of life. The English had the best of the affray, taking many knights, who were obliged to ransom their persons, their arms, and their horses (where any were left alive), and *slaying* many of the French footmen—"because they were but rascals,"² and no great account was made of them.³

Edward now turned his thoughts towards England, and sent orders A.D. 1274. to prepare for his coronation. If these orders were obeyed, the coronation feast must have been a sublime specimen of a well-loaded table; for 380 head of cattle, 430 sheep, 430 pigs, 18 wild boars, 278 fitches of bacon, and 19,660 capons and fowls, were ordered by the king for this solemn occasion.⁴ As he travelled through France, Edward stopped at the pleasant town of

¹ He had written letters expressing some fear of the Londoners, and had several times commanded the "mayor, sheriffs, and commons" most carefully to keep the peace of the city. The measures adopted in consequence were more vigorous than legal. All persons suspected of having been partizans of the Earl of Leicester were hunted down in every ward, and, without form of trial or examination, thrown into prison till Edward's return.

It was a tranquillity, however, which seems to have encouraged the licentiousness of the barons. Speaking of Boston, in Lincolnshire, Camden says:—"This town was miserably ruined in Edward I.'s reign; for in that degenerate age and universal corruption of manners through the kingdom, certain warriors, whilst a tournament was proclaiming at the fair time, coming hither under the disguise of monks and canons, set the town on fire in many places, broke in upon the merchants with sudden violence, and carried away great quantities of goods, but

burned more; inasmuch that our historians write (as the ancients did of Corinth when it was demolished) that veins of gold and silver mixed together in one common current. Their ring-leader, Robert Chamberlain, after he had confessed the fact and expressed his detestation of the crime, was hanged; but he could not by any means be brought to discover his accomplices."

² Rascal here means simply plebeian of the lowest class, the meaning attached to the term by Sir Thomas Smith, who, in his classification of English society, defines yeoman as "among the husbandmen, labourers, lowest and rascal sort of the people, such as be exempted out of the number of the rascallie," &c. Thus, too, Pope—

"My blood
Has crept through veins of rascals since the flood."
(See *Imperial Dictionary*.)

³ *Herming. West. Trivet. Holinshed.*

⁴ *Rymer.*

Montreuil, to settle some differences which had long existed between the English and Flemings, and which had seriously committed the commercial interests of both countries. On the 2d of August, 1274, after an absence of more than four years, he landed at Dover, and on the 19th of the same month, "after the feast of the Assumption," he was crowned, together with his high-minded wife, in Westminster Abbey. The nation was proud of the valour and fame of their king, who was now in the prime of mature manhood, being in his thirty-sixth year; and the king had good reason to be proud of the affection, loyalty, and prosperity of the nation.

The government, however, was poor and embarrassed; and, in spite of all pretexts, this circumstance seems to have been the real whetstone of the animosity which Edward showed immediately after his accession to one class of his subjects—the unhappy Jews. The rest of the nation were now tolerably well protected from arbitrary spoliation by the Great Charter and the power of parliaments; but the miserable Israelites, considered unworthy of a participation in the laws and rights of a Christian people, were left naked to oppression, no hand or tongue being raised in their defence, and the mass of the people rejoicing in their ruin. As a zealous crusader, Edward detested all unbelievers, and his religious antipathies went hand-in-hand with his rapacity, and probably justified its excesses in his own eyes. The coin had been clipped and adulterated for many years, and the king chose to consider the Jews as the sole or chief authors of this crime.¹ To bring a Jew before a Christian tribunal was almost the same thing as to sign his death-warrant. Two hundred and eighty of both sexes were hanged in London alone, and many victims also suffered in every other town where they resided. As it was so common, clipped money might be found upon every person in the kingdom; but once discovered in the possession of an Israelite, it was taken as an irrefragable proof of guilt. The houses and the whole property of every Jew that suffered went to the crown, which thus had an interest in multiplying the number of convictions. Even before these judicial proceedings, the king prohibited the Jews from taking interest for money lent, from building synagogues, and buying lands or any free tenements. He put a capitation or poll-tax upon them, similar to the *kharatch* which the grand-seigneur exacted from his Christian subjects; he set a distinctive and odious badge upon their dress, that they might be known from all others—another Turkish custom, which in its time has been the cause of infinite suffering.

¹ A few Christians were afterwards punished for the same offence.

Thirteen years later, when Edward was engaged in expensive foreign wars, and the parliament, in ill humour thereat, stinted his supplies, he ordered the seizure of every Jew in England; and on an appointed day, men, women, and children—every living creature in whose veins the ancient blood of the tribes was known or supposed to flow—were brutally arrested and cast into loathsome dungeons. There seems to have been no parity of justice on this occasion, and the Jews purchased their enlargement by a direct payment of the sum of £12,000 to the king. Edward might have continued to make good use of them from time to time in this manner, as most of his predecessors had done; but his fanaticism overcame his avidity for money, or, probably, he wanted a large sum at once, for he was now in the midst of his scheme for the subjugation of Scotland, and had just married two of his daughters. It was in the year 1290, soon after the sitting of a parliament at Westminster, that his proclamation went forth commanding all the Jews, under the penalty of death, to quit the kingdom for ever, within the space of two months. Their total number was considerable, for, though long robbed and persecuted in England, they had, notwithstanding, increased and multiplied, and their condition in the other countries of Christendom being still worse than here, the stream of emigration had set pretty constantly from the opposite side of the Channel. Sixteen thousand five hundred and eleven individuals received the king's pass, with the gracious permission to carry with them as much of their ready money as would pay the immediate expenses of their voyage. Houses, lands, merchandise, treasures, debts owing to them, with their bonds, their tallies and obligations, were all seized by the king. The mariners of London, and the inhabitants of the Cinque ports generally, who were as bigoted as the king, and thought it no sin to be as rapacious towards the accursed Jews, robbed many of them of the small pittance left them, and drowned not a few during their passage. Some few mariners were convicted and suffered capital punishment; for the king, to use the keen sarcasm of Hume, was determined to be the sole plunderer in his dominions.

Contemporaneously with these shameful proceedings against the Jews, Edward enacted many just and wise laws for his Christian subjects.²

² At the parliament which met in May, 1275, under the presidency of the Lord-chancellor Burnel, who had early distinguished himself not only in the civil and canon law, but in the common law of England, was passed the *STATUTE OF WESTMINSTER THE FIRST*, deserving, says Lord Campbell, the name of a code, rather than an act of Parliament. "From this chiefly Edward I. has obtained the name of the 'English Justinian,' absurdly enough, as the Roman emperor merely caused a compilation to be made of existing law; whereas the object now

The nature of his reforms shows the extent of the evil that had existed. In 1299 all the judges of the land were indicted for bribery, and only two of the number were acquitted; the chief justice of the court of king's bench was convicted of instigating his servants to commit murder, and of protecting them against the law after the offence; the chief baron of the exchequer was imprisoned and heavily fined, and so was Sir Ralph de Hengham, the grand justiciary. But perhaps, in some of these cases, we shall not greatly err if we deduct from the delinquency of the accused, and allow something for the arbitrary will of the accuser. It is known that the king was in great want of money, when, as the consequence of their condemnation, he exacted about 80,000 marks from the judges. In recovering, or attempting to recover, such parts of the royal domain as had been encroached upon, and in examining the titles by which some of the great barons held their estates, he roused a spirit which might have proved fatal to him had he not prudently stopped in time. When his commissioners asked Earl Warenne to show his titles, the earl drew his sword and said, "By this instrument do I hold my lands, and by the same I intend to defend them! Our ancestors, coming into this realm with William the Bastard, acquired their possessions by their good swords." Such title-deeds were not to be disputed; but there were other cases where men wore less powerful swords, and where written deeds and grants from the crown had been lost or destroyed during the convulsions of the country; and Edward seized some manors and estates, and made their owners redeem them by large sums of money. There was much bad faith in these proceedings, but, as the king chose his victims with much prudence, no insurrection was excited.

We must now retrace our steps, to take a general view of this king's great operations in war. Edward was, to the full, as ambitious and fond of conquest as any prince of the Norman or Plantagenet line; but, instead of expending his power

in foreign wars, he husbanded it for the grand plan of reducing the whole of the island of Great Britain under his immediate and undivided sway. He employed the claim of feudal superiority—a right most difficult to define, even if its existence had been admitted—with final success against Wales; and though, with regard to Scotland, it eventually failed, the ruin of his scheme there did not happen until after his death, and he felt, for a time, the proud certainty of having defeated every opponent. If the acknowledgment of the paramount authority of the English kings, extracted from unsuccessful princes, justified a forcible seizure of territory against the wishes of the people, Edward may be acknowledged to have had that right over Wales. Setting aside the somewhat doubtful vassalage of the Welsh principalities to our Saxon kings, on which the Norman conquerors impudently founded a pretension, as being the lawful heirs to those kings, we have repeated instances of a seeming submission, when the princes purchased peace by engaging to pay certain tributes, and to recognize the suzerainty of the English throne. When a weak state stood in this relation with a strong one, the feudal supremacy implied an almost unlimited right of interference and control; but when the relation existed between two states of equal power, it meant little or nothing beyond a mere ceremony. Thus the Kings of England, as vassals to the sovereigns of France for their territories on the Continent, had, for a long time, defied the authority of their liege lords, after making them tremble in Paris, their own capital. Those other nominal vassals, the great Dukes of Burgundy, although they had no separate sovereignty like the Normans and Plantagenets, repeatedly followed the same course. The forfeiture pronounced against John was generally considered as an unjustifiable stretch of the rights of supremacy, but it was well timed; it was directed against one who had made himself universally odious, and whose continental subjects, for the most part, at this crisis, preferred a union with

was to correct abuses, to supply defects, and to remodel the administration. Edward deserves infinite praise for the sanction he gave to the undertaking; and, from the observations he had made in France, Sicily, and the East, he may, like Napoleon, have been personally useful in the consultations for the formation of the new code; but the execution must have been left to others, and the chief merit of it may safely be ascribed to Lord-chancellor Burnel, who brought it forward in parliament.

"The statute is methodically divided into fifty-one chapters. Without exempting churchmen from civil jurisdiction, it protects church property from the spoliation of the king and nobles, to which it had been exposed. It provides for freedom of popular elections, then a matter of much moment, as sheriffs, coroners, and conservators of the peace were still chosen by the freeholders in the county court, and attempts had been made unduly to influence the election of knights of the shire almost from the time when the order was instituted. It contains a strong declaration to enforce the enactments of *Magna Charta* against

excessive fines, which might operate as perpetual imprisonment. It enumerates and corrects the great abuse of tenures, particularly with regard to the marriage of wards. It regulates the levying of tolls, which were imposed in an arbitrary manner, not only by the barons, but by cities and boroughs. It corrects and restrains the powers of the king's escheator and other officers under the crown. It amends the criminal law, putting the crime of rape on the footing to which it has been lately restored, as a most grievous but not a capital offence. It embraces the subject of "procedure" both in civil and criminal matters, introducing many regulations with a view to render it cheaper, more simple, and more expeditious.

"Having gone so far, we are astonished that it did not go farther. It does not abolish trial by battle in civil suits, only releasing the demandant's champion from the oath (which was always false), that he had seen seisin given of the land, or that his father, when dying, had exhorted him to defend the title to it."—Lord Campbell's *Lives of the Chancellors*, p. 164.

France to their old connection with England. The nature of Edward's right is scarcely deserving of a further examination: had no such claims existed he would have invented others; for he was determined on the conquest of the country, and internal dissensions and other circumstances favoured the enterprise. The expediency of the measure, and the advantages that have resulted from it, ought not to make us indifferent to the fate of a brave people who were fighting for their independence. The Anglo-Normans, who had been gradually encroaching on the territory for 200 years, accuse the poor Welsh of cruelty and perfidy, forgetting that they were themselves the aggressors, and had been guilty of treachery the most manifold, and of cruelties the most atrocious. Since the beginning of the reign of Henry II., civilization had advanced in the rich champaign of England, and had, from the circumstances in which the country was placed, retrograded in Wales; but there are Welsh writers of the time who trace in that land the most interesting picture of an hospitable and generous race of men, full of the elements of poetry, and passionately fond of their wild native music. Though chiefly a pastoral people, they were not rude or clownish. "All the Welsh," says Giraldus Cambrensis, "without any exception, from the highest to the lowest, are ready and free in speech, and have great confidence in replying, even to princes and magnates." The mass of the nation, however, notwithstanding this partial refinement, was poor and but rudely clad, as compared with their English contemporaries. Seldom has even a race of mountaineers made a longer or more gallant stand for liberty. When the sword of slaughter had passed over them to smite no more—when better times and better feelings came—though, as less numerous and far more exposed, they had been less fortunate than the Scots, their valour entitled them to the same admiration and sympathy; and perhaps the high national character of the United Kingdom of Great Britain may be in part owing to the fact, that no one portion of it fell an easy or degraded conquest to the other.

At the time of Edward's aggression, the principality of North Wales was still almost untouched by English arms; but the conquerors had established themselves in Monmouthshire, and held a somewhat uncertain and frequently disturbed possession of a good part of South Wales. This occupation had been effected very gradually by the great barons, who had made incursions at their own expense and with their own retainers. These lords were rewarded with the lands they gained from the Welsh. As they advanced they raised chains of fortifications, building their castles sufficiently near to communicate with and support each other. Thus, in Monmouthshire a

regular chain of fortresses was occupied on the banks of the Monnow, the Wye, and the Severn. A second line stretched diagonally from Gromont on the Monnow to the banks of the Rumney. In addition to these strong fortresses, many smaller castles were constructed for the purpose of keeping the natives in awe. The more advanced posts were often re-taken; and the day when one of these castles was destroyed was held by the Welsh—who foresaw the consequences of this gradual advance—as a day of universal joy, on which the father, who had just lost his only son, ought to forget his misfortune. But still the chains were drawn more and more closely around them by the persevering invaders; and, since the conquest of Ireland, extraordinary pains had been taken to secure the whole of the line through South Wales to Milford Haven, the usual place of embarkation for the sister island. In the wilderness of the Tivy, and in many of the more inaccessible moors, marshes, and mountains, the English were still defied. But the jealousies of the petty princes, and the rancorous feuds of the clans, defeated all their greater projects; and, at the critical moment which was to seal the fate of the whole country, Rees-ap-Meredith, the Prince of South Wales, was induced to join Edward and fight against Llewellyn, the ruler of the northern principality and the representative of a rival family. Llewellyn, moreover, was opposed by his own brother, David, who also rallied, with his vassals, round the standard of the English king.

In the wars between Henry III. and the barons, the Prince of North Wales had taken part with the latter, and had shown himself the steady friend of De Montfort. A body of northern Welsh had fought for that great earl against Edward at the battle of Evesham; and when De Montfort was dead, and his family ruined and scattered, Llewellyn still retained his old affection for the house, and agreed upon a marriage with Elinor de Montfort, daughter to the deceased earl. As that young lady was on her voyage from France to Wales, with Emeric, her youngest brother, she was taken by four ships of Bristol, and was sent to King Edward's court, where both brother and sister were detained as prisoners. Angry feelings had existed before, but this seizure of his bride transported Llewellyn with wrath, and bitterly complaining of the wrong and insult which had been done to him in a time of peace, he prepared for war. According to some accounts, he began hostilities by falling upon the English on his borders, killing the people and burning their towns; but this is not quite certain, and, at all events, Edward had long been employed in making preparations for conquest, and, what was equally notorious, and still more

irritating to the unfortunate prince, he had been intriguing with Llewellyn's subjects and corrupting the Welsh chiefs with bribes and promises.

In A.D. 1277, after the feast of Easter, Edward departed from Westminster, and with a mighty force, which increased as he advanced, marched towards Chester. At Midsommer he crossed the Dee, and, keeping between the mountains and the sea, took the two castles of Flint and Rhuddlan. Cautious in the extreme, he made no further progress until he had repaired these fortresses and strengthened their defences. At the same time his fleet, which was skilfully managed by the mariners of the Cinque ports, co-operated along the devoted coast, blockading every port, and cutting off the supplies which Llewellyn had counted upon receiving from the Isle of Anglesey.

On the land side every outlet was strongly guarded, and the Welsh prince, driven to the mountains, was soon in want of provisions. Edward avoided a battle with desperate men, and, girding in the barren mountains, waited the effects of a surer and more dreadful destroyer than the sword. When winter made its approach the condition of Llewellyn was horrible, and it finally obliged him to throw himself on the generosity of his enemy. On the 10th of November Edward dictated his harsh terms at Rhuddlan Castle. The English king afterwards remitted a tremendous fine, which so poor a country could never have paid; but he showed no great alacrity in making these concessions, and he let nearly a year elapse before he performed his promise of releasing Llewellyn's bride.

Such treaties as that imposed on this occasion upon the Welsh are never kept, and all Edward's art could not reconcile either the prince or people to the sense of degradation. He gratified Llewellyn's brother, David, who had fought for him, by marrying him to the daughter of an English earl, and making him an English baron; but, when David stood among his native mountains, he forgot these honours; he cursed his own folly, which had brought ruin upon his country, and had excluded him from the hope of succeeding, either in his own person or in that of his children, to the principality.¹ The English conquerors

were not sufficiently refined to exercise their power with moderation, and they derided the national usages, and insulted the prejudices of a susceptible and brave people. The invasion of their own demesnes, and the cutting down of the wood on the lands reserved to them by treaty, exasperated both Llewellyn and David; but it is perfectly clear that had these princes been converted into subservient vassals, or won by the kindest treatment to be solicitous for the preservation of the peace, they would still have been forced into war by the unanimous feeling of the Welsh people. On the night of Palm Sunday, March the 22d, of the year 1282, David surprised and took the strong castle of Hawardine, belonging to Roger Clifford, the justiciary, "a right worthy



HAWARDINE CASTLE, Flintshire.²—From Wood's Welsh Notes.

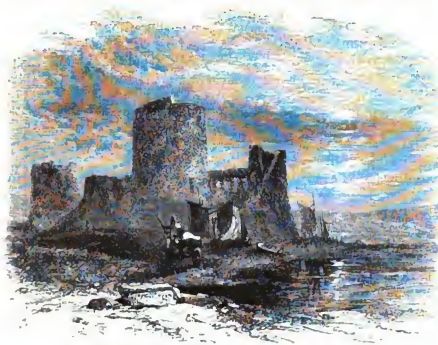
and famous knight," according to the English; a cruel tyrant, according to the Welsh. Several men who made resistance were killed, but the lord, who was caught in his bed, was only wounded, and then carried off as a prisoner. A general insurrection ensued: the Welsh rushed in arms from their mountains, and Llewellyn, joining his brother, laid siege to the castles of

² "It is probable that the site of Hawardine Castle was a Saxon stronghold; it is written *Haorline* in *Doomsday Book*. On the invasion of William, it was found in the possession of the gallant Edwin, and probably was one of the places of his residence. The remains are a fine circular tower or keep on the summit of a mount. This alone is pretty entire. On the removal of an accumulation of rubbish, in one place was discovered a long flight of steps, at the bottom of which was a door, and formerly a draw-bridge, which crossed a deep long chasm (nicely faced with freestone) to another door leading to two or three small rooms, probably places of confinement. The several parts of this fortress seem to have been built at different times. It is surrounded by deep fosses. The castle was dismantled in 1645 by order of parliament.

¹ Llewellyn, it appears, had no children.

Flint and Rhuddlan. These strong places held out, but many of the new castles were taken and

fighting, and whose general habits and manners differed little from those of the Welsh people, whom they were employed to hunt down like blood-hounds. These foreign hordes acted where the regular troops of the English king could not; accustomed in their own country to mountains far more rugged, they penetrated into every part of Snowdon, and the last bulwark of Welsh independence was forced. Edward, chiefly by means of his fleet, occupied Anglesey; but, in passing from that island to the main, a detachment of his forces sustained a severe loss. Between the sword and the waves there perished thirteen knights, seventeen esquires, and several hundred foot-soldiers. This reverse at the Menni Strait happened on St.



FLINT CASTLE.—From Roscoe's *Wanderings in North Wales*.

destroyed, and the English intruders were in some places driven across the marches. When the news was carried to Edward he affected surprise; but it has been suspected that he was not displeased with the opportunity, afforded by what had taken place, of making his conquest final and absolute. He was in want of money, and had no time to assemble a parliament; he therefore had recourse to the very unconstitutional means of a forced loan. He then sent out commissioners to raise an army, and despatched such troops as he had in readiness to the relief of Flint and Rhuddlan. He soon followed in person; and having assembled nearly all his military tenants and 1000 pioneers, he advanced into North Wales, leaving his fleet to act upon the coast and reduce the Isle of Anglesey. His pioneers cut down woods, and opened roads into the very fastnesses of Snowdon, whither the natives were again forced to retire. Some intrenched positions were carried, but not without a great loss; and in one affair, which appears to have been a regular battle, Edward was completely checked, if not defeated. But the means at his disposal made the struggle too unequal; reinforcements continually crossed the Dee, or came up from the coast, and he procured the services of foreign mercenaries, who were particularly well suited for mountain warfare. These were bands of Basques from the Pyrenees, whose method of

Leonard's Day, the 6th of November. In another battle, Edward himself was worsted, being obliged to flee for protection to one of his castles, leaving the Lords Audley and Clifford dead on the field. Llewellyn was elated by these successes, and he fondly hoped that the severity of winter would force the English to retire; but Edward had collected a strong force in Pembrokeshire and Caermarthen, and he now sent it orders to advance through South Wales, and attack his enemy in the rear. Leaving his brother David to carry on the war in North Wales, his own principality, Llewellyn boldly turned his steps to the south to meet the new invaders. He had reached Bualth, in the valley of the Wye, when the English, under the savage Earl of Mortimer, appeared suddenly on the opposite side of the river. A Welsh force was on the neighbouring heights; but the prince had been left with only a few followers. The English crossed the river and surprised him before he had time to put on his armour; he was murdered, rather than slain in battle. They cut off his head and sent it to Edward, who forwarded it to London, there to be placed on the Tower.

The struggle for independence did not, however, end with this unfortunate prince. In spite of the submission of most of the Welsh chiefs, his brother David still kept his sword in his hand, and for six months he wandered a free man over his native wilds. At last he was betrayed by some unpatriotic Welshmen, and with his wife and children carried in chains to the castle of Rhuddlan. In the month of September following, an English parliament, assembled by

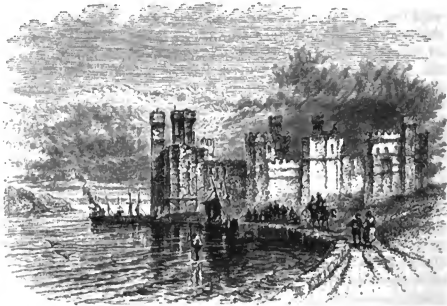
¹ Flint Castle was most probably founded by Edward I., although it has been said to have originated as early as the time of Henry II. Its ruins crest the summit of a freestone rock on the north side of the town, to which the castle was formerly attached by a bridge, which led to the barban tower. It was dismantled in 1647 by order of the parliament.

Edward at Shrewsbury, pronounced the doom, not of the last champion of Welsh independence (for Madoc and others soon followed), but of the last sovereign prince of one of the most ancient ruling families of Europe. He was sentenced—1st. To be dragged by a horse to the place of execution, because he was a traitor to the king, who had made him a knight. 2dly. To be hanged, because he had murdered the knights in Hawardine Castle. 3dly. To have his bowels burned, because he had done the deed on Palm Sunday, the season of Christ's passion. 4thly. To be quartered, and have his limbs hung up in different places, because he had conspired the death of his lord the king in various parts. The sentence was executed to the letter, and it remained for many ages a revolting precedent in cases of high treason.¹

Edward had far more patience and prudence than was common to the conquerors of his time; and he devised wise means for retaining peaceful possession of what he had gained by force. He did not move from Wales until more than a year after the death of Llewellyn, and he spent the greater part of that time in dividing the country into shires and hundreds, after the manner of England, and restoring order and tranquillity. Immediately after the affair of Bualth, he published a proclamation, offering peace to all the inhabitants, giving them, at the same time, assurances that they should continue to enjoy all their lands, liberties, and properties as they had done before. Some of the ancient usages of the country were respected, but, generally speaking, the laws of England were introduced and enforced. He gave charters with great privileges to various trading companies in Rhuddlan, Caernarvon, Aberystwith, and other towns, with the view of encouraging trade and tempting the Welsh from their mountains, and their wild, free way of living, to a more social and submissive state. When his wife Eleanor bore him a son in the castle of Caernarvon, he adroitly availed himself of that circumstance, by presenting the infant Edward to the people as their countryman, and telling

them that he, who was born among them, should be their prince. The Welsh chiefs expected that this "Prince of Wales" would have the separate government of their country; for Alphonso, an elder brother of the infant Edward, was then alive, and the acknowledged heir to the English crown. For some time they indulged in this dream of a restored independence, and professed, and probably felt, a great attachment to the young Edward: but Prince Alphonso died; the illusion was also dissipated by other circumstances, and, in the sequel, the Welsh-born prince came to be regarded by his countrymen with very different feelings from either pride or affection.

After the subjugation of Wales, Edward's ambition rested for about four years—three of which he passed almost wholly on the Continent, where he was honourably engaged as umpire to settle a fresh dispute which had arisen between the Kings of France, Arragon, and the house of Anjou, respecting the island of Sicily. His ability and conduct in this matter gained him a great increase of reputation among foreign princes;² but the affairs of his own kingdom fell into disorder: the English people complained that he neglected their interests to take charge of what did not concern them; and the parliament at last refused him a supply which he had asked. The king then returned in haste, and, almost immediately after, he involved himself in the affairs of Scotland, which, with a few short



CAERNARVON CASTLE.³—J. S. Prout, from his sketch on the spot.

intervals, entirely occupied him all the rest of his reign.

¹ Hemmingford; *Chronicle of Dunstable Priory*; Rymer; Carte.

² Rymer; *Mozaray, Hist. Franc.*; Giannono, *Storia del Regno di Napoli*.

³ This magnificent castle was built by Edward I. The space included within its walls and courts is an area of one mile in cir-

cumference. The exterior is complete in most of its parts, but the halls and chambers, which united a degree of palatial arrangement with the defences of an important stronghold, have fallen into decay. The castle stands at the west end of the town, and on the north and west its massive walls overhang the sea.

Before proceeding, however, to this part of the story of the English king, it will be most convenient to resume our Scottish narrative from the point to which we brought it down in the last Book.¹

The reign of Alexander II., who succeeded to the throne in 1214, will not detain us long. After the death of John, the King of Scots continued to co-operate with Prince Louis of France and the confederated English barons; and he himself, his whole army, and kingdom were, in consequence, excommunicated by the legate Gualo; but the sentence seems to have been very little minded either by the people or their clergy. It was not even published by the latter till almost a twelvemonth had passed. In the meantime Louis made peace with Henry, without giving himself any concern about his ally. On this, Alexander, who was on his march into England, returned home. He soon after, however, effected his reconciliation both with the pope and the new King of England. On the 1st of December, 1217, he received absolution from the delegates of Gualo at Tweedmouth; and at the same time he surrendered to Henry the town of Carlisle, of which, although not of the castle, he had made himself master, and did homage for the earldom of Huntingdon and his other honours and possessions in England. On the 25th of June, 1221, Alexander married the Princess Joan, Henry III.'s eldest sister. A long period of uninterrupted peace and amity between the two countries was the consequence of these arrangements.

Notwithstanding the alliance that connected Alexander and Henry, and the friendship and frequent intercourse in which they lived—for the King of Scots made repeated visits to the English court—no final settlement of their claims upon each other had yet taken place. It was not till September, 1237, that at a conference, held at York, it was agreed that Alexander, who, among other things, laid claim, by right of inheritance, to the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, should receive lands in the two former of the yearly value of £200 in full satisfaction of all his demands. The following year (4th March, 1238) Queen Joan died at Canterbury. She had left no issue, and within little more than a year (15th May, 1239) Alexander married again: his new queen was Mary, daughter of Ingelram de Couci, a great lord of Picardy. The chief bond that had attached the two kings was thus snapped; and Mary de Couci, whose family had been distinguished for its opposition to the English interests, is, besides, supposed to have exercised an unfavourable influence over the mind of her husband.

It was some years, however, before the old friendship that had subsisted between him and Henry wholly gave way. Even in 1242 we find Henry, when about to set out on his expedition to France, confiding to Alexander the care of the northern Borders. But in this same year an event occurred which is especially memorable for the consequences attributed to it. An old feud had existed between the Bissets, a powerful family in the north of Scotland, and the house of Athole. At a tournament held at Haddington, Patrick, Earl of Athole, a youth distinguished for his knightly accomplishments, chanced to overthrow Walter Bisset. Within a day or two after, the Earl of Athole was found murdered in the house where he lodged, which was also set on fire. Suspicion immediately fell upon the Bissets: the nobility, headed by the Earl of March, immediately raised an armed force, and demanded the life both of Walter and of his uncle William Bisset, the chief of the family. It appears pretty certain that the latter at least was innocent of any participation in the murder: he urged, what seems to have been the fact, that he was not within fifty miles of Haddington when it was committed: he offered to maintain his innocence by the wager of battle; and, still further to clear himself, he had sentence of excommunication against the murderers published both in his own chapel and in all the churches of the kingdom. It seems to have been against him, nevertheless, that the rage both of the connections of Athole and of the people generally was chiefly turned. The savage notions of the period could not view what had taken place in any other light than as a ground for hunting to death the whole kindred of the supposed criminal; and the head of his family, as higher game, was naturally, in the spirit of this mode of considering the matter, pursued even with more eagerness than himself. The king, however, seems to have felt the injustice of the popular clamour: he interposed for Bisset's protection; and even the queen, according to Fordun, offered to make oath that he had no part in devising the crime; that is to say, she was so convinced of his innocence that she was willing to come forward as one of his compurgators, if the case should be submitted to that mode of trial. The opposite party, however, seem to have declined submitting the question to decision either by compurgation or by combat: they insisted that it should be brought before a jury; so that this affair is remarkable, in addition to its other points of interest, as a memorial of all the three great forms of judicial procedure in criminal cases which were then in use. Bisset refused the trial by jury, "on account of the malevolence of the people, and the implacable resentment of his enemies." At last, by the exertions of the

¹ See vol. I. p. 349.

king, it was agreed that he should be allowed to escape with his life on condition of forfeiting his estates and leaving the country. But he was still, notwithstanding, in the greatest danger from the secret determination of his enemies to have his blood; and it was only by remaining in concealment under the royal protection for about three months that he was at last enabled to make his escape to England. Whatever may have been his injuries, he now certainly showed little nobleness of character. Stung, possibly, with an indignant sense of the injustice he had experienced, he sought to avenge himself on his enemies at the expense not only of his country, but of its king, to whose zealous and energetic interposition in his favour he owed his life. It is said that he made his appeal to the King of England against the judgment that had been passed on him, on the plea that "Alexander, being the vassal of Henry, had no right to inflict such punishment on his nobles without the permission of his liege lord;" and that, at the same time, he further endeavoured to excite Henry against the Scottish king by describing the latter as devoted to the interests of France, and quoting instances in which, as he affirmed, English traitors who had escaped from prison were received and harboured at the northern court.¹

These insidious representations may not improbably have had some part, along with other causes, in fomenting the hostile disposition which Henry not long after openly showed. At length, having fully arranged his plans, he proclaimed war against Alexander in 1244, and assembling a numerous army at Newcastle, prepared to invade Scotland. Some troops which had been sent to the assistance of Alexander by his brother-in-law, John de Couci, had been intercepted by Henry, who had also organized a confederacy of Irish chiefs to aid him in his enterprise, by making a descent upon the Scottish coast; but the country, nevertheless, prepared to make a vigorous resistance. The sword, however, was not drawn, after all; a negotiation took place between the two kings, and a peace was concluded at Newcastle (13th August), by which Alexander agreed always to bear good faith and love to his dear and liege lord, Henry, King of England, and never to enter into alliance with the enemies of Henry or of his heirs, unless they should unjustly aggrieve him.²

After this the Scottish king was engaged in war with his unruly vassal, Angus, Lord of Argyle, when he was taken ill, and died in the island of Kerarry, near the Sound of Mull, on the 8th of July, 1249, in the fifty-first year of his age, and thirty-fifth of his reign. Alexander,

like most of the other Scottish kings of those times, stood up throughout his reign for the independence of the national church. Although a favourer of the clergy, he does not appear to have gone into any extravagant expenditure for the aggrandizement of their order. He founded, indeed, no fewer than eight monasteries for the Dominicans or Black Friars; and Boece supposes that his partiality to these mendicants may have been occasioned by his having seen their founder, St. Dominic, in France, about the year 1217. "The sight of a living saint," observes Lord Hailes, "may have made an impression on his young mind; but perhaps he considered the mendicant friars as the cheapest ecclesiastics: his revenues could not supply the costly institution of Cistercians and canons regular, in which his great-grandfather, David I., took delight."

Alexander was succeeded on the throne by his only son, Alexander III., who was born at Roxburgh on the 4th of September, 1241, and was now consequently only in his ninth year. There was reason to apprehend that the King of England might endeavour to take advantage of this occasion to renew his attempt against the independence of the kingdom; and, therefore, by the patriotic advice of William Comyn, Earl of Monteith, no time was lost in proceeding to the coronation of the young king. The ceremony took place at Scone on the 13th of July, the Bishop of St. Andrews knighting the king as well as placing the crown on his head.

It would serve no useful end to load our pages with any detail of the intricate, and in great part, very imperfectly intelligible struggles of adverse factions that make up the history of the kingdom during this as during every other minority in those times. It is sufficient to state that at the head of one of the two great contending parties, was the powerful family of the Comyns, of which name it is said there were at this time in Scotland no fewer than thirty-two knights, several of whom were barons; the Baliols, among others, were adherents of this party. Among their most distinguished opponents were the Earl of March and Dunbar, the Earl of Strathern, the Earl of Carrick, the Bruces, the steward of Scotland, and Alan Durward, who held the office of great justiciary, and was also one of the most distinguished soldiers of the age. But many of the nobility were constantly changing sides, according to the course and apparent chances of the

² Nisi nos injuste gravent. Dr. Lingard describes this treaty as "an arrangement by which, though he eluded the express recognition of feudal dependence, he [Alexander] seems to have conceded to Henry the substance of his demand." In fact "the express recognition of feudal dependence" was not at all eluded by Alexander; it was made in the most distinct terms, but it was not made for the kingdom of Scotland, and therefore it was Henry, not Alexander, who conceded the point in dispute.

¹ Hailes, *Ann. of Scot.* l. 138-190; Tytler, *Hist. of Scot.* l. 4-6.

contest. The King of England also soon found a fair pretence for interfering in Scottish affairs, by giving his daughter Margaret in marriage to Alexander, according to an agreement which had been entered into soon after the births of the prince and the princess. Although neither party was yet quite eleven years old, the nuptials were celebrated at York with great magnificence on the 26th of December, 1251.

On this occasion Alexander, according to custom, did homage to Henry for his English possessions; but when the latter demanded homage also for the kingdom of Scotland, the young Scottish sovereign said "that he had been invited to York to marry the princess of England, not to treat of affairs of state; and that he could not take a step so important without the knowledge and approbation of his parliament." It was agreed, however, that Henry, in consideration apparently of his natural interest in the welfare of his son-in-law, should send a person in whom he placed confidence to Scotland, who might act in concert with the Scottish guardians of the young king. He sent, accordingly, Geoffrey of Langley, keeper of the royal forests, a man who had already acquired the worst reputation in England by the severity with which he exercised the powers of his odious office; but the Scottish barons, finding his insolence intolerable, soon compelled him to leave the country.

In 1255, we find the English king despatching a new mission to Scotland under pretence of inquiring into certain grievances complained of by the queen his daughter. At this time Robert de Ros and John de Baliol, two noblemen of the Comyn party, appear to have been at the head of the government under the name of regents. Queen Margaret complained that she was confined in the castle of Edinburgh—a sad and solitary place—without verdure, and, by reason of its vicinity to the sea, unwholesome; that she was not permitted to make excursions through the kingdom, nor to choose her female attendants; and that, although both she and her husband had by this time completed their fourteenth year, they were still excluded from each other's society. By a scheme concerted between Henry and the party opposed to the Comyns, the Earl of March, Durward, and other leaders of that party soon after this contrived to surprise the castle of Edinburgh, and to get possession of the king and queen. They were immediately conveyed to the north of England, where Henry was with an army; and at last, in a meeting of the two kings at Roxburgh (20th September, 1255), a new plan of government was settled, to subsist for seven years, that is, till Alexander should have attained the age of twenty-one, by which all the Comyns were deprived of office, and the

Earls of Fife, Dunbar, Strathern, and Carrick, Alexander the steward of Scotland, Robert de Bruce, Alan Durward, and other principal persons of the same faction, were appointed regents of the kingdom and guardians of the king and queen.

The settlement appears to have been maintained for about two years; but in 1257, a counter revolution was effected through the junction with the Comyns of Mary de Couci, Alexander's mother, who had married John de Brieenne, son of the titular King of Jerusalem, and had lately returned from abroad, animated with all her old hereditary hatred of the English influence, and strengthened both by her new alliance and by the favour and countenance of the pope. The lately expelled faction now suddenly rose in arms, seized the king and queen at Kinross, and so completely carried everything before them, that the principal adherents of the English interests found it necessary to save themselves by flight. There can be no doubt that, with whatever justice or by whatever means, the Comyns contrived to make theirs appear to be the patriotic cause, and to gain, at least for the moment, the popular voice. They probably made use of the old cry of independence, and worked upon the sensitive national jealousy of England with good effect. Even the king, now that he was in their hands, was of course compelled to act along with them, and submit to be their instrument. They put him at the head of their forces, and marched towards the English border, where it would appear that the adherents of the late government had rallied and collected their strength. No contest of arms, however, took place; the dispute was eventually settled by negotiation; and it was agreed that while the chief power should remain in the hands of the Comyns and the queen-dowager, to six regents of this party should be added four of the members of the late government. Mary de Couci and her husband were placed at the head of this new regency.

The coalition thus formed seems to have substantially subsisted till the king came of age, and took the management of affairs into his own hands, although, shortly after the new government was established, the Comyns lost their great leader, Walter, Earl of Monteith, poisoned, as was suspected, by his countess. In 1260, on the Queen of Scots becoming pregnant, she and her husband were permitted to go to her father in London, Henry engaging that neither the king nor his attendants should be required to treat of state affairs during their visit, and also making oath that he would not detain either the queen or her child, if her delivery should take place in England. In February, 1261, the Queen of Scots was delivered at Windsor of a daughter, who was named Margaret.

The year 1263 is the most memorable in the reign of Alexander. The Earl of Ross and other northern chiefs had, at the instigation of the Scottish king, invaded the Hebrides or Western Islands, which were under the dominion of Norway, and had signalized their descent, according to the Norwegian chroniclers, by the most frightful excesses of savage warfare. Haco, the Norwegian king, immediately prepared for vengeance. Having collected a great fleet, he sailed from Herlover in the beginning of July. The Orkney Islands, which, although formerly belonging to Norway, had been lately compelled to acknowledge the sovereignty of Scotland, were his first destination. Anchoring in the bay of Ronaldsvoe (now Ronaldshay), the formidable armament remained there for some weeks, during which the inhabitants, both of the islands and of the opposite mainland, were compelled to supply it with provisions and to pay tribute. It is recorded in the Norse chronicle of the expedition, that while the fleet lay at Ronaldsvoe "a great darkness drew over the sun, so that only a little ring was bright round his orb;" and it is found that the remarkable phenomenon of an annular eclipse must have been seen at Ronaldsvoe this year on the 6th of August. Such confirmations seem to revivify the long-buried past, and make its history read like a narrative of events of our own day. Haco now sailed for the south, and being joined as he proceeded by his allies, Magnus, the Lord of Man, and various Hebridean chiefs, he found himself at the head of above 100 sail, most of them vessels of considerable size. Dividing his force, he sent one powerful squadron to ravage the Mull of Cantyre; another, to make a descent on the Isle of Bute. The latter soon compelled the Scottish garrison of the castle of Rothesay, in that island, to surrender. In the meantime, Haco himself entered the Frith of Clyde, and anchored between the mainland and the Isle of Arran. Additional accessions had by this time increased his fleet to 160 sail. The Scottish government now attempted to avert the danger by negotiation: the abandonment of all claim to the Hebrides was offered by Alexander; but to these terms Haco would not listen. Some time, however, was thus gained, which was in various ways advantageous to the Scots and detrimental to their invaders. It allowed the former to improve their preparations for defence; it embarrassed the latter by a growing difficulty in obtaining provisions, and it exposed their fleet, upon a strange coast, to the hazards of the stormy season of the year that was fast approaching. Many of the inhabitants of the neighbouring country meanwhile had retreated for safety to the islets in Loch Lomond. There, however, they were soon attacked by a division of the in-

vading force under the command of the King of Man, who, first sailing to the head of Loch Long, and plundering the shores as they passed, then dragged their boats across the neck of land that divides the two lakes. A devastating expedition into Stirlingshire followed. But now the heavens began to fight against them. One gale destroyed ten of their ships that lay in Loch Long; and soon after, on Monday, the 1st of October, a tempest of tremendous violence from the south-west attacked the main squadron lying under the command of Haco in the Clyde, and tearing nearly every ship from its moorings, after casting several of them on shore, drove the rest, mostly dismasted or otherwise disabled, up the Channel. The Scottish forces collected in the neighbourhood immediately fell upon the crews of the vessels that were stranded; but the Norwegians defended themselves with great valour; and assistance having been sent to them by Haco, when the wind was somewhat abated, they succeeded in driving off their assailants. As soon as daylight appeared, Haco, who had collected his shattered ships off the village of Largs, landed at the head of a strong force for the protection of two transports that had been among the vessels cast ashore the preceding afternoon, and which the Scots had attempted to plunder during the night. This movement may be said to have commenced what is called the battle of Largs. The Scottish army, led by Alexander, and the steward of Scotland, now came down from the surrounding high grounds. The handful of Norwegians, drawn up in three divisions, one of which occupied a small hill, while the other two were stationed on the shore, were greatly outnumbered by this force; and Haco, as the engagement was about to commence, was, although with much difficulty, prevailed upon by his officers to row back to the ships for further aid. But he had scarcely got on board when another furious storm came on, and rendered the landing of more men for the present impossible. In the meantime the Scots had attacked the most advanced body of the Norwegians, who were soon obliged to flee in confusion. The rout immediately became general; numbers of the Norwegians threw themselves into their boats and attempted to regain their ships; the rest were driven along the shore amid showers of arrows from their pursuing enemy. Still they repeatedly rallied, and, turning round upon their pursuers, made an obstinate stand at every point where the ground favoured them. In this way, although still galled by the Scots hovering on their rear, they seem to have at length converted their flight into a slow and comparatively orderly retreat. Towards night a reinforcement from the ships having, notwithstanding the storm, which still continued,

effected a landing by extraordinary efforts, the foreigners, if we may trust to their own account, even made a general attack upon the Scottish army, and, after a short resistance, succeeded in driving it back. They then re-embarked in their boats and regained their ships. But on the water the elements had been doing their destructive work even with more effect than human rage on land. Haco's magnificent navy was now reduced to a few shattered vessels. The Norwegian king sailed away to the island of Arran, and from thence through a course of stormy weather to Orkney, which he did not reach till the 29th of October. He proceeded no farther on his homeward voyage. An illness seized upon him, under which he lingered for some weeks, and at last expired on the 15th of December.¹

The battle of Largs is the great event of the reign of Alexander. The victory was among the most important the Scots ever won. It was their last conflict with the pirate kings. After negotiations which lasted for nearly three years, a peace was concluded with Norway, by which both the Hebrides and the Isle of Man, and all other islands in the western and southern seas, of which that power might have hitherto held or claimed the dominion, were made over in full sovereignty to Scotland. The Western Islands were never afterwards withdrawn from the Scottish rule.

There is little more to relate under the reign of Alexander. He was present with his queen, and many of his nobility, at the coronation of Edward I., in 1274, and on that occasion did homage, according to custom, for his English possessions. In 1278 he performed this ceremony a second time, declaring, according to the record preserved in the Close Rolls, that he became the liege man of his lord, King Edward of England, against all people. This was substantially the same acknowledgment that Alexander II. had made to Henry III. in 1244. It was no admission of Edward's claim of feudal superiority over Scotland, as is conclusively proved, if there could be any doubt on the subject, by the sequel of the record, which expressly states that Edward "received it, saving his right and claim to homage for the kingdom of Scotland, when it shall please him to bring it forward."

The government of Alexander, after he took the management of affairs into his own hands, made him universally beloved by his people; and

peace and plenty blessed the land in his time. But clouds and storms were soon to succeed this sunshine.

Alexander had lost his queen, Margaret of England, in 1275; but, besides the daughter already mentioned, she had left him a son, named Alexander, born at Jedburgh on the 21st of January, 1264; David, a younger son, had died in his boyhood. In 1281 the Princess Margaret was married to Eric, King of Norway, and the following year the Prince of Scotland, now a youth of eighteen, was united to Margaret, daughter of Guy, Earl of Flanders. At this time the king himself, as yet only in his forty-first year, might reasonably have counted on a much longer reign; the alliances which he had formed for his children promised to enable him to transmit his sceptre to a line of descendants; and the people seemed entitled to look forward to the continuance of the present peace and prosperity of the country for many years. By a singular succession of calamities all these fair hopes were, one after the other, rapidly extinguished. First, in the latter part of the year 1283 died the Queen of Norway, leaving only an infant daughter. The death of Queen Margaret was followed by that of her brother, the Prince of Scotland, on the 28th of January, 1284. No time was lost by Alexander in taking the measures for the settlement of the succession which these events rendered necessary. On the 5th of February the parliament was assembled at Scone, when the estates of the kingdom solemnly bound themselves, failing Alexander and any children he might yet have, to acknowledge for their sovereign the Norwegian princess—"the Maiden of Norway," as she is called by the old writers. The following year (15th April, 1285), Alexander married Joleta, the young and beautiful daughter of the Count de Dreux. But within a year after his marriage, on the 16th of March, 1286, as Alexander was riding in a dark night between Kinghorn and Burntisland, his horse stumbled with him over a high cliff, at a place now known by the name of Kingswood End, when he was killed on the spot.

The loss of this excellent king would, in any circumstances, have been a heavy calamity to his country, but the blow could not have been received at a more unfortunate moment than the present.² A long minority was now the least evil the kingdom had to dread, and that evil was certain if a worse should not take its place. The

¹ See *The Norwegian Account of Haco's Expedition against Scotland*, in Icelandic and English, with notes: by the Rev. James Johnstone, A.M., 12mo, 1782; and "Observations on the Norwegian Expedition against Scotland, in the year 1283, and on some previous events which gave occasion to that War," by John Dillon, Esq., in *Transactions of the Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. ii. 4to. Edin. 1823, pp. 350-407.

² "But with the demise of Alexander III. without issue com-

menced warfare and anarchy which lasted, with little interruption, during 300 years. In that odious period of wretchedness we hear the monks incessantly cry out *Dixam wretched! Oppressive war!* It became the very object of these hostilities, not to improve but to waste, not to save but to destroy. Agriculture was ruined: and the very necessities of life were lost, when the principal lords had scarcely a bed to lie on."—*Chalmers' Caledonia*, vol. ii. p. 142.

life of an infant, in a foreign country, alone stood between the nation and all the sure confusion and miseries of a disputed succession. The first proceeding of the estates was to appoint a regency, at a meeting held at Scone, on the 11th of April. But scarcely, it would appear, had the throne of Queen Margaret been thus set up, when it began to be undermined by plots and secret treason. The rule of a female sovereign was new to the country; the attempt to transmit the crown to a daughter had already failed in England, even when made in the most favourable circumstances by Henry I.

The main strength of Margaret's cause lay in there being no other certain heir to the throne if she was set aside. The choice was between her and a disputed succession. Had it not been for this, it is more than probable that the settlement in her favour would have been wholly disregarded after Alexander's death. The next heir, if a male of mature age, and a native of the country, would at once have been preferred to the foreign female infant. Even as matters stood there was, it would seem, one party which had already formed the design of displacing Queen Margaret in favour of its own chief. Robert de Brus or Bruce, Lord of Annandale and Cleveland, was the son of Isabella, one of the three daughters of David, Earl of Huntingdon, the brother of William the Lion. He and a number of his adherents, including some of the principal of the Scottish nobility, held a meeting on the 20th of September, 1286, at Turnberry Castle, in Ayrshire, the seat of Bruce's son, Robert Bruce, called Earl of Carrick in right of his wife, and there entered into an agreement, by which they bound themselves to adhere to one another on all occasions, and against all persons, saving their allegiance to the King of England, and to him who should gain the kingdom of Scotland as the rightful heir of the late king.¹ The intention of the parties to this bond would appear to have been to obtain the crown for Bruce, by the aid of the King of England, whom, with that view, they were prepared to acknowledge as lord paramount of Scotland. Edward, however, had, for the present, another scheme of his own, with which this of theirs could not be suffered to interfere.

Two of the chief members of the regency, the Earl of Buchan and the Earl of Fife, died towards the close of the year 1288 (the Earl of Fife was

murdered); and from this time violent divisions arose in the government, and all things began to tend to confusion and anarchy. One account is that the estates of Scotland now made a formal application to the English king for his advice and mediation towards composing the troubles of the kingdom. But this statement does not rest upon any certain authority. In the end of the year 1289, however, Eric, King of Norway, opened a negotiation with Edward on the affairs of his infant daughter and her kingdom; and at Edward's request the Scottish regency sent three of its members to take part in a solemn deliberation which was appointed to be held at Salisbury. It was here agreed that the young queen should be immediately conveyed either to her own dominions or to England, Edward engaging in the latter case to deliver her, on demand, to the Scottish nation, provided that good order should be previously established in Scotland, so that she might reside there with safety to her person. No mention was made in this convention of an English match for Margaret, but it appears that Edward had already obtained a dispensation from Rome for her marriage to her cousin, his eldest son. A report to that effect was very soon after spread in Scotland; whereupon the estates immediately assembled at Bridgelam, a village on the Tweed, and from thence addressed a letter to the English king, expressing, in warm terms, their gratification at the rumour that had reached them, and beseeching him to inform them if it was true. "If it is," they concluded, "we on our part heartily consent to the alliance, not doubting that you will agree to such reasonable conditions as we shall propose to your council." They wrote at the same time to the King of Norway, pressing him to send his daughter instantly to England.

Some months after this (on the 18th of July, 1290), a treaty was concluded at the same place, by which everything in regard to the proposed marriage was finally arranged. Many stipulations were made for securing the integrity and independence of the Scottish kingdom; and all points, both of substance and of form, relating to that matter, were regulated with elaborate scrupulosity. But the event of a few weeks rendered all the painstaking and oathtaking of no effect. The Maiden of Norway having at length set sail for Britain, fell sick on her passage, and landing on one of the Orkney Islands, died there about the end of September: she was in her eighth year.

¹ Tytler, *Hist. of Scot.*, i. 65.

CHAPTER III.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1290—1307.

EDWARD I., SURNAMED LONGSHANKS.—ACCESSION, A.D. 1272—DEATH, A.D. 1307.

Competitors for the Scottish crown on the death of Margaret—Edward I. becomes umpire—His ambitious designs on Scotland—He awards the crown of Scotland to Baliol—War commences between France and England—Edward I. quells a revolt of the Welsh—Troubles in Scotland—Edward's ignominious treatment of Baliol—The Scots invade England—Edward carries the war into Scotland—He takes Berwick by storm—Baliol renounces his allegiance to Edward—He is disrowned—Scotland submits to Edward—The Scots revolt against their English rulers—Sir William Wallace—Success of Wallace in expelling the English from Scotland—Bruce's conduct during this revolt—Wallace defeats the English at Stirling—Edward I. invades Scotland—Defeats Wallace at Falkirk—Edward's difficulties in raising money—His quarrel with his nobles—He invades Flanders—His proceedings on the Continent—Discontent at home during his absence—Troubles at his return—Conquest of Scotland resumed—Indecisive engagements—The Scots defeat the English at Roslin—Edward overruns Scotland—He takes the castle of Stirling—Sir William Wallace betrayed, tried, and executed—Robert Bruce succeeds as champion of Scottish independence—He kills Comyn in a church—He is crowned at Scone—He is defeated—Sufferings of his adherents—Bruce returns to Scotland—He surprises his castle of Turnberry—The war renewed against England—Death of Edward I.



THE fatality which seemed to have pursued the royal family of Scotland for above a century past was certainly very remarkable. Within that period, it will be found, that William the Lion and his posterity had made no fewer than ten marriages, and yet there was not now a descendant of that king in existence.

In this failure of the line of William, the heir to the crown was to be sought for among the descendants of his younger brother, David, Earl of Huntingdon. David, besides a son, who died without issue, left three daughters; the eldest, Margaret, married to Alan of Galloway; the second, Isabella, married to Robert Bruce; the third, Ada, married to Henry Hastings. Margaret's eldest daughter, Dervorgoil (she had no son), married John de Baliol, Lord of Bernard Castle, by whom she had a son, John Baliol; Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick, in right of his wife, was the son of Isabella; John Hastings was the son of Ada. Baliol, therefore, was the grandson of the eldest daughter of David, Earl of Huntingdon; Bruce and Hastings were the sons of his two younger daughters. According to the rule of descent as now established, no question about who had the right of succession could be raised in such a case; the descendant of the elder daughter, however remote, would be preferred to the descendant of the younger daughter, however near; and, indeed, even in that age this rule, which flows directly and necessarily from the admission of the principle of primogeniture, seems to have been all but universally recognized by the authorities on this part of the law. Still the point was not so distinctly settled that a de-

bate might not be raised on it, or that, supported by popular or party zeal, the one claim might not be put forward, and asserted to be that of law and right, with as much plausibility to the general understanding, and as fair a chance of success, as the other.

When the death of the queen first became known, it was probably doubtful how many competitors might start up for the vacant throne, or to what extent the controversy might be entangled by their conflicting claims. It was certain, however, that a controversy there would be, and in all likelihood a long and fierce one; and, also, that a state of circumstances had arisen in which everything was to be feared for the national independence from the ambition of the English king, and the ascendancy in Scottish affairs, his artful management and the course of events had already given him. The news, therefore, spread universal grief and consternation throughout Scotland.

According to one account, it was now that the embassy to Edward, soliciting his advice and mediation, was sent by the estates of Scotland. From what immediately followed, it does appear probable that some such application may have been now made by the Scots. Upon this supposition we can most easily account for the invitation which Edward addressed to their nobility and clergy to meet him at Northampton, a town on the English side of the Tweed, and the readiness with which they obeyed his summons. The conference took place on the 10th of May, 1291. Here Edward distinctly announced that he proposed to regulate the succession to the throne of Scotland as superior and lord paramount of that kingdom, and insisted upon their recognition of

his title as such, before any other business should be proceeded with. Little doubt can be entertained that many of the persons present were perfectly prepared for all this; but it took a part of the assembly by surprise; and at length one voice ventured to respond, that no answer could be made to the demand that had been addressed to them while the throne was vacant. "By holy Edward!" cried the English king—"By holy Edward! whose crown I wear, I will vindicate my just rights, or perish in the attempt!" At last the meeting was adjourned till the morrow, and from that day, on the Scots requesting a longer delay, it was further adjourned to the 2d of June. Edward had already issued writs to his barons and other military tenants in the northern counties, commanding them to assemble at Norham on the 3d of the same month, with horses, arms, and all their powers.

The meeting of the 2d of June took place on a green plain called Holywell Haugh, near Upsettlington, on the north bank of the Tweed, opposite to Norham Castle, and within the territory of Scotland. Among those present were no

Scotland? and whether he was willing to ask and receive judgment from him in that character?" Bruce, says the official record of the proceedings, definitively, expressly, publicly, and openly declared his assent. The other seven competitors afterwards did the same. Next day, John Baliol and another competitor, making ten in all, appeared and followed their example. "The whole form of this business," as Lord Hailes remarks, "appears to have been preconcerted." There were probably few of the assembled nobility and clergy that were not the sworn adherents of one or other of the competitors; they were divided into the Bruce party and the Baliol party; and they were of course severally ready to follow in whatever direction their chiefs might lead them. With regard, again, to the two great claimants of the crown themselves, if either consented to submit to the arbitration of Edward, it is obvious that his rival had no alternative but to acquiesce in the same mode of deciding the question, unless he were prepared to resign all hope and chance of success. The true explanation, however, of Baliol's absence on the first day of the

meeting probably is, that he sought by this piece of management, perhaps in concert with Edward, to throw upon his opponent the odium of taking the first step in the unpopular course of thus surrendering the national independence. There is reason to believe that, whether swayed by his view of the justice of the case or by other considerations, Edward had, from the first, determined that Baliol should have the crown, and that all the anxious and protracted deliberation he affected to give to the subject, was merely so much hollow and hypocritical formality. Of the other claimants who presented themselves along with Baliol and Bruce, most seem to have been brought for-



NORHAM CASTLE.—From a drawing by Buck, dated 1723.

fewer than eight persons who, under various titles, laid claim to the crown. One of these was Robert Bruce, Lord of Annandale. Turning first to him, Robert Burnel, Bishop of Bath and chancellor of England, demanded "Whether he acknowledged Edward as lord paramount of

lial should have the crown, and that all the anxious and protracted deliberation he affected to give to the subject, was merely so much hollow and hypocritical formality. Of the other claimants who presented themselves along with Baliol and Bruce, most seem to have been brought for-

¹ Norham Castle was built, or re-constructed, by Flamhard, Bishop of Durham, in the year 1121. It is situated on the brink of a steep rock whose base is washed by the river Tweed. Camden, who had his information from Dr. Carlton of Norham, afterwards successively Bishop of Llandaff and of Chichester, describes this castle as being in his time "fortified with a ditch." "On the outer wall," he says, "which is of great compass, were many little towers in the angle next the river; within this is another circular wall, much stronger, in the centre whereof rises a loftier tower." This description furnishes a perfect idea of the figure of this fortress, after it had received repairs by Bishop Tunstall,

Towards the river the ruins now hang upon the very verge of the precipice, part of which, by the washing of the stream, has given way, and carried with it the superstructures on that side; and with the decay incident to the length of time, has occasioned a whole breach in the outward wall spoken of by Camden. The keep is a very heavy square building, vaulted underneath; part of the vaults or prisons remain entire, but all the interior parts of the tower above are laid open and ruined. The height of the great tower was about 70 ft., containing four stories or ranges of apartments.—Mackenzie's *History of Northumberland*.

ward only to throw a greater air of perplexity over the case, and to give some chance of dividing any opposition that might eventually be made to the successful candidate, or even, it may be, with the object of leaving the question of the succession to the Scottish crown still open, if any casualty should remove either of the two principal competitors before Edward's designs for the complete subjection of the country should be matured. The whole course of his conduct leaves no room to doubt that he intended to treat Scotland as he had treated Wales. This union of the whole island under one sceptre was evidently the grand scheme upon which he had set his heart, and which inspired and directed his whole policy. At first he hoped to accomplish his object, in so far as Scotland was concerned, by the marriage of his eldest son with the queen of that country; when the death of Margaret defeated this arrangement, he could not for the present proceed to the attainment of his end by so direct a path; but that end was still the same, and was never lost sight of for a moment. At this very meeting at Norham the English chancellor protested, in the name and in the presence of the king his master, "that, although he now asserted his right of *superiority* with the view of giving judgment to the competitors, yet that he meant not to relinquish his right of *property* in the kingdom of Scotland, acclamable hereafter in fit manner and time convenient."¹

The proceedings at Norham, on the 3d of June, were terminated by an unanimous agreement, that a body of 104 commissioners should be appointed to examine the cause, and report to Edward; forty being named by Baliol, the same number by Bruce, and the remainder by Edward himself, who was, moreover, empowered to add to the commission as many more persons as he chose. On the 11th of the same month, the regents of Scotland made a solemn surrender of the kingdom into the hands of the English king, and the keepers of castles made a like surrender of their trusts; in both cases, however, on the condition that Edward should make full restitution in two months from the date of his award in the cause of the succession.

Gilbert de Umfraville, Earl of Angus, alone refused to deliver the castles of Dundee and Forfar, which he held, without an obligation to indemnify him from Edward and all the competitors. It was found expedient to comply with the terms thus insisted upon by "the only Scotsman," observes Lord Hailes, "who acted with integrity and spirit on this trial of national integrity and spirit." On the 15th of the same month, Bruce and his son, Baliol, and many of

the principal Scottish barons, swore fealty to Edward. One churchman only, the Bishop of Sodor, presented himself to perform the disgraceful ceremony. The peace of the King of England, as lord paramount of Scotland, was then proclaimed, and the assembly finally adjourned to the 2d of August.² Edward himself, in the meantime, made a progress through Scotland, in the course of which he visited Edinburgh, Dunfermline, St. Andrews, Kinghorn, Linlithgow, and Stirling—wherever he appeared, calling upon persons of all ranks, from bishops and earls to burgesses, to sign the rolls of homage as his vassals. Elsewhere officers were appointed to receive the oaths, whoever refused to take them being ordered to be seized and imprisoned.

When the commissioners met at Berwick, and proceeded to business in the presence of Edward, on the 3d of August, twelve claimants of the crown, in all, presented themselves. Soon afterwards a thirteenth was added, in the person of King Eric of Norway. All of them, however, with the exception of Baliol, Bruce, and Hastings, withdrew their pretensions before any decision was pronounced. The rest, in fact—some of them descendants from illegitimate daughters of William the Lion, others alleging a descent from some earlier king—had none of them any ground whatever on which to come in before the posterity of David, Earl of Huntingdon.

The final decision of the cause did not take place till the following year. On the 2d of June, 1292, the commissioners reported that there appeared to be a diversity of opinion among the fourscore Scottish members of their body, by whose advice, if unanimous, it would have been the duty of the king to have regulated his conduct; and they therefore declined to give any advice without hearing the better judgment of the prelates, nobility, and other wise men of England. On this the further consideration of the question was appointed by Edward to take place in a parliament, which he summoned to meet at Berwick, on the 15th of October. Here Baliol and Bruce were fully heard in defence of their respective claims; upon which the assembly came unanimously to the conclusion, "that by the laws and usages of both kingdoms, in every heritable succession, the more remote in one degree lineally descended from the eldest sister, was preferable to the nearer in degree, issuing from the second sister;" thus declaring, by implication, against the claim of Bruce as opposed to that of Baliol. In another meeting, on the 6th of November, Edward formally pronounced his decision, "that Bruce should take nothing in the competition with Baliol." Bruce and Hast-

¹ *Fadver*, ii. 551.² *Hailes*, i. 242, 252.

ings now demanded each a third of the kingdom, on the ground that it was a divisible inheritance; but this doctrine the assembly unanimously rejected. Finally, on the 17th of the same month, in the great hall of the castle of Berwick, Edward gave judgment "that John Baliol should have seisin of the kingdom of Scotland." But again, at this the termination of these proceedings, as a year and a half before at the commencement, the English king solemnly protested, "that the judgment he had thus given, should not impair his claim to the *property* of Scotland." On the 19th, the regents of Scotland and the governors of castles were ordered to surrender their respective trusts to the new king; and the same day, the great seal that had been used by the regency, was broken into four parts, and the pieces deposited in the treasury of England, "in testimony, to future ages, of England's right of superiority over Scotland." The next day Baliol swore fealty to Edward at Norham. On the 30th (St. Andrew's Day), he was solemnly crowned at Scone. Soon after he passed into England, and on the 26th of December did homage to Edward for his kingdom at Newcastle: and thus finished the first act of this extraordinary drama.

Events that unexpectedly arose, now called away the English king to another scene. Edward's progress at home had not been viewed without serious alarm abroad. The subjugation of Wales and Scotland, by leaving him master of the whole island of Great Britain, rendered him most formidable to all his continental neighbours, and to none so dangerous as to France, where there was a source of dissension ever open, and where the English had a footing that enabled them at all times to carry the war into the heart of the country. On former occasions, several of the French kings had given countenance and encouragement (if little or nothing more) to both Scotch and Welsh, when up in arms against the Anglo-Norman sovereigns; but now Philip le Bel thought that the best thing to do was to exert all his strength, and drive the English from what was left of their continental dominion. The moment seemed favourable; Edward was absorbed by his great project; and as for the justice of the undertaking, had not Philip as good a right to gather up the scattered fragments of France, and to make of them a respectable whole—a united and powerful kingdom—as Edward had to seize and consolidate the ancient independent states of Great Britain in the same view?

The English sovereign, however, was too politic not to see and provide for these schemes: he had long watched Philip with a jealous eye, and while he wisely kept his own armies at home, he had courted alliances abroad, and laboured to raise barriers against Philip's ambition. In the south,

by means of presents and flattering assurances, he had won over the powerful Count of Savoy; in the north, he had a good understanding with the emperor, whom he afterwards subsidized; he had married his daughter Margaret to Henry, Count of Bar, whose territories gave an easy access into France on the east; and, at a later period, he made an alliance with Guy, Earl of Flanders. The French, moreover, accuse him of opening and maintaining a correspondence in the interior of France with the disaffected subjects of Philip, an accusation which Edward retorted. Matters were in this state when a paltry broil gave rise to sanguinary hostilities. Some English and some Norman sailors met at a watering-place in or near to the port of Bayonne, and quarrelled about which party should fill their casks first. An English mariner struck a Norman with his fist; the Norman drew his knife; his adversary closed with him, and, after a struggle, threw him: in the fall, the Norman, it was said, fell upon his own knife and was killed. The English sailor's comrades saved him from the fury of the opposite party, and, according to the French account, the authorities of Bayonne, which city belonged to the English, refused the Normans proper satisfaction. Burning with revenge—for they maintained that their companion had been foully murdered, the Normans put to sea, and, lying in wait, they seized the first English ship of inferior force they encountered, and taking from it a merchant of Bayonne, they hanged him at the yard-arm, with a dog hung to his feet. Reprisals soon followed, and the mariners of the Cinque ports pursued their vengeance with relentless fury, hanging nearly every Norman they could take upon the seas. The Normans called in the assistance of the Genoese and the French, for France was now beginning to have a considerable mercantile navy, and even a royal fleet—one of the immense advantages derived from expelling the English and clearing her sea-board. Our mariners at the same time procured the aid of those of Ireland, and Gascony, and Holland. Wherever these opposite parties met, they fought with deadly rancour, carrying on a war on their own account, without any commission from their respective governments. Thus the most vindictive feelings were excited between the two nations before the kings took any open part in the hostilities that were carried on.¹

But now Philip, enraged himself, and borne forward to the accomplishment of his favourite project by the universal wrath of the nation, declared his determined enmity. He pretended that he could punish Edward as Duke of Aqu-

¹ *Walsingham; Hemingford; Holinshed.*

taine, in which character he was a vassal of the French crown. He sent officers to seize some of Edward's estates, but these were driven back by John St. John, an English officer: he then caused a summons to be issued by his judges ordering the "Duke of Aquitaine" to appear at Paris after the feast of Christmas, and answer for his offences against his suzerain. Edward sent a bishop, and then his own brother Edmund, to negotiate. This Edmund appears to have been a very believing, simple personage; for, crediting Philip's assertion that he wanted no acquisition of territory, but merely a striking show of satisfaction to his own injured honour, he consented to surrender Gascony for forty days, at the end of which it was to be faithfully restored to the English king.¹ Upon this surrender, which in some cases gave Philip a military possession of the province, the summons against Edward was withdrawn, and the French king declared himself satisfied. When the forty days had elapsed, Edward demanded repossession, which, as a matter of course, was refused to him. Philip pleaded very triumphantly, in his own court, against some English advocates, and with a bold contempt of appearances and of the recent agreement, pronounced a judgment of forfeiture because Edward had not presented himself as a vassal ought. De Nesle, the constable of France, was sent to seize some of Edward's cities and towns; and he succeeded in several instances, because the nobles declared against the English. Soon after the feast of Easter, Philip again summoned Edward to plead as Duke of Aquitaine before his peers of France, and, upon his non-attendance, he declared him contumacious and dis-seised of all his lands in France.²

Edward now prepared to plead, but it was with the sword. Having formally renounced the homage of the French king, he got ready a powerful fleet and army; but he was detained for several weeks by contrary winds, and, while he lay at Portsmouth, the Welsh, who thought he was gone, broke out into a general insurrection, to which it seems probable that Philip was no stranger. Detained at home by this circumstance, Edward despatched a small force to Gascony, and gave commission to his ships to plunder the French coast, upon which a number of fierce sea-battles were fought, the victory falling almost invariably to the English. As for Edward himself, he turned

with his usual rapidity and vigour against the Welsh, who had taken many castles and towns, and driven the English across the marches with dreadful loss. It took him some months to suppress this bold struggle for independence: he carried on the war through all the severities of winter, suffering great hardships, and encountering many personal dangers; but in the following spring the Welsh once more fell beneath the mighty weight of his arms and policy: Madoc, their brave leader, surrendered to the conqueror; the most dangerous of the chieftains were thrown into dungeons for life; and after the sacred summits of Snowdon had been again invaded, and the country again wasted with fire and sword, a mournful peace was restored.

When Edward rode a conqueror from the mountains of Wales, he thought that he should at last be allowed to proceed to France, and punish what he considered the execrable perfidy of Philip; but the spirit of liberty was again awake in the mountains of Scotland, and he was once more compelled to forego his continental expedition. He, however, sent his brother Edmund with a small force to Guienne, where the barons, who could never remain satisfied for a year with either the English or the French, were already tired of Philip. Edmund died soon after landing; but the Earl of Lincoln, who succeeded to his command, drove the French from most of the towns they had occupied. These successes, however, were not lasting: Charles de Valois, Philip's brother, recovered those places; and the Count d'Artois, the king's uncle, taking the command of a numerous and excellent army, beat the English in several encounters, and finally expelled them from nearly all the country, with the exception of a few maritime towns. Edward's continental allies did nothing at the time in his defence.

Scarcely had Baliol been fairly seated on his vassal throne, when he was made to feel all the dependence and degradation of his position. Even before the year had expired, on one of the last days of which, as related above, he had done homage for his kingdom to his English lord paramount, Edward, in an angry altercation that arose out of an appeal brought by a citizen of Berwick against a judgment of the Scottish courts, to defend which he had compelled Baliol to appear with his principal prelates and nobles in

¹ "It must excite surprise that the King of England fell so easily into this snare. But he was actuated by another consideration, the accomplishment of a treaty of marriage between himself and Margaret, the sister of Philip. By that treaty the duchy of Guienne had been settled on his issue by the princess; and to carry this provision into legal execution, it was necessary that Guienne should be resigned into the hands of its lord, that by a new infeoffment it might be settled on the king and his heirs by his second marriage. At the expiration of forty days,

Edmund reminded Philip of his engagement; but was requested to forbear till certain lords of the council should have departed from Paris. Some days after he repeated the demand and received a positive refusal. Philip took his seat in his court, rejected the arguments of Edward's advocates, and though the citation had been withdrawn, pronounced judgment against him for default of appearance. Such is the account given by Edmund himself."—*Lingard*, vol. ii. chap. vii.

² *Rymer*.

the royal chamber at Newcastle, frankly informed him that he should persist in hearing in England every cause regularly brought before him from Scotland, and that he would summon the King of Scotland to appear personally at the hearing of every such cause in which he should think his presence necessary. In the course of the following year, Baliol was repeatedly called upon to submit to the annoyance and intolerable indignity of thus appearing in the English courts to answer as a defendant in all sorts of causes. Such treatment could only have had one object, and, if it had been tamely acquiesced in, one effect—to make the menial king utterly contemptible in the eyes of his subjects. At the commencement of Edward's rough usage he bore it with all submission. Immediately after the declaration of the English king that has just been mentioned, he gave Edward a solemn discharge from all the obligations he had contracted by the treaty of Bridgeham in 1290, which treaty was now the sole remaining security to his country for the possession of any national rights, and by which, in particular, provision was made against the very grievance under which he was now made to smart, by one of the clauses which declared that no native of Scotland should be compelled to answer out of the kingdom in any legal cause, either civil or criminal. But the tyranny was so unrelentingly persisted in, and carried so far, that if he had the spirit of a worm it must have roused him at last. An appeal respecting the succession to some lands in Fife was the case in which his patience gave way. In the first instance he ventured to take no notice of the usual order to present himself at the hearing of the cause. But he did not persist in this bold course. On receiving a second summons, he yielded obedience so far as to make his appearance in the English parliament on the day named, the 15th of October, 1293. When asked what defence he had to make to the appeal, he said—"I am King of Scotland. To the complaint of the appellant, or to aught else respecting my kingdom, I dare not make answer without the advice of my people." "What means this?" cried Edward: "you are *my* liegeman; you have done homage to *me*; you are here in consequence of *my* summons." Baliol, however, would only repeat his first answer. The parliament then resolved that the King of Scots had offered no defence; that in his answer he had been guilty of a manifest contempt of the court, and of open disobedience; that the appellant should have damages of the King of Scots; and, finally, "because it is consonant to law that every one be punished in that which emboldens him to offend, that the three principal castles of Scotland, with the towns wherein they are situated, and the royal jurisdiction thereof, be taken immediately

into the custody of the king, and there remain until the King of Scots shall make satisfaction for his contempt and disobedience." On the prayer of Baliol, however, Edward, before this sentence was publicly intimated, consented to stay all proceedings till the day after the feast of the Trinity in the following year. Before that day arrived, war between England and France broke out; and in the new position of his affairs, Edward had his hands too full of work in defending himself against his own liege lord to have leisure for the further humiliation and oppression of the King of Scots.

The opportunity was too tempting a one not to be seized by Baliol for a strenuous effort to cast off the yoke. Hitherto the nation had lain, as it were, stunned and in despair. Its old spirit now began to awaken as a new dawn of hope appeared. The nobles themselves—they whose selfish or factious ambition had laid their country at the feet of the English king—had many of them by this time been roused to a sense of the bondage into which they had fallen. Their first measures, however, were cautiously taken. A parliament, which met at Scone in the latter part of the year 1294, on pretence of lightening the public burdens, directed that all the Englishmen maintained at the court should be dismissed; and then appointed a council of four bishops, four earls, and four barons, without whose advice the king was restricted from performing any public act. It is asserted, indeed, by English writers that Baliol was at this time kept by his subjects in a state very closely resembling captivity.

The suspicions of Edward were excited by these proceedings. He required that Berwick, Roxburgh, and Jedburgh should be delivered to the Bishop of Carlisle, to remain in his hands during the war between England and France. With this demand the Scottish government deemed it prudent to comply, although they were at the moment negotiating an alliance with the French king. This treaty—"the groundwork," observes Lord Hailes, "of many more, equally honourable and ruinous to Scotland," was signed at Paris on the 23d of October, 1295. By it the King of Scots, "grievously offended at the undutiful behaviour of Edward to the King of France, his liege lord," engaged to assist Philip in his wars with his whole power, and at his own charges. Towards the end of March, 1296, accordingly, a Scottish army, consisting of 40,000 foot soldiers and 500 cavalry, invaded Cumberland, and, laying waste the country as they proceeded, marched to Carlisle, and attacked that place. Here, however, they were repulsed. Another inroad, which they made into Northumberland, was not more successful. Meanwhile Edward himself, at the head of a great army, was already at the Borders.

A pardon had been proclaimed for all outlaws and malefactors who should join the expedition; and the force which now rolled on to pour upon the Scottish rebels the vengeance of their English master, consisted of 30,000 foot and 4000 horse. Its numbers were farther swelled on its arrival in the north by a body of 1000 foot and 700 horse, brought by Anthony Beck, the warlike Bishop of Durham. The royal army marched direct upon the town of Berwick, which either had never been delivered by the Scots to the Bishop of Carlisle, according to their late promise, or had freed itself again from his authority. A strong garrison, composed of the men of Tife, now defended the town, besides a smaller force that held the castle. The English king commenced the attack at once by sea and land: of his ships, three were burned and the rest compelled to retire; but all resistance soon gave way before the impetuous onset of the soldiery; Edward himself, mounted on his horse Bayard, was the first who leaped over the dike that defended the town. In the devastation and carnage that followed no quarter was given: the inhabitants, with the garrison, were indiscriminately butchered. The massacre was continued for two days.

Berwick was taken on the 30th of March. On the 5th of April, a bold ecclesiastic, Henry, abbot of Aberbrothock (otherwise Arbroath), arrived in the town, a messenger from the Scottish king, and delivered to Edward, Baliol's solemn renunciation of his allegiance and fealty. "What a piece of madness in the foolish traitor!" exclaimed Edward, when the message had been delivered; "since he will not come to us, we will go to him." A pause of a few weeks, to make the blow the surer, did not prevent this threat from being both speedily and effectually executed. Earl Warenne was first sent forward with a chosen body of troops to recover the castle of Dunbar, which the Countess of March had delivered to the Scots, while her husband, by whom it was held, served in the army of Edward.

The Scottish army, in full strength, advanced to its relief, when they were engaged by Warenne, and completely routed, with the loss of 10,000 men. This action was fought on the 28th of April. The castle then surrendered at discretion. On the 18th of May that of Roxburgh was given up by James, the steward of Scotland, who at the same time swore fealty to Edward, and abjured the French alliance. The castles of Dumbarton and Jedburgh soon after surrendered. That of Edinburgh stood a short siege, but it also soon capitulated; no attempt was made to defend that of Stirling. Thus, in the space of about two months, all the principal strongholds of the kingdom were in Edward's hand, and the conquest of the country was complete. A message now arrived from Baliol, offering submission, and imploring peace. Edward, in reply, desired him to repair to the castle of Brechin, where the Bishop of Durham would announce to him the terms on which his surrender would be accepted. Soon after, Baliol laid down his kingly state in a ceremonial of the last degree of baseness and humiliation. The old accounts differ as to the exact date, and also as to the scene of this penance; but it was most probably performed on the 7th of July, and, as the tradition of the neighbourhood still reports, in the church-yard of Strathcathro, in Angus.¹ Edward was at this time at Montrose.² He proceeded northward as far as Elgin—the nobility, wherever he passed, crowding in to swear fealty, and to abjure the French alliance. It was on his return from this triumphant progress that he ordered the famous stone on which the Scottish kings had been wont to be crowned, to be removed from the abbey of Scone, and conveyed to Westminster, in testimony, says an English contemporary chronicler, of the conquest and surrender of the kingdom.³ He appears to have been at St. Johnstone's, or Perth, on Wednesday, the 8th of August. By the 22d he



CORONATION CHAIR, Westminster Abbey, containing the stone from Scone.⁴

was once more at Berwick; and on the 28th he held a parliament in that town, at which

¹ See *Hailes*, i. 293; *Tytler*, i. 429, 430; and *Chambers' Pictures of Scotland*, ii. 235.

² See a curious "Diary of Edward's Progress," published, with explanatory remarks, by Sir N. H. Nicolas, from a MS. in the British Museum, in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxi. pp. 478-498.

³ *Hemingford*.

⁴ This coronation chair was made for Edward I. It appears to have been formerly decorated with painting and gilding. Beneath the seat is the famous Stone of Destiny, which tradition has invested with solemn and remote associations. It was brought

to England as a trophy of victory by Edward I.; and by this removal he is thought to have intended to prostrate the confidence of the people in the continuance of their national independence, founded upon the possession of this stone, which, according to Fordun, bore a Latin inscription to the following effect:—

Except old saws do fall,

And wizards' wits be blind,

The Scots in place must reign

Where they this stone shall find."

The restoration of the stone was the subject of many treaties;

great numbers both of the Scottish laity and clergy presented themselves to take the oaths of fealty. He then proceeded to finish his work, by settling the government of the conquered country. Here his measures were characterized by great prudence and moderation. He ordered the forfeited estates of the clergy to be restored. He even allowed most of the subordinate civil functionaries who had held office under Baliol to retain possession of their places. He left the various jurisdictions of the country in general in the same hands as before. The chief castles in the southern part of the kingdom, however, he intrusted to English captains; and he also placed some of his English subjects in command over certain of the more important districts. Finally, he appointed John de Warenne, Earl of Surrey, under the name of governor, Hugh de Cressingham as treasurer, and William Ormesby as justiciary, to exercise the supreme authority.

But although Edward had put down the rebellion of the Scots, he had not subdued their spirit of resistance. Within a few months the country was again in insurrection. The last and all preceding attempts to throw off the foreign yoke under which the kingdom groaned, had been made under the direction of the government; there was no longer any native government, but a great leader of the people had now stepped forth from their own ranks. This was the renowned William Wallace, the second son of a knight of ancient family, Sir Malcolm Wallace, of Elderslie, in Renfrewshire. Wallace had all the qualities of a popular hero—a strength and stature corresponding to his daring courage; and also, it cannot be doubted, from the known history of his career, as well as from his traditionary fame, many intellectual endowments of a high order—decision, military genius, the talent of command, a stirring though rude eloquence, and in every way a wonderful power of reaching the hearts of men, and drawing them along with him. Above all, an enthusiastic patriotism, and a fierce and unextinguishable hatred of the English dominion, were passions so strong in Wallace, that while he lived, be the hour as dark as it might, all felt that the cause of the national independence never could be wholly lost.

Wallace is first mentioned in the month of May, 1297. At this time he was merely the captain of a small band of marauders, most of them probably outlaws like himself, who were accustomed to infest the English quarters by predatory

attacks. Their numbers, however, rapidly grew as reports of their successful exploits were spread abroad. Suddenly we find the robber-chief transformed into the national champion, joined by some of the chief persons in the land, and heading an armed revolt against the government. The first person of note who joined Wallace was Sir William Douglas. He had commanded in the castle of Berwick when it was taken the preceding year by Edward; and after his surrender, had been liberated upon swearing fealty to the English king. Disregarding this oath, he now armed his vassals, and openly went over to Wallace. The united chiefs immediately marched upon Scone, the seat of the government. Earl Warenne was at this time absent in England, and Ormesby, the justiciary, was acting as his lieutenant. That functionary, with difficulty, saved his life by flight; but much booty and many prisoners fell into the hands of the insurgents, and the English government was, in fact, by this bold and brilliant exploit, for the moment overthrown.

Many persons of note now crowded to the once more uplifted standard of freedom and independence; the steward of Scotland and his brother, Robert Wishart, Bishop of Glasgow, Alexander de Lindesay, Sir Richard Lundin, and Sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell, are especially mentioned. But no accession was more important, or more gladly welcomed, than that of the young Robert Bruce, the son of Robert Bruce who had married the Countess of Carrick, and the grandson of him who had been a competitor with Baliol for the crown. A few years before this Bruce's father had resigned the earldom of Carrick, which he held in right of his wife, to his son; and the latter, by the possession of this lordship, now commanded a territory reaching from the Frith of Clyde to the Solway. The course taken by Baliol had hitherto naturally determined the conduct and position of the rival family. So long as Baliol had stood, even nominally, at the head of the patriotic cause, the Bruces were almost necessarily on the other side. In the last days of Baliol's reign the Scottish government issued an order, confiscating the estates of all partizans of England, and of all neutrals, which was principally aimed at the house of Bruce; and a grant of their estate of Annandale was made to Comyn, Earl of Buchan, who actually took possession, in consequence, of the family castle of Lochmaben. This, of course, he did not long retain; but the wrong was not the less one, which in that fierce age never could be forgiven. Allowance must be made for these personal resentments and rivalries, and the opposition into which men were thereby thrown, in passing judgment upon the conduct of many of the actors in this turbulent

and a special conference was held on the subject between Edward III. and David I., and in consequence a mandate was issued for its restoration, but apparently not carried out. Afterwards the fulfilment of the prophecy was considered to have been realized by the accession of James I. to the throne of England. The "stone of destiny" measures 20 in. in length, 16½ in. in breadth, and 10½ in. in thickness.

and bewildering drama. Bruce, eventually the great liberator of his country and restorer of the Scottish monarchy, makes his first appearance on the scene, soon after the fatal fight of Dunbar, in the unpatriotic part of a commissioner empowered by the conqueror to receive into favour the people of Carriek.¹ He was at this time only in his twenty-second year. His heart, however, was probably already drawing him, through doubts and misgivings, to the cause which he was at a future day so gloriously to illustrate. Now that Baliol was removed, the time for Bruce to show himself seemed to have come. Edward, it would appear, was not without some suspicion of what his inclinations were. He, therefore, had summoned him to Carlisle, and made him renew, on the sword of Becket, his oaths of allegiance and fidelity. In the national enthusiasm, however, excited by the first success of Wallace, he could restrain himself no longer. "I trust," he said, "that the pope will absolve me from oaths extorted by force;" and so, breaking from his bonds, he joined the army of the patriots.

But, in that camp, jealousies and dissensions were already actively at work, and disorganizing everything. Edward was embarking for Flanders when he received intelligence of the new Scottish revolt. The military force of the kingdom to the north of the Trent was instantly called into array by the Earl of Surrey; and as soon as the men could be collected, Sir Henry Percy and Sir Robert Clifford were sent forward to meet the insurgents at the head of an army of 40,000 foot and 300 horse. They found the Scots in nearly equal numbers, posted in a strong position in the neighbourhood of the town of Irvine, in Ayrshire. But no acknowledged leader controlled the irregular congregation of chiefs who had crowded with their retainers to the standard that Wallace had raised; his authority was disowned, or but reluctantly submitted to, by many of the proud knights and barons, who never before had obeyed a plebeian general; and there were probably as many conflicting plans of operation as there were competitors for the supreme command. In this miserable state of affairs, it appeared to all who had anything to lose that the wisest plan was to make their peace with the government before it should be too late. All the chief associates of Wallace, accordingly, including Bruce, the steward of Scotland, the Bishop of Glasgow, Sir Alexander Lindsay, Sir Richard Lunding, and even Sir William Douglas, the first who had joined him, laid down their arms after a short negotiation, and, for themselves and their adherents, made submission to Edward. The instrument in which they ac-

knowledgeed their offences, and agreed to make every reparation and atonement that should be required by their sovereign lord, is dated at Irvine, the 9th of July.² Only one baron, Sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell, continued to adhere to Wallace. Many of the vassals, however, even of the lords and knights that had deserted him, remained among his followers; and he withdrew to the north at the head of a force that was still numerous and formidable.

No further effort seems to have been made by the government to put down the insurrection for several months. In the meanwhile the army of Wallace was continually receiving accessions of numbers. By the beginning of September it appears that he had driven the English from the castles of Brechin, Forfar, Montrose, and most of the other strongholds to the north of the Forth, and was now engaged in besieging the castle of Dundee. While there, he received information that an English army was marching upon Stirling. Leaving the siege to be continued by the citizens of Dundee, he led his whole force, amounting to 40,000 foot and 180 horse, towards Stirling, and succeeded, by rapid marches, in reaching the banks of the Forth opposite to that town, before the English had arrived. He immediately drew up his army so as to be partly concealed behind the neighbouring high grounds. The English army, commanded by the Earl of Surrey, soon appeared on the other side of the river; it is said to have consisted of 1000 horsemen and 50,000 foot. On its being perceived how Wallace was posted, it was resolved to offer him terms before risking an engagement; but he refused to enter into any negotiation. That night no movement was made. Early the following morning (the 11th of September) the English began to pass over by the bridge—a narrow wooden structure—along which, even with no impediment or chance of interruption of any kind to retard them, so numerous a force could not have been led in many hours. The issue was what it is unaccountable should not have been foreseen. Wallace waited till about half the English were passed over; then, detaching a part of his forces to take possession of the extremity of the bridge, as soon as he perceived the communication by this means effectually cut off, he rushed down upon the portion of the enemy who had thus put themselves in his power, as they were still forming, and in a moment threw them into an inextricable confusion. Many thousands of the English were slain or driven into the water. No prisoners, indeed, seem to have been taken; and nearly all the English that had crossed the river must therefore have been destroyed.

¹ Hailes, *Remarks on the History of Scotland*, i. 292.
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² Rymer, ii. 774.
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One knight, however, Sir Marmaduke Twenge, putting spurs to his horse, gallantly cut his way back through the force that guarded the bridge, and regained the opposite side in safety. Surrey himself had not passed over; but, after the fortune of the day became clearly irrecoverable, charging Twenge to occupy the castle of Stirling with what remains of the army he could collect, he mounted his horse and rode, without stopping, to Berwick. Even the portion of the army that had remained on the south side of the river seems to have been in great part dispersed. The loss of the Scots was trifling; the only man of note that fell was Sir Andrew Moray. A large quantity of spoil was taken. But the great result of the victory was nothing less than the almost complete liberation of the country once more from the English dominion. The castles of Edinburgh, Dundee, Roxburgh, and Berwick, all immediately surrendered; and in a short time there was not a fortress, from one end of Scotland to the other, in the possession of the English king. Wallace soon after even invaded England, and for some time maintained his army in Cumberland, a movement to which he was partly induced by a severe famine that now arose in Scotland, where unfavourable seasons had conspired with the waste of war to afflict the soil.

Thus was Scotland again lost by Edward, even more suddenly than it had been won. He was still detained in Flanders by the war in which he had engaged with the French king for the recovery of Guienne, while his conquest nearer home was thus wrested out of his hands. It appears that strenuous efforts were made by Philip to have the Scots included in the benefit of the treaty of peace, the truce preliminary to which was agreed upon in October of this year.¹ But Edward would hear of no terms for those whom he called revolted subjects and traitors.

Edward returned to England about the middle of March, 1298, and instantly summoned the barons, and other military tenants, to re-assemble with their powers at York, on the feast of Pentecost. With this immense army Edward proceeded, in the first instance, to Roxburgh. From this point he advanced, in the beginning of June, along the east coast—a fleet with supplies for the army having been sent forward to the Frith of Forth; but for several weeks no enemy, scarcely even any inhabitants, were to be seen, and the invaders could only take a useless revenge in wasting an already deserted country. The Scots meanwhile, under the direction of Wallace, had been collecting their strength in the interior; and many of the chief nobility, including Bruce, were now assembled again around the great national

leader. Edward soon became involved in very serious difficulties; his ships were detained by contrary winds; and while he was waiting at Templestoun (now Kirkliston), a small town between Edinburgh and Linlithgow, till he should receive some intelligence of them before proceeding upon his design of penetrating into the west, an alarming mutiny broke out in the camp, originating in a quarrel between the English and the Welsh soldiers, the latter of whom were at one time on the point of withdrawing and joining the Scots. No news of the ships arriving, however, the scarcity of provisions soon became so distressing that a retreat to Edinburgh was resolved upon, when information was received that the Scottish army was encamped not far off in the wood of Falkirk. "Thanks be to God!" exclaimed Edward, "who hitherto hath delivered me from every danger; they shall not need to follow me; I will forthwith go and meet them." That night the army lay in the fields, the king himself sleeping on the ground. A kick from his horse, which stood beside him in the night, broke two of his ribs; and in the first confusion occasioned by the accident a cry arose that the king was seriously wounded or killed—that there was treason in the camp. Edward immediately, disregarding the pain he suffered, mounted his horse, and, as it was now dawn, gave orders to continue the march. The advanced guard of the enemy was first seen on the ridge of a hill in front, after they had passed Linlithgow. Soon after the whole army was descried forming, on a stony field, at the side of a small eminence in the neighbourhood of Falkirk.² Wallace divided the infantry of his army, which was greatly inferior in numbers to that of the English, into four circular bodies, armed with lances, which the men protruded obliquely as they knelt with their backs against each other; the archers were placed in the intermediate spaces; the horse, of which there were only 1000, were drawn up at some distance in the rear. Edward's cavalry were ranged in the front of his battle, in three lines. The attack was made at the same time by the first of these, led by Bigod, earl-marshal, and the Earls of Hereford and Lincoln; and by the second, under the leading of the bold Bishop of Durham. The shock was gallantly met by the Scottish infantry, and for some time they stood their ground firmly. The cavalry, however, whether dismayed by the immense disparity between the numbers of the enemy and their own, or, as has been conjectured, from treason on the part of their commanders, fled without striking a blow; and thus left without support against the repeated charges of the English horse, the

¹ See *Rymer*, new edit. i. 861; and *Tytler*, i. 173 and 435.

² *Hailst*, i. 314.

lancers and archers also at length gave way, and the rout became complete. The battle of Falkirk was fought on the 22d of July, 1298. It is said that 15,000 of the Scots fell on this fatal day. On the English side the loss was inconsiderable. Wallace retreated with the remains of his army to Stirling, whither he was pursued by the English; but when they arrived he was gone, and the town was found reduced to ashes. The victorious invaders now carried fire and sword through the country in all directions. The whole of Fifeshire was laid waste and given up to military execution. The city of St. Andrews, which was found deserted, was set on fire and burned to the ground. Perth was burned by the inhabitants themselves on the approach of the English. Edward, however, was speedily obliged to leave the country from the impossibility of finding the means of subsisting his troops.

The expensive wars of Wales, Scotland, and Guienne, had caused Edward to oppress the English people with levies and taxes; in the raising of which he had not always respected the constitutional charter, while on some occasions he had recourse to artifices similar to those which had succeeded so badly with his father, Henry III. At one time he pretended that he had again taken the cross, and thus obtained the tenth of all church benefices for six years. A few years after this, he seized the moneys deposited in the churches and monasteries, and kept the greater part for his own uses, promising, however, to pay it back some time or other. His financial proceedings with the church show that times were materially altered, for the main weight of taxation was thrown upon that body. After obtaining a reluctant grant from the lords and knights of the shire of a tenth on lay property, he demanded from the clergy a *half* on their entire incomes. Here, for the first time, he encountered a stern opposition on the part of the bishops, abbots, and common clergy; but they were bullied into compliance, being told, among other harsh things, that every "reverend father" who dared to oppose the king would be noticed as one who had broken the peace. This was in 1294. In the following year, having obtained a very liberal grant from parliament, he exacted a fourth from the churchmen, who again were obstinate, and obliged him, in the end, to be satisfied with a tenth. Besides these burdens, the church was sorely racked by the king's purveyors and commissaries, who, particularly during the more active parts of the Scotch war, continually emptied the store-houses, granaries, farm-yards, and larders, and carried off all the vehicles, horses, and other animals, for the transport of army stores, inasmuch that the poor abbots and priors complained that they had scarcely a mule left in

their stables upon which to go their spiritual rounds. At last they applied to the pope for protection, and Boniface VIII. granted them a bull, ordaining that the clergy should not vote away their revenues without the express permission of the Holy See. But the pope was engaged in many troubles; the bull, which applied equally to all Christian countries, was strenuously opposed in France by Philip le Bel; and in the following year, 1297, he found himself obliged to publish a second bull, which explained away and stultified the first; for it provided, that whenever the safety of the kingdom required it, churchmen must pay their aids; and it left to the king and his council the right of deciding on the necessity. Before this second bull arrived, the English clergy, fancying that they were well supported by the previous document, met, and boldly refused some of Edward's demands; upon which he outlawed the whole body, both regular and secular, and seized their goods and chattels, not leaving bishop, parish priest, abbot, or monk, so much as bread to eat or a bed to lie upon. As there were no Becketts in the land, these measures produced a general submission to the king's arbitrary will, even before the arrival of the explanatory bull.¹

It was far otherwise when the king laid his greedy hand on the trading classes: they had borne a great deal in the way of tallages and increased export duties; but when he seized all the wool and hides that were ready for shipping, and sold them for his own profit, a universal and loud outcry was raised, notwithstanding his assurances that he would faithfully pay back the amount. The merchants assembled—the rich burghers, the landed proprietors of all classes consulted together; and their consultations were encouraged by some of the greatest of the nobles, who were not so blinded by the career of conquest and glory in which the king was leading them, as to be neglectful of their more immediate interests, or indifferent to those violent inroads on the national rights.² Towards the end of February, 1297, Edward felt the effect of these deliberations. He had collected two armies, one of which was to go to Guienne, the other into Flanders; when the Earl of Hereford, the constable, and the Earl of Norfolk, the marshal of

¹ Rymer; Brady.; Wykes.; Knyghton; Henning.

² Mr. Hallam doubts whether the cities and boroughs continued to sit in parliament by their representatives under Edward I. "The revolutionary character of Montfort's parliament in the 40th of Henry III., would sufficiently account both for the appearance of representatives from a democracy so favourable to that bold reformer, and for the equality of power with which it was probably designed to invest them. But whether in the more peaceable times of Edward I., the citizens or burgesses were recognized as essential parties to every legislative measure, may, as I have shown, be open to much doubt."—Hallam's *Supplementary Notes*. Note 180.

England, both refused to quit the country. Turning to the marshal, the king exclaimed, "By the everlasting God, sir earl, you shall go or hang." "By the everlasting God, sir king, I will neither go nor hang;" and so saying, Norfolk withdrew with Hereford. Thirty bannerets, and 1500 knights immediately followed the marshal and the constable, and the king was left almost alone.¹ An incautious step at this moment might have cost him his crown or his life, but Edward was a wonderful master of his passions when necessary, and his craft and policy were fully equal to his merits as a warrior. He knew that the Archbishop of Canterbury and the clergy gave great weight to the present opposition, and these he detached by blandishments and promises. He knew that his brilliant exploits in war had endeared him to the unthinking multitude, and he also knew how to touch their hearts. The measure he adopted was singularly dramatic: he stood forth before the people of London, mounted on a platform in front of Westminster Hall, nobody being near him save his son Edward, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Earl of Warwick: he told the people that nobody grieved more than he did for the burdensome taxes laid upon his dear subjects, but this burden was one of absolute necessity to preserve not only his crown, but their blood, from the Welsh, the Scots, and the French. Then, in the proper place falling into the pathetic, he said, "I am going to expose myself to all the dangers of war for your sakes. If I return alive, I will make you amends for the past; but if I fall, here is my dear son, place him on my throne, his gratitude will be the rewarder of your fidelity!" Here he stopped, and let a few tears roll down his iron cheek. The archbishop wept; the spectators were tenderly affected, and, after a brief pause, the air was rent with shouts of applause and loyalty.² This display of enthusiasm gave the king great encouragement, and having issued writs for the protection of church property, and appointed his former opponent, the Archbishop of Canterbury, chief of the council of regency under Prince Edward, he went to embark for Flanders with such troops as he had kept together.

But a few days after he was brought to a halt at Winchester, by reports of the hostile spirit of the nobles; and while in that city, a remonstrance, in the name of the archbishops, bishops, abbots, and priors, the earls, barons, and commons of England, was presented to him. After stating in broad terms that they were not bound to accompany the king to Flanders—a country where neither they nor any of their ancestors had ever

done service for the Kings of England—and that even if they were inclined to take a part in that expedition, the poverty to which he had reduced them rendered them unable to do so: they went on to tell him that he had violated their charters and liberties; that his "evil toll" (so they called the export duty on wool) was excessive and intolerable; and that his present expedition to the Continent was ill-advised, seeing that his absence would leave the country open to the incursions of the Scots and Welsh. The king evaded any very direct answer, and relying on the favourable disposition of the common people, he had the courage to depart in the very midst of these discontents.³ He landed near Sluis in the end of August: his plans were concerted with his usual sagacity; but coalitions are faithless and uncertain things, and he had in Philip le Bel an opponent as crafty, and, at the least, as unscrupulous as himself. These great kings had long struggled for possession of a young lady—Philippa, daughter of Guy, Count of Flanders. As early as the year 1294, Edward had concluded a treaty of marriage, which was to unite the fair Fleming to the Prince of Wales; but it was Philip's interest to prevent any close union between England and Flanders, and he resolved that the marriage should not take place. After many secret intrigues, which failed—as both the young lady and her father were bent on the English union—the French king invited Count Guy to meet him at Corbeil, that he might consult him on matters of great importance. The count, who was a frank, honest old man, went, and took his countess with him; he was no sooner in his power than Philip harshly reproached him with the English treaty—told him that no *vassal* of the French crown, however great, could marry any of his children without the king's license—and then sent him and his wife prisoners to the tower in the Louvre.

This arbitrary and treacherous measure excited great disgust, and the better feeling of the French peers, and the remonstrances of a Papal legate, forced Philip to liberate the old count and his countess. Before letting go his hold, however, he made Guy swear he would think no more of his English alliance. The count contracted the obligation; but this was not enough for the French king, who had broken too many oaths himself to have much reliance on those of other men: he demanded that Philippa should be placed in his hands as a hostage; and when that young lady was brought to Paris—and not before—her parents were liberated. As soon as Count Guy reached his own dominions, he made an affecting appeal to the pope; the church entered

¹ Heming.² Heming.; Knyghton; Rymer.³ Heming.; Wals.; Knyghton; Rymer.

with some zeal into the case; but notwithstanding repeated threats of excommunication, Philip le Bel persisted in keeping his innocent hostage, who was not more than twelve years of age. At last, the old count formally renounced his allegiance, defied his suzerain, and entered heart and soul into a league with the English king. It was in consequence of this treaty, which was sworn to in the most solemn manner, that Edward went to Flanders after preparing a formidable alliance. The other chief members of the coalition were, the emperor, the Duke of Austria—who had both been subsidized by Edward—and the Duke of Brabant and Count of Bar, who were his own sons-in-law, by their marriage with the Princesses Margaret and Eleanor of England. When the hired allies got Edward's money, they seem to have considered their part of the business as done; and no member of the coalition was very faithful or strenuous, except the unhappy Count Guy. But the whole expedition became a series of misadventures, some of which were sufficiently disgraceful to the English conqueror. He had scarcely landed at Sluis, when the mariners of the Cinque ports, and those of Yarmouth and other ports—between whom there were many rancorous old jealousies—quarrelled, and then fought as if they had been national enemies ranged under two opposite flags. On the Yarmouth side, five-and-twenty ships were burned and destroyed in this wild conflict. The king's land-forces were scarcely in a better state of discipline, owing, probably, to the absence of most of the great officers whom they had been accustomed to obey. The disorders they committed did not tend to produce unanimity in the country, which was already in "evil state, by reason that the good towns were not all of one mind." The rich and populous cities of Flanders were, in fact, as jealous of each other, and split into almost as many factions, as the little Italian republics of the middle ages. Philip le Bel had a strong party among them, and that active sovereign had greatly increased it, and weakened his enemies, by marching into the Low Countries at the head of 60,000 men, and gaining a great victory at Furnes, before Edward could arrive. The French occupied many of the towns; and Lille, Courtrai, Ypres, Bruges, and Damme were either taken, or given up to them soon after the landing of the English. Edward drove them out of Damme, and might have done the same at Bruges, had it not been that his English and the Flemings who were serving with them, fell into strife, and fought about the division of the spoils of the town, which they had not yet taken. Soon after this, he went into winter quarters at Ghent, and there deadly feuds broke out between the town's-people and his troops: seven hundred of

the latter were killed in a tumult, in which Edward's own life was endangered.

A.D. 1298. Spring approached, but it brought no news of the inactive members of the coalition; and as Edward's presence was much wanted at home, he eagerly listened to overtures from Philip, concluded a truce for two years, and, leaving Count Guy to shift for himself, sailed, somewhat dishonoured, for England. But his English subjects had not waited for this moment of humiliation to curb his power. As soon as he set sail for Flanders the preceding year, the constable and earl-marshal, with many other nobles, in presence of the lord-treasurer and of the judges, forbade the officers of the exchequer to exact payment of certain taxes which had been laid on without proper consent of parliament. The citizens of London and of the other great trading towns made common cause with the barons; and, after issuing some orders which the exchequer durst not obey, and making some fruitless attempts at deception and evasion, Edward was obliged to send over from Ghent instructions to his son and the council of regency¹ to bend before a storm which there was no opposing; and in the month of December, from the same city of Ghent, he was fain to grant, under the great seal, another confirmation of the two charters, together with a full confirmation of the important statute called "*De Tallagio non Concedendo*," declaring that henceforth no tallage or aid should be levied without assent of the peers spiritual and temporal, the knights, burgesses, and other freemen of the realm, which had been passed in a parliament held by Prince Edward in the preceding September. For many years parliament had exercised a salutary control in such matters; but this statute, for the first time, formally invested the representatives of the nation with the sole right of raising the supplies. In full parliament, which met at York in the month of May, some six weeks after the king's return, the Earl of Hereford, the constable, and the Earl of Norfolk, the marshal, demanded of him that he would ratify in person, and with proper solemnities, his recent confirmation of the charters. Edward said that it could not be now, as he must hasten to chastise the Scottish rebels; but he promised to do what was asked of him on his return from the north; and he pledged solemn oaths, *vicariously*, the Bishop of Durham and three lay lords swearing, by the soul of the king, that he would keep his promise.²

It will prevent confusion to bring these transactions to one point, without regard to the strict chronological order in which they occurred. In

¹ Several members of this council, with the Archbishop of Canterbury at their head, were known to be favourable to the cause of reform.

² *Hening; Walsing.*

March, 1299, Edward met his parliament again at Westminster. The bloody laurels of Falkirk were fresh on his brow: he had all the prestige of recent success; but, undaunted by his glory and might, the barons required the fulfilment of his promises. He endeavoured to gain time, and when the lords urged him, he withdrew from parliament and got out of London, secretly, and as if by stealth. But these earnest men would not be evaded: they followed him; and then the proud conqueror was compelled to make mean and debasing excuses. At last he granted the ratification so firmly demanded; but, with singular bad faith, he took parliament by surprise, and added a clause at the end of the document (a saving of the right of the crown) which utterly destroyed the value of the concession, and went to shake the very foundations of the Great Charter itself.

Upon this the mass of the barons returned suddenly to their homes. Edward was alarmed at their hostile countenance, but fancying he could delude the plain citizens, he ordered the sheriffs of London to call a public meeting, and to read the new confirmation of the charters. The citizens met in St. Paul's church-yard, and listened with anxious ears: at every clause, except the last, they gave many blessings to the king; but when that last clause was read, the London burghers cursed as loud and as fast as they had blessed before. Edward took warning: he summoned the parliament to meet again shortly after Easter, and then he struck out the detested clause, and granted all that was asked of him in the forms prescribed.¹ Hereford, the constable, died shortly after the ratification, but his principles had taken too deep a root to be much injured by the death of any one man, however great. In the course of three years, the king artfully contrived to punish, on other charges, and impoverish many of the barons who had most firmly opposed him; but this measure only convinced men more than ever of the vital necessity of restricting his power. In 1304, Edward arbitrarily sent to raise a tallage on all the cities and boroughs of his demesne; and in the following year he despatched secret envoys to the pope, to represent that the concessions he had made had been forced from him by a conspiracy of his barons, and to ask an absolution from his oaths and the engagements he had so repeatedly and solemnly contracted with his subjects. Notwithstanding Edward's instancing the case of his father, Henry III., who was absolved of his oaths to the Earl of Leicester, the answer of Clement V. was rather an evasive one. Thus, but slightly encouraged to perjury on the one hand

—awed by the unanimity of the barons on the other—and then, once more embarrassed by a rising of the patriots in Scotland, who never left him long in tranquil enjoyment of his usurpation, the mighty Edward was compelled to respect his engagements and the will of the nation. It required, indeed, an “intrepid patriotism” to contend with and finally control such a sovereign; and England never has produced any patriots to whom she owes more gratitude than to Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford, and Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk. Little did the Scottish patriots surmise, that while they were contending for their own national liberties, they were securing those of England also.

The vision of the splendid inheritance of Eleanor of Aquitaine still haunted Edward's imagination. With such an opponent as Philip le Bel, he could scarcely hope to recover all those states which the divorced wife of Louis VII. conveyed to Henry II. of England; but he was resolved to get back at least the country of Guienne. Having experienced the uncertainty of foreign coalitions, and having no great army of his own to spare for continental warfare, Edward determined to obtain his end by treating diplomatically with the French king, and sacrificing his faithful ally the Count of Flanders. In this he had more in view than the recovery of Guienne; for, as a price of his own treachery to Count Guy, he expected that Philip would be equally false to his treaty with the Scots, whom he had hurried into hostilities for his own purposes. Since Edward's campaign in Flanders, the arrogance and exactions of the French had almost destroyed their party in that country; and though they made a temporary conquest of it, the burghers of Ghent, Lille, Bruges, and the other free cities, gave them a signal defeat in the battle of Courtrai, which was fought in the year 1302. Philip's cousin, the Count of Artois, commanded the French on this occasion; and after his disgraceful defeat, all the Flemish towns threw off the French yoke, and elected John of Namur to be their governor-general, for Count Guy had been once more entrapped by Philip, who kept him a close prisoner. The French king was now as anxious to recover Flanders, as Edward was to keep Scotland and to get back Guienne.

It appears that the pope, who had been appealed to as mediator, first suggested, as a proper means of reconciling the two kings, that Edward, who had been for some years a widower, should marry Margaret, the sister of Philip; and that his eldest son, the Prince of Wales, should be affianced to Isabeau or Isabella, the daughter of that sovereign. This double marriage had been for some time under discussion, and had given scope to much mutual deception. Each of the

¹ Hemingford; Knyghton.

kings impudently affected a delicacy of conscience about abandoning his allies; and Edward stated (what was perfectly true) that he had pledged his soul and honour to the marriage between the Prince of Wales and Philippa, the daughter of the unfortunate Earl of Flanders—that he, King Edward, had sworn upon the gospels to make neither peace nor truce with France unless it were conjointly with his ally, the Earl of Flanders. Philip le Bel, on his side, spoke of his allies, the brave, the unfortunate Scots, and of the solemn obligations he had contracted with them; but each gracious king must have laughed at the other, and probably at himself, too, in making this interchange of scruples of conscience. Edward married Margaret of France, in September, 1299; and at the same time his son, who was thirteen years old, was contracted to Isabella, who was about six years old. A sort of congress, held at Montreuil, which preceded this marriage, had settled that there should be peace between the French and English crowns; that the King of England should make satisfaction for the many French ships which his mariners had taken at the beginning of the war; and that the King of France should place sundry towns in Gascony in the custody of the pope, to be by him held till the Guienne question should be adjusted by peaceful negotiation. This treaty, however, had not been properly ratified; Philip le Bel quarrelled with the arbiter, and even instigated Sciarra Colonna to arrest and ill-treat Pope Boniface. Other circumstances had prevented the accommodation; but at last, on the 20th of May, 1303, the treaty of Montreuil was ratified—a treaty of commerce was concluded between the two countries—and Edward recovered Guienne, for which the Earl of Lincoln swore fealty and did homage in his name. In this treaty the Scots were not even mentioned. Philip, indeed, had bargained with Edward to abandon Scotland if he would abandon Flanders. The fate of Count Guy and of his innocent daughter was sad in the extreme. After keeping him four years in close prison, Philip le Bel liberated the count in a moment of difficulty, and sent him into Flanders to induce his own subjects to convert a truce they then had with the French into a lasting peace. The count went, and not succeeding in his mission, he honourably returned, as he had promised to do in that case, to Philip, who again committed him to prison. The poor old man died soon after at Compeigne. But neither the battle of Monts-en-Puelle, nor a series of bloody engagements which followed it, could break the spirit of the free citizens of Flanders, whose wealth gave them many advantages over the miserably poor aristocracy of France, and whose numbers, considering the limited extent of the country they occupied, were

truly prodigious. "By St. Denis," cried Philip, "I believe it rains Flemings!" At last he condescended to treat on moderate terms with the trading and manufacturing citizens; and, about a year after the ratification of the treaty with Edward, he agreed to a truce for ten years. Robert, the eldest son of Count Guy, was then liberated, and entered on possession of Flanders; the body of the octogenarian state-prisoner, which had been embalmed, was delivered up; and his younger son and many Flemish gentlemen recovered their liberty. But in this general enlargement, the fair Philippa—the, at one time, affianced bride of Prince Edward of England—was excepted; and she died of grief and captivity not long after, about two years before Edward of Caernarvon completed his marriage with Isabella of France. The events which rose out of this ill-fated marriage might have satisfied the manes of the most revengeful; and it could hardly happen otherwise than that they should be interpreted into a direct judgment of Heaven provoked by political perfidy.

All this while Edward had never ceased to be occupied with his design of completing the subjugation of Scotland. The four years that followed the battle of Falkirk were productive of no important results. Wallace disappears from the scene after his great defeat. In his room, the barons appointed William Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrews, John de Soulis, John Comyn the younger, and Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick, guardians of the kingdom in the name of Baliol. This was indeed a strange union of all the great factions—Bruce acting in the name of Baliol, and associated in the same commission with Comyn, the only person who stood between him and the throne if Baliol should be set aside; for Comyn was the son of Baliol's sister Marjory, and, failing King John and his issue, the heir of right to the crown. John Baliol, who had remained a prisoner in the Tower of London since his abdication in 1296, was liberated by Edward on the intercession of Pope Boniface, in July, 1299, and conveyed to his ancestral estate of Bailleul, in Normandy, where he lived in quiet till his death in 1314. Edward Baliol, who had been his father's fellow-prisoner, accompanied him to France; but of him we shall hear more in the sequel. It was not till November, 1299, that the English king found leisure from his other affairs to set about preparations for the prosecution of the Scottish war, and the effort he then made ended in nothing; for after an army had been assembled at Berwick, in November, his barons, alleging his continued evasion of the charters, peremptorily refused to advance, and he was obliged to return home. The consequence was the capitulation of the castle of Stirling to a

Scottish force that had been for some time besieging it. In the summer of 1300, Edward made an incursion into Annandale and Galloway; but it was attended with no result except the devastation of the former of these districts, and the formal and useless submission of the latter. On the 30th of October, a truce with the Scots was concluded at Dumfries, to last till Whitsunday in the following year. Pope Boniface VIII. now claimed Scotland as belonging of right to the Roman See, and forbade Edward to continue the war; but the English parliament as well as the English king denied the right, and cared not for the prohibition. The truce having expired, Edward, in the summer of 1301, again marched into Scotland. This campaign, however, was still more unproductive than the last; the Scots, as the English king advanced, laid the country waste before him, till at last, an early and severe winter coming on, he was compelled to retire into the town of Linlithgow. In January, 1302, by the mediation of France, he was induced to conclude another truce with the Scots, to endure till the 30th of November (St. Andrew's Day). As soon as the truce had expired, he prepared to renew the war. This time, however, instead of proceeding to Scotland in person, he sent thither John de Segrave, at the head of an army of 20,000 men, mostly cavalry. The issue of this expedition was eminently disastrous. Segrave, advancing towards Edinburgh, was suddenly attacked early in the morning of the 24th of February, 1303, in the neighbourhood of Roslin, by the Scottish forces under the command of Comyn, the guardian, and Sir Simon Fraser, and sustained a total defeat.

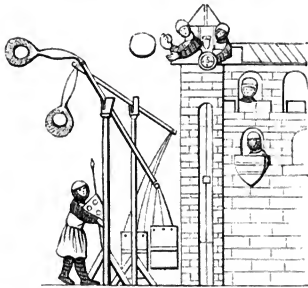
But the termination of the dispute with France now left Edward free to turn with his whole power to the Scottish war. The treaty of Montreuil was ratified at Paris, as above related, on the 20th of May; on the 21st of that month, the English king was with his army at Roxburgh, and, on the 4th of June, he had reached Edinburgh, his progress having been marked at every step by fields laid waste and towns and villages set on fire. From Edinburgh he appears to have pursued his unresisted and destructive course by Linlithgow and Clackmannan to Perth, and thence to Aberdeen and Kinloss in Moray. At the strong and extensive fortress of Lochendorb, built on an islet in the midst of a lake, he established his quarters for some time, while he received the homage and oaths of fealty of the northern barons. From this remote point he returned southwards in the latter part of October. Of all the places of strength to which he came, the castle of Brechin alone shut its gates against him. The garrison, however, capitulated the day after their brave commander, Sir Thomas

Maule, had been slain. Edward took up his winter quarters in Dunfermline in the beginning of December. The last remnant of the Scottish forces that kept the field now assembled in the neighbourhood of Stirling, with the view of protecting that fortress, the only place in the country that still held out. But the advance of Edward and his cavalry at once dispersed this little army. Shortly after, on the 9th of February, 1304, Comyn, by whom it had been commanded, and some other noblemen, made their submission to the commissioners of the English king at Strathorde,¹ in Fifeshire. It was agreed that they should retain their lives, liberties, and lands, subject only to such fines as Edward might impose. The capitulation was to include all other persons who might choose to take advantage of it, with the exception only of Wisheart, Bishop of Glasgow, the steward, and Sir John Soules, who were to remain in exile for two years, and not to pass to the north of the Trent; of David de Graham and Alexander de Lindsay, who were to be banished from Scotland for six months; of Simon Fraser and Thomas Bois, who were to be banished for three years from all the dominions of Edward, and also to be prohibited from passing into France; and, closing the honourable list, the illustrious Wallace, to whom it was significantly accorded that, if he chose, he might render himself up to the will and mercy of Edward. Not long after, a parliament was assembled at St. Andrews, in which sentence of outlawry was pronounced against Wallace, Fraser, and the garrison of Stirling. All the persons above-named eventually surrendered themselves on the terms offered to them; even Fraser at length gave himself up: Wallace alone stood out.

Scotland, however, was not yet completely subdued so long as its chief place of strength, the castle of Stirling, remained unreduced. To the siege of this fortress, therefore, Edward now addressed himself. The operations commenced on the 22d of April. Thirteen warlike engines were brought to be used against the devoted walls; and the ample leaden roof of the cathedral of St. Andrews was torn off to assist in the construction of these formidable machines. Some of them threw stones of two and three hundred-weight. Edward himself directed everything that was done, and was several times struck by stones and javelins thrown from the castle. After the siege had continued nearly a month, without much progress having been made, the sheriffs of York, Lincoln, and London were commanded to purchase all the bows, quarrels, and other warlike weapons that could be procured within their districts, and to send them to Stir-

¹ This place, we believe, is not now known.

ling; and the governor of the Tower was also desired to send down immediately a supply from



ENGINE FOR THROWING STONES.—Royal MS. 16. G. VI.

London. All the efforts of the assailants were repelled for two months longer by Sir William Oliphant and his handful of gallant associates, who did not number more than 140 soldiers. They held out till their provisions were exhausted and the castle was reduced almost to a heap of ruins. Then, on the 20th of July, they surrendered at discretion. The governor and twenty-four of his companions of rank, all except two of them who were ecclesiastics, stripped to their shirts and under garments, were led forth from the castle, and presenting themselves before Edward on their bent knees, with their hair dishevelled and their hands joined in supplication, acknowledged their guilt with trembling and the semblance of shedding tears, and gave themselves up to his mercy. Their lives were spared, and they were sent to the Tower of London and other English prisons.

A few months after the fall of Stirling, the last enemy that Edward had to dread seemed to be cut off by the capture of Wallace. It appears that Edward had anxiously sought to discover his retreat, and that, tempted by the prospect of the rewards his baseness might earn for him, Ralph de Haliburton, one of the prisoners lately taken at Stirling, had proffered his services for that purpose. It is not clear, however, that it was by Haliburton's exertions that Wallace was actually taken; all that is certainly known is, that, upon being seized, he was conveyed to the castle of Dumbarton, then held under a commission from the English king by Sir John Menteith.¹ He was brought to London, "with great

numbers of men and women," says Stow, "wondering upon him. He was lodged in the house of William Delect, a citizen of London, in Fenchurch Street. On the morrow, being the eve of St. Bartholomew, he was brought on horseback to Westminster, . . . and in the great hall at Westminster, he being placed on the south bench, crowned with laurel—for that he had said in times past that he ought to bear a crown in that hall, as it was commonly reported—and being approached for a traitor by Sir Peter Malorie, the king's justice, he answered, that he was never traitor to the King of England; but for other things whereof he was accused, he confessed them." Wallace was put to death as a traitor, on the 23d of August, 1305, at the usual place of execution—the Elms, in West Smithfield. He was dragged thither at the tails of horses, and there hanged on a high gallows, after which, while he yet breathed, his bowels were taken out and burned before his face. The head was afterwards placed on a pole on London Bridge; the right arm was sent to be set up at Newcastle, the left arm to Berwick, the right foot and limb to Perth, and the left to Aberdeen.

A few weeks after the execution of Wallace, ten commissioners, elected by a council of the Scottish nation, which Edward had summoned to meet at Perth, assembled in London, and there, in concert with twenty commissioners from the English parliament, proceeded to settle a plan of government for the conquered country. The whole arrangement, however, was overthrown ere it had been well established. Within six months from the death of Wallace, the Scots were again up in arms, around a new champion.

This was Robert Bruce. Bruce had again made his peace with England some time before the capitulation of Comyn and his friends at Strathorde, which he was enabled the more easily to effect, inasmuch as he had not been present at the battle of Falkirk, having previously shut himself up in the castle of Ayr, and refused to join the Scottish army. Edward had since sought to secure his adherence by treating him with favour and confidence. When his father, who had all along continued attached to the English interests, died, in the latter part of the year 1304, young Bruce was permitted to take possession of the whole of his estates both in England and Scotland. At the settlement of the latter kingdom, in the following year, while his great rival, Comyn, was heavily fined, Bruce was intrusted with the charge of the important fortress of Kildrummie, in Aberdeenshire, by commission from the English king. It is never to be forgotten that, up to this time, whatever his aversion

¹ There is a very able and spirited vindication of Sir John Menteith in Mr. Mark Napier's *Memoirs of John Spenser of Merchiston*, 4to, Edin. 1834, pp. 527, &c. See also *Tracts, Legal and Historical*, by J. Riddell, Esq., 8vo, Edin. 1835, pp. 145-149. VOL. I.

The admirable Hailes first pointed out the improbabilities and unfounded assumptions of the vulgar account, *Annals*, l. 548, 341.

to the English domination may have been, there had been repelling circumstances of the strongest nature to prevent Bruce from taking part entirely with the patriotic party, who, although they were contending against England, acted in the name, and chiefly under the conduct of the enemies of his house and person—of the family which he looked upon as having come between him and his splendid birthright. Wallace might fight for Baliol; Bruce scarcely could. And as little, after Baliol might be considered to be set aside, should he ally himself with Comyn, the near connection of Baliol, and the inheritor of his pretensions. Bruce, indeed, if he still retained a hope of seating himself on the disputed throne, must now have looked upon Comyn as the man of all others of whom it was most necessary for him to clear his path; and the same also no doubt were the feelings of Comyn in regard to Bruce. It is probable that the favour of Edward was courted by each with the object of depressing or destroying his rival. The circumstances, however, that led to the explosion of the inflammable elements which only required to be brought together to produce such a catastrophe, are involved in much uncertainty. It appears that in June, 1305, after his last submission to Edward, Bruce had entered into a secret league with William de Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrews, by which the parties mutually bound themselves to stand by each other against all persons whatsoever. This curious instrument is still preserved.¹ It is supposed that Comyn had obtained a knowledge of this agreement, and that thereupon a conference on the subject of their pretensions took place between him and Bruce, when Bruce is alleged to have proposed either that he should have the crown and Comyn his estates, or that he should have Comyn's estates and Comyn the crown. It was agreed that Bruce's title to the crown should be supported by both. With whatever views Comyn may have entered into this negotiation, he eventually (so proceeds the story) communicated all that had taken place to Edward. Bruce received the first intimation of his danger from Edward's son-in-law, the Earl of Gloucester. Early the next morning, Bruce set out for Scotland. On his way he met a person on foot, whom he found to be the bearer of letters from Comyn to Edward, urging his death or immediate imprisonment. He slew this man, and with the letters in his possession, pressed forward to the castle of Lochmaben. The adjuncts of this story, it must be confessed, are more like fiction than fact. It is certain, however, that on the 10th of February, 1306, Bruce and Comyn met alone in the convent of the Minorites at Dumfries, and

that there a passionate altercation having arisen between them, Bruce drew his dagger, and stabbed Comyn as they stood together beside the high altar. Hurrying from the sanctuary, he called "To horse!" and when his attendant, seeing him pale and violently agitated, inquired the cause—"I doubt," he replied, "I have slain Comyn." "You doubt?" exclaimed Roger Kirkpatrick; "I'll make sure." And with these words, he rushed into the church, and gave the wounded man his death-stroke.

Whatever might have been Bruce's previous plans, there was no room for doubt or hesitation now. He called his friends around him—they were few in number; but, desperate as the hazard looked, there were some gallant spirits that did not shrink from setting their lives upon another cast for the freedom of their country. The Bishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, the abbot of Scone, Bruce's four brothers, Edward, Nigel, Thomas, and Alexander, his nephew Thomas Randolph, his brother-in-law Christopher Seton, and some ten or twelve others, mostly young men, gathered at the summons. They met at Glasgow, and from thence rode to Scone, where Bruce was solemnly crowned on the 27th of March.

Edward was at Winchester when the news of this revolution was brought to him. He immediately sent forward the Earl of Pembroke, at the head of a small army, to check the insurgents; and, advanced in years as he now was, proceeded to make ready to follow in person. In preparation for the expedition, proclamation was made that the Prince of Wales would be knighted on the feast of Pentecost; and all the young nobility of the kingdom were summoned to appear at Westminster to receive that honour along with him. On the eve of the appointed day (the 22d of May), 270 noble youths assembled in the gardens of the Temple, in which the trees were cut down that they might pitch their tents; and there they watched their arms all night, according to the usage of chivalry. On the morrow Prince Edward was knighted by his father, and then conferred that honour on his companions. A magnificent feast followed, at which two swans, covered with nets of gold, being set on the table by the minstrels, the king rose and made a solemn vow to God and to the swans, that he would avenge the death of Comyn, and punish the perfidy of the Scottish rebels; and then addressing his son and the rest of the company, he conjured them, in the event of his death, to keep his body unburied until his successor should have accomplished this vow. The next morning the prince with his companions departed for the Borders; Edward himself followed by slow journeys, being only able to travel in a litter.

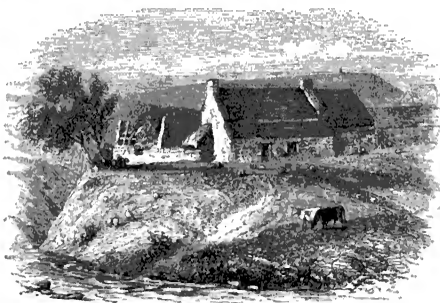
¹ See it printed in *Hairs*, i. 342.

Meanwhile, Bruce had acquired such strength, that in several parts of the country the officers of Edward had fled in terror. He now marched upon Perth, where the Earl of Pembroke lay. That same evening (19th of June) the English fell by surprise upon the Scots: it was rather a rout than a battle; Bruce himself was in the greatest danger, having been three times unhorsed; Randolph and others of his friends were taken; and he with difficulty made good his retreat into the fastnesses of Athole, with about 500 followers—the broken and dispirited remnant of his force. For many months after this, he and his friends were houseless fugitives; a price was set upon their heads: to make their difficulties and sufferings the greater, they were joined after some time by a party of their wives and daughters; and as they penetrated farther and farther into the depths of the Highlands, to avoid the English troops, their miseries became daily more pressing. At last Bruce's queen and the other ladies were conducted by his young brother Nigel to the castle of Kildrummy; and Bruce himself found means to pass over to the little isle of Rathlin on the coast of Ireland.

While the Scottish king lay concealed here, ruin fell upon almost all the connections and adherents he had left behind. The Bishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, and the abbot of Scone, had fallen into the hands of the English: they were taken clad in armour, and were immediately sent, so attired, and in fetters, to England, and there consigned to different prisons. Bruce's queen and his daughter Marjory, having taken refuge in the sanctuary of St. Duthac, at Tain, in Ross-shire, were seized there by the Earl of Ross. The knights who were with them were put to death; and they themselves were sent to England, where they endured an imprisonment of eight years. The youthful Nigel Bruce was compelled to surrender the castle of Kildrummy, and, being sent in irons to Berwick, was there langed and afterwards beheaded, along with divers other knights and gallant men. Christopher Seton suffered a similar death at Dumfries, the Earl of Athole and Sir Simon Fraser in London, and many others there and elsewhere.

Bruce, however, had not been idle in his winter retreat; and early in the spring of 1307 he passed over from Rathlin to the Isle of Arran,

with a company of about 300 men, embarked in thirty-three galleys. Before venturing to the opposite coast, he despatched one of his followers to ascertain what were the dispositions of the people. When the Scots approached the landing-place, Bruce's emissary stood on the shore. He told them that the English were in complete possession of Carrick; that Lord Percy, with a numerous garrison, held the castle of Turnberry; and that there was no hope of a rising in favour of Bruce. Bruce hesitated what to do; but his brother Edward boldly declared for pursuing their enterprise. They immediately attacked a body of the English, and succeeded in putting most of them to the sword. Percy did not dare, in his ignorance of the numbers of the enemy, to come forth from the castle. After this exploit, Bruce sought shelter in the mountainous parts of the country. But the blow he had struck sufficed to rekindle the war, and it soon raged in different quarters. In the beginning of February, Bruce's brothers, Thomas and Alexander, with a band of 1100 adventurers from Ireland, were routed in



BRADLEY HALL, Northumberland, where Edward I. rested on his last invasion of Scotland. —H. G. Hine, from his sketch on the spot.

Galloway by Duncan MacDowal, a chief of that region, who immediately carried the two brothers, who had fallen into his hands severely wounded, to the English king at Carlisle. Edward ordered both to instant execution. Some weeks after this,

¹ Bradley Hall is situated on a knoll which overhangs the Bardon Burn, about six miles from Haltwhistle, in Northumberland. It has considerable local celebrity, from having been a resting-place of Edward I. on his last march to Scotland. The place is now converted into a farm-house, and many alterations have been made accordingly, but the masonry attests its antiquity. Its site lies just off the great Roman military way by which Edward must have led his army, and which is still one of the best highways in this country. The lofty hill of Borcom, disfigured by a cairn on its summit, and which bears some vestiges of a British camp, is shown in the view at a short distance from the hall.

Douglas Castle, which was held by Lord Clifford, was gallantly surprised by its former owner, Sir James Douglas, one of Bruce's most distinguished followers. It was some time, however, before Bruce was strong enough to show himself openly in the field; and he was frequently again in great personal danger as he skulked from one hiding-place to another in the wilds of Galloway. But at length he ventured to encounter the Earl of Pembroke at Loudon Hill, when, notwithstanding a great inferiority of numbers, he obtained a complete victory. This action was fought on the 10th of May. Three days after, he attacked another English force under the command of the Earl of Gloucester; and this, too, he succeeded in routing with great slaughter.

But here we must break off our account of events in Scotland for the present. King Edward all this while had advanced no farther than to Carlisle, having been detained all the winter and spring at Lanercost, by a serious illness. He had directed all the late operations of the war from his sick-bed; but now, incensed at the continued progress of the insurrection, he offered up the litter on which he had thus far been carried in the cathedral church of Carlisle, and again mounting on horseback, gave orders to proceed towards the Borders. It was the effort of a dying man. In four days he advanced about six miles, when, having reached the village of Burgh-upon-Sands, he there stopped once more for the night; and on the morning of the next day, the 7th of July, expired, in the sixty-ninth year of his age,

and thirty-fifth of his reign. His last breath was spent in enjoining upon those who should succeed



TOMB OF EDWARD I., Westminster Abbey.¹

him, the prosecution of the great design of his life—the complete subjugation of Scotland.

¹ In 1744 the tomb of Edward I. was opened, and the remains examined in the presence of the Dean of Westminster. On lifting the lid of the tomb, the royal body was found wrapped in a strong thick linen cloth, waxed on the inside. The head and face were covered with the sudarium or face-cloth, of crimson sarsenet, wrapped into three folds—conformable to the napkin used by our Saviour on his way to his crucifixion, as we are assured by the Church of Rome. On flinging open the external mantle, the corpse was discovered in all the ensigns of majesty, richly habited. The body was wrapped in a fine linen cerecloth closely fitted to every part, even to the very fingers and face. The writs *De cera renovanda, circa corpus regis Edwardi primi* (*Archæologia*, vol. iii.) being extant, gave rise to this search. Over the cere-cloth was a tunic of red silk damask; above that a stole of thick white tissue crossed the breast, and on this, at 6 inches distant from each other, quatrefoils of filigree work, of gilt metal set with false stones, imitating rubies, sapphires, amethysts, &c., and the intervals between the

quatrefoils on the stole powdered with minute white beads, tacked down into a most elegant embroidery, in form not unlike what is called the true lover's knot. Above these habits was the royal mantle of rich crimson satin, fastened on the left shoulder with a magnificent fibula of gilt metal richly chased, and ornamented with four pieces of red and four of blue transparent paste, and twenty-four more pearls. The corpse, from the waist downward, was covered with a rich cloth of figured gold, which fell down to the feet, and was tucked beneath them. On the back of each hand was a quatrefoil like those on the stole. In his right hand was a sceptre with a cross of copper gilt, and of elegant workmanship, reaching to the right shoulder. In the left hand was the rod and dove, which passed over the shoulder and reached the royal ear. The dove stood on a ball placed on three ranges of oak leaves of enamelled green, the dove in white enamel. On the head was a crown charged with trefoils made of gilt metal. The head was lodged in the cavity of the stone coffin.—*Pennant*.

CHAPTER IV.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.

EDWARD II., SURNAMED OF CAERNARVON.—ACCESSION, A.D. 1307—DEATH, A.D. 1327.

Character of Edward II.—His inordinate attachment to Gaveston—He marries Isabella of France—Gaveston banished and recalled—The barons compel Edward to make certain reforms—Gaveston executed—Successes of Bruce in Scotland—He invades England—Recovers the castles in Scotland garrisoned by the English—Edward II. invades Scotland—Battle of Bannockburn—Prowess of Bruce—Signal victory of the Scots at Bannockburn—Edward Bruce makes war on the English in Ireland—He overruns the island—Is defeated and slain at Dundalk—Mutual invasions of the Scots and English—Edward II. finds a new favourite in Hugh Despenser—The Earl of Lancaster rebels against the king—He is defeated and executed—Queen Isabella goes on a mission to France—Refuses to return to England—Conspires with Roger Mortimer against her husband—She and Mortimer land in England—The Despensers executed—Edward II. deposed and imprisoned—His son Edward proclaimed—The Queen and Mortimer assume the government during the minority of Edward III.—Edward II. murdered in prison—Cruel abolition of the order of Templars in France—Mode of its abolition in England.



THE death of Edward I. was concealed in the capital for many days, and Ralph de Baldoc, Bishop of London and chancellor of the kingdom, continued to put his great seal to writs till the 25th of July. Edward II., however, had been peacefully recognized at Carlisle by the unanimous consent of the peers and magnates present with the army there, on Saturday, the 8th of July, the day after his father's death.¹ This prince had the outward appearance of many advantages; he was young, of an agreeable person, and cheerful disposition; but he had already betrayed weaknesses that might overthrow the strongest throne, and had incurred the suspicion of vices which, when once proclaimed, were sure singularly to irritate a manly nation. On his death-bed his father had implored him to eschew the company of favourites and parasites, and had forbidden him, under pain of his curse, to recal his chief minion, Gaveston, to England. Piers Gaveston was a handsome youth of Gascony, who had been brought up with the prince. The stern old king had driven him from England; but, forgetful of his dying injunctions, and his own solemn oaths, Edward's first thoughts on his accession were to recal this favourite, and confer upon him the earldom of



EFFIGY OF EDWARD II.—From his tomb in Gloucester Cathedral.

Cornwall, with other honours and immense estates. He was obliged, however, to make a semblance of prosecuting the war in Scotland, and he marched as far north as Cumnock, on the borders of Ayrshire; but at this point he turned round and made his way back to England, without having performed anything. Meanwhile, Gaveston, who had hastily arrived from the Continent, joined him in Scotland, and had scarcely made his appearance when the whole body of the government was changed. The chancellor, the treasurer, the barons of the exchequer, the judges—all the officers who had been appointed by the deceased king, were deprived of their places, and in some instances stripped of their property and thrown into prison. Instead of fulfilling his father's solemn behest, Edward buried his bones in Westminster Abbey, at the head of Henry III., on the 27th day of October; and soon after, he gave the money which the old king had set apart for the holy war to his insatiable favourite. Indeed, the whole of Edward's care seems to have been to enrich and aggrandize Gaveston. The great earldom of Cornwall, which had been appanage enough for princes of the blood, was not deemed sufficient for this Gascon knight; and in addition to this, Edward married him to his own niece, Margaret de Clare, made

¹ Walsingham says he succeeded to the crown, "non tam jure hereditario, quam unanimi assensu procerum et magnatum."

² The effigy of the second Edward represents him royally crowned; he has had a sceptre in one hand, which is now removed; the other supports the mundus or ball.

him lord-chamberlain, and gave him an extensive grant of lands in Guienne.¹

When the infatuated Edward sailed for France, in January, 1308, to marry the Princess Isabella, to whom he had long been contracted, he left Gaveston regent of the kingdom during his absence, and intrusted him with more absolute powers than had ever been conferred in such cases. The Princess Isabella, daughter to Philip le Bel, was reputed the most beautiful woman in Europe—*une des plus belles dames du monde*, according to Froissart. But Edward from the first was rather indifferent to her person. They were married with great pomp in "our Lady Church of Boulogne," on the 25th of January. Edward showed the greatest impatience to return to England: the usual rejoicings were cut short, and he embarked with his bride and a numerous company of French nobles and princes. Soon after their landing they were met by Gaveston, and by the flower of the English nobility, who came to salute their young and beautiful queen. At this moment, paying no attention to his wife, or his guests, or to the rest of his subjects, Edward threw himself into the arms of his favourite, hugged and kissed him, and called him brother. The whole court was disgusted at this exhibition. At the coronation, which was celebrated with great magnificence at Westminster on the 24th of February, nearly all the honours were allotted to the favourite, without any regard to the hereditary offices of the great barons. Four days after the coronation, the barons petitioned the king to banish Sir Piers Gaveston immediately. Edward promised to give them an answer in parliament, which was to meet after the festival of Easter, and in the meanwhile he did all he could to disarm their resentment. But the favourite himself had no discretion. When the parliament met, Edward was obliged to part with his minion. Gaveston took an oath that he would never return to England, and the bishops bound him to his oath by threats of excommunication. The king accompanied him to Bristol, where he embarked; but a few weeks after, it was ascertained that the exile had been appointed governor of all Ireland, and that he had established himself in that island with almost royal magnificence. From the time of his departure till that of his return—a space of thirteen months—the whole soul of the king seems to have been absorbed by this one subject: he employed every expedient to mitigate the animosity of his barons; he wrote to Rome for a dispensation for Gaveston from his oath; and having, as he fancied, removed all dangerous opposition to the measure, he sent to recall the favourite from Ireland. They met at

Chester, with a wonderful display of tenderness on the part of the king. The parliament assembled at Stamford, and the promises of the king, and the affected humility of Gaveston, obtained a formal consent to his re-establishment in England.

The king was now happy; his court was filled with buffoons, parasites, and such like pernicious instruments; and nothing was seen there but feasting and revelry. At the same time the upstart favourite became more arrogant and insolent than he had ever been before. Even the queen was so disgusted with this man's predominancy, that she sent complaints to the king, her father, and conceived an aversion to her husband, which was never afterwards removed. The barons, before voting supplies, had several times made Edward promise a redress of grievances; but when he summoned a parliament to meet at York, in October, 1309, three months after the favourite's return from Ireland, most of the barons refused to attend, alleging that they stood in fear of the power and malice of Gaveston. The urgency of the king's wants obliged him to repeat his summons, but still they came not. The favourite then withdrew; and at last the barons announced that they would assemble at Westminster. They met in the month of March, 1310; but every baron came in arms, and Edward was completely in their power. He was obliged to consent to the appointment of a committee of peers, who should have to reform not only the state, but also the royal household. The committee was appointed by the primate, seven bishops, eight earls, and thirteen barons, who acknowledged under their signatures that this grant was not to be considered as a precedent for trenching on the royal prerogative; and that the functions of the committee should cease at the feast of St. Michael in the following year. The committee, called "ordainers," sat in London. The king was scarcely out of their sight when he was once more joined by Gaveston. The two passed the winter and the following summer at Berwick and the country about the Scotch borders, doing little or nothing, while Bruce was mustering his resources for a complete deliverance of Scotland.

In the month of August, 1311, Edward was obliged to meet his parliament at Westminster. The barons were in a worse humour than ever: they recalled all grants made by the king to his favourite; they decreed that all made thereafter, without consent of parliament, should be invalid; that Gaveston should be banished, on pain of death in case of return; that the king should not leave the kingdom or make war without the consent of the baronage; that the baronage, in parliament assembled, should appoint a guardian or

¹ *De la More; Walsing.; Triwet.*

regent during the royal absence; and that all the great officers of the crown, and the governors of foreign possessions, should at all times be chosen by the baronage, or with their advice and assent in parliament. The king had once more confirmed the Great Charter the preceding year, before going to the north, but now a new and important provision was introduced respecting the meeting of parliament:—"Forasmuch as many people be aggrieved by the king's ministers against right, in respect to which grievances no one can recover without a common parliament, we do ordain that the king shall hold a parliament once a-year, or twice if need be." More for the sake of his favourite, than from any other motive, Edward made a show of resistance, but he was compelled to yield, and he affixed his signature to all these ordinances in the beginning of October. On the 1st of November following, after many tears, he took leave of Gaveston, who retired to Flanders. The king then dissolved the parliament, and cautiously retired to the north, where he hoped to collect an army that would stand for him. At York, in less than two months from his last departure, Gaveston was again with his royal master, who made him a new grant of all his estates and honours. But the career of the favourite was now drawing to its close. The barons, headed by the great Earl of Lancaster, the king's cousin, fell suddenly upon the royal party at Newcastle. Edward had time to escape, and he sailed away on board a vessel with Gaveston, leaving his beautiful wife behind him with the greatest indifference. Lancaster caused the queen to be treated with all respect, and then marched to lay siege to Scarborough Castle, into which the favourite had thrown himself. The castle was not tenable, and the favourite surrendered on capitulation on the 19th of May, 1312, to the Earl of Pembroke, who pledged his faith that no harm should happen to him, and that he should be confined in his own castle of Wallingford. From Scarborough he travelled, under the escort of Pembroke, as far as Dedington, and here the earl left him to pay a visit to his countess, who was in that neigh-

bourhood. Gaveston appears to have had no foreboding of his fate: on the following morning he was ordered to dress speedily; he obeyed and descended to the court-yard, where, to his confusion, he found himself in the presence of the grim Earl of Warwick, who was attended by a large force. They put him on a mule, and carried him to Warwick Castle, where his entrance was derisively announced by a crash of martial music. In



WARWICK CASTLE.—From Graphic Illustrations of Warwickshire.

the castle-hall a hurried council, composed of the Earls of Lancaster, Hereford, and Arundel, and



PLACE WHERE PIERCE GAVESTON WAS BEHEADED.¹—J. W. Archer, from his sketch on the spot.

other chiefs, sat upon the prisoner. A proposal was made, or a hint was offered, that no blood should be shed; but a voice rung through the hall—"You have caught the fox; if you let him go you will have to hunt him again." This

¹ On Blacklow Hill, near Warwick, an indentation in the rock, where a man kneeling might place his neck, is indicated as the place of Gaveston's execution by the following inscription:—

death-note had its effect; the capitulation of Scarborough was foully disregarded, and it was resolved to put an end to the unhappy man in conformity with the ordinance passed by parliament for his last exile. He threw himself at the feet of the Earl of Lancaster, but there was no mercy there. They hurried him at once to Blacklow Hill, a gentle knoll a mile or two from the castle, and there, in view of the beautiful windings of the river Avon, they struck off his head.¹

This tragedy, unusual in England even in those turbulent times, threw the king into an agony of grief; but when he dried his tears he thought of revenge. For six months Edward and his barons were in arms against each other, but no battle took place, and a temporary reconciliation was effected at the end of the year. Two meetings of parliament (A.D. 1313) confirmed and completed this treaty. The barons knelt before the king in Westminster Hall, amnesties were published, and the plate and jewels of the deceased favourite were surrendered to Edward. But when they asked him to declare Gaveston a traitor, he resolutely refused.² This year Edward took the field in something like earnest, but he only marched to Scotland to add the disgrace of a defeat in regular war to the other reverses of his reign.

Ever since the death of Edward I., the English dominion in the greater part of Scotland had been little more than nominal. The progress of Bruce in liberating the country had been continued and steady. Edward, on returning home, in the autumn of 1307, had left the war to be conducted by the Earl of Richmond, who was supported by that part of the nation which was opposed to Bruce's assumption of the crown. The latter, therefore, had both an English and a Scottish, both a foreign and a domestic enemy, to contend with. The great body of his countrymen soon became warmly attached to his cause; but in some districts even the popular feeling was hostile, and a powerful faction of the nobility was arrayed in determined resistance to his pretensions. For the present, at least, and

until they should have attained their immediate object of putting him down, this party professed to be in the English interest, and acted in concert with Edward's officers. Most of the places of strength throughout the kingdom were also in the hands of the English. In these circumstances the course which Bruce appears to have laid down for himself was to avoid a general action, and in the meantime to overrun those parts of the country that refused to submit to his authority, and seize every opportunity of reducing the castles.

The severe bodily exertion and fatigue, and the still more trying accumulation of mental distresses to which he had been subjected since the commencement of his great enterprise, had been too much even for his heroic heart and iron frame, and had reduced Bruce by the spring of 1308 to a state of debility from which it had begun to be feared that he would not recover. On the 22d of May the royal army was encountered near Inverury, in Aberdeenshire, by a numerous force under the command of Mowbray, an Englishman, and John Comyn, the Earl of Buchan. Bruce, it is affirmed, was not able to rise without assistance from his couch, but he nevertheless desired to be set on horseback. In this state, and held up in the saddle by a man on either side, he led his soldiers to the charge, and gained the victory; the enemy being pursued with great slaughter for many miles.

Soon after this the people of Aberdeen rose and stormed the castle there, put the English garrison to the sword, and razed the fortress to the ground. An English force immediately marched against the town, but the citizens finished their exploit by encountering and defeating this new enemy also. The capture of the castle of Aberdeen was speedily followed by that of the castle of Forfar.

There were two districts of the kingdom where the opposition to Bruce was especially strong—that of Galloway, the turbulent inhabitants of which had never yet been thoroughly reconciled to the dominion of the Scottish kings, and were, besides, attached by a sort of national connection to the Baliol family through their ancient lords; and the country of Lorn in Argyleshire, the chief of which, Allaster (or Alexander) MacDougal (often called Allaster of Argyle), had married an aunt of Comyn, whom Bruce had slain. In the course of this summer both these districts were overrun, and for the present reduced to subjection.

Meanwhile the measures of the English government were characterized by all the evidences of distracted councils, and decay of the national spirit under the inefficient rule of the new king. Almost every quarter of the year saw the substi-

+ 1311
P GAVESTON
EARL OF CORNWALL
BEHEADED HERE

The cross on the brow of the hill was erected by one of the Greathead family of Gwy's Cliff, to commemorate the event. On the base is inscribed:—

In the hollow of this rock
Was beheaded,
On the 1st day of July, 1312,
By barons lawless as himself,
Piers Gaveston, Earl of Cornwall,
The minion of a pitiful king;
In life and death
A memorable instance of misrule.

¹ Rymer: *Walsing.*: *Knyghton*.

² Rymer: *Walsing.*: *Statutes* 7th Ed. II.

tution of a new guardian or chief governor for Scotland. The country, generally, was under subjection to Bruce; and whenever he encountered any military force, whether composed of Scots or of English, he was sure to put them to flight. At last, in the spring of 1309, a truce was arranged by the mediation of the King of France. Hostilities, however, were not long suspended. In the end of the year, by a second intervention of the French king, the negotiations were renewed, and another truce was concluded in the year 1310. But this also was soon broken by one party or by both. Edward II. at last prepared to proceed to Scotland, and take the field in person. He entered Scotland about the end of September; but, after leading his army about from place to place over the Border counties for some weeks without achieving anything, he returned to Berwick, and remained inactive for nearly nine months. Edward returned to England in the end of July, 1311, boasting that he had driven the Scots into their coverts like foxes, but as soon as he was gone, Bruce made an irruption into Durham, and suffered his soldiers to wreak their vengeance on that unfortunate district by a week of unrestrained plunder and merciless devastation. Bringing them back loaded with spoil, he next led them to attack the castle of Perth. After a siege of six weeks it was taken by an assault during the night, gallantly led by the king himself. Edward now attempted to negotiate another truce, and even solicited the intervention of the pope. But, instead of listening to these overtures, Bruce again invaded England, burned the towns of Hexham and Corbridge, and part of the city of Durham, afterwards penetrated to Chester, and, although he was repulsed in an assault upon Carlisle, only consented to return across the Border upon the four northern counties purchasing a truce from him by a payment of £2000 each. Not long after, he succeeded in making himself master of the castle of Dumfries, and of those of Butel and Dalswinton, in Galloway—the former a seat of the Baliols, the latter of the Comyns. On the 7th of March, 1313, the important castle of Roxburgh was suddenly taken by assault. On the 14th of the same month, that of Edinburgh, which had for some time been blockaded by Bruce's nephew, Randolph, now created Earl of Moray, was taken in a similar manner by a party of thirty men, whom Randolph headed, and who made their way at midnight up the precipitous rock on which the castle stands, by a secret path, along which they were guided by a man who had resided in the fortress in his youth, and had been wont to descend by that intricate and perilous access to visit a girl with whom he was in love. It appears to have been likewise about

this time, although the event is placed earlier in the common accounts, that the castle of Linlithgow was surprised by a stratagem, which might almost be supposed to have been suggested by the classic tale of the Trojan horse, but of which the contrivance, as well as the conduct, is attributed to a poor countryman named William Binnock or Biuny. This feat consisted in the introduction of armed men into the castle concealed in a waggon-load of hay. This same year Cumberland was again ravaged by Bruce, who then crossing over to Man, effected the complete reduction of the island.

While the Scottish king was absent on this expedition, Edward Bruce had made himself master of the castles of Dundee and Rutherglen; and he had been for some weeks engaged in besieging that of Stirling, now almost the only considerable place of strength which the English held in Scotland. After a gallant defence, the governor, Philip de Mowbray, offered to surrender, if not relieved, by the feast of St. John the Baptist (the 24th of June), in the following year; and this proposal Edward Bruce, without consulting his brother, accepted. Bruce expressed the highest displeasure when the treaty was made known to him; but he resolved, nevertheless, to abide by it. Every effort was now made on both sides in preparation for a crisis, which it was felt would be decisive. King Edward, besides ordering a fleet to be fitted out to act in concert with the land forces, summoned all the military power of England to meet him at Berwick on the 11th of June, and also called to his aid both his English subjects in Ireland, and many of the native Irish chiefs. That day, accordingly, saw assembled at the place of rendezvous perhaps the most magnificent army that our warlike land had ever yet sent forth; its numbers are asserted by the best authorities to have exceeded 100,000 men, including a body of 40,000 cavalry, of whom 3000 were clad in complete armour, both man and horse. At the head of this mighty array Edward took his course into Scotland, advancing by the east coast to Edinburgh, from which, turning his face westward, he proceeded along the right bank of the Forth towards Stirling. Bruce, meanwhile, had collected his forces in the forest called the Torwood, midway between that place and Falkirk; they amounted to scarce 40,000 fighting men, nearly all of whom were on foot. When the English approached, the King of Scots drew up his little army immediately to the south of Stirling, in a field then known by the name of the New Park, which, partly broken with wood, was in some parts encompassed by a marsh, and had running along one side of it the rivulet of Bannockburn, between woody banks of considerable depth and

steepness. He arranged his men in four divisions, three of which formed a front line facing the south-east—from which direction the enemy was approaching—so that the right wing rested on the brook of Bannock, and the left extended

On Sunday, the 23d of June, intelligence was received that the English were at hand. Barbour has painted the day as one bright with sunshine, which, falling upon the burnished armour of King Edward's troops, made the land

seem all in a glow, while banners right fairly floating, and pennons waving in the wind, added to the splendour of the scene. When he came within sight of the Scots, and perceived how they were planted, Edward, detaching 800 horse, sent them forward under the command of Sir Robert Clifford, to endeavour to gain the castle by making a circuit on the other side of some rising grounds to the north-east of Bruce's left wing. Thus sheltered from observation, they had already passed the Scottish line when Bruce himself was the first to perceive them. "Randolph!" he cried, riding up to his nephew, "a rose has fallen from your chaplet; you have suffered the enemy to pass!" It was still possible to intercept Clifford and his horse. Randolph instantly set out to throw himself, at every hazard, between them and the castle: to prevent this the English wheeled round and charged him; but he had drawn up his men in a circle, with



towards the town of Stirling. It was a position chosen with consummate skill; for while obstacles, partly natural, partly artificial, secured either flank from being turned, the space in front was, at the same time, so narrow and impeded, as to be calculated, in a great measure, to deprive a very numerous hostile force of the advantage of its numerical superiority. On his most assailable quarter, his left wing, or the north-eastern extremity of this line of battle, Bruce had caused a great many pits to be dug, about three feet in depth, and then to be covered over with brushwood and sod, so as not to be easily perceptible. Of the three divisions thus drawn up, Bruce gave the command of that forming the right wing to his brother Edward, of that forming the left to Randolph, Earl of Moray, of the centre to Sir James Douglas and Walter the steward; the fourth division, composed of the men of Argyll, the islanders, and his own vassals of Carrick, formed a reserve, which was stationed in the rear, and of which he himself took charge.

their backs to each other, and their long spears protruded all round, and they not only stood the onset firmly, but repelled it with the slaughter of many of their assailants. Still they contended against fearful odds; and, seeing the jeopardy of his friend, Douglas requested to be allowed to go and succour him. "You shall not move from your ground," replied Bruce; "let Randolph extricate himself as he best may." But at length Douglas could no longer restrain himself; and so, extorting from the king a reluctant consent, he hastened forward. But, as he drew near, he perceived that the English were giving way. "Halt!" he cried to his followers; "let us not diminish the glory of these brave men!" and he did not go up to his friend till the latter had, alone and unaided, compelled the English captain to retire in confusion. Meanwhile, before this affair had yet been decided, a brilliant achievement of Bruce himself, performed in full view of both armies, had raised the hopes of his countrymen. He was riding in front of his troops on a little

palfrey, but with his battle-axe in his hand and a crown of gold over his steel helmet, when an English knight, Henry de Bohun or Boone, mounted on a heavy war-horse and armed at all points, galloped forward to attack him. Instead of retiring from the unequal encounter, Bruce turned to meet his assailant, and dexterously parrying his spear, in the next instant, with one blow of his battle-axe, laid him dead at his feet.

Although the two armies were so near, the English did not venture upon the attack that night. But next morning, soon after break of day, their van, led by the Earls of Gloucester and Hereford, advanced at full gallop upon the right wing of the Scots, while the main body of the army followed in a long close column under the conduct of Edward himself. The shock did not break the Scottish line; and successive repetitions of the charge were more disastrous to the assailants than to the firm phalanx against which their squadrons were broken at every collision. From the advantages of their position, also, the other divisions of the Scots were soon enabled to take part in the contest. Randolph pushed forward with his men; Douglas and the steward also came up; and thus the battle became general along the whole length of the Scottish front line. Of the English army, on the other hand, the greater part appears never to have been engaged. A strong body of archers, however, did great execution, till Bruce directed Sir Robert Keith, the marshal, at the head of a small detachment of horse, to make a circuit and come upon them in flank. The bowmen, who had no weapons for a fight at close quarters, gave way before this sudden assault, and spread confusion in all directions. Bruce now advanced with his reserve, and all the four divisions of the Scots pressed upon the confused multitude of the English. The latter, however, still stood their ground, and the fortune of the day yet hung in a doubtful balance, when suddenly, on a hill behind the Scottish battle, appeared what seemed to be a new army. It was merely the crowd of sutlers and unarmed attendants on the camp; but it is probable that their sudden apparition was not made without the design of producing some such effect as it did, since they are said to have advanced with banners waving, and all the show of military array. The sight spread instant alarm among the English: at the same moment Bruce, raising his war-cry, pressed with new fury upon their failing ranks. His onset, vigorously supported by the other divisions of the Scottish army, was scarcely resisted by the unwieldy and now completely panic-struck mass against which it was directed; horse and foot alike gave way, and fled in the wildest disorder. Many, trying to escape across the river, were drowned; many

more fell under the battle-axes of their pursuers. Among the slain were twenty-seven of the rank of barons and bannerets, including the king's nephew, the Earl of Gloucester, and others of the chief nobility of England. Of knights there fell 200, of esquires 700, and of persons of inferior rank, according to some accounts, not fewer than 30,000. The slaughter in the fight and the pursuit together was undoubtedly very great. A vast amount of booty and many prisoners also fell into the hands of the victors. Edward himself with difficulty escaped, having been hotly pursued as far as Dunbar, a place sixty miles from the field of battle. But twenty-two barons and bannerets, and sixty knights were taken; and, according to one English historian, the chariots, waggons, and other carriages, loaded with baggage and military stores, that were obtained by the Scots would, if drawn up in a line, have extended for many leagues. On their side the loss of life, which was the only loss, was comparatively inconsiderable, and included only one or two names of any note.

This great victory, in effect, liberated Scotland. The castle of Stirling immediately surrendered, according to agreement. Bothwell Castle, in which the Earl of Hereford had shut himself up, capitulated soon after to Edward Bruce, when the earl was exchanged for the wife, sister, and daughter of the King of Scots, who had been detained in England for the last seven years, and also for the Bishop of Glasgow and the Earl of Mar. Edward Bruce and Douglas, then entering England, ravaged Northumberland, exacted tribute from Durham, and, after penetrating as far as Appleby, returned home laden with plunder.

Soon after, a still bolder enterprise was entered upon by the ardent and ambitious brother of the Scottish king. On the 25th of May, 1315, Edward Bruce landed at Carrickfergus with no less a design than that of winning himself a crown by the conquest of Ireland. The force which he brought with him consisted of only 6000 men; but he was joined, on landing, by a number of the native chiefs of Ulster, with whom he had had a previous understanding. The invaders and their allies immediately began to ravage the possessions of the English settlers; and no attempt to oppose them seems to have been made for nearly two months. At length Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, assisted by some of the Connaught chiefs, marched against them. The Scots at first retreated, but suddenly halting near Coyners (on the 10th of September), they turned round upon their pursuers and put them completely to the rout. Soon after this a reinforcement of 500 men arrived from Scotland, and the invaders now proceeded to penetrate into the heart of the country. They advanced through

Meath into Kildare, and there (on the 26th of January, 1316), encountering the English army commanded by Edmund Butler, the justiciary of Ireland, gained another brilliant victory. A severe famine, however, now compelled them to return to the north. On their way they were met at Kenlis, in Meath, by Roger Lord Mortimer, who thought to cut off their retreat; but this numerous force also was defeated and dispersed, and Mortimer himself, with a few attendants, was glad to take refuge in Dublin. The Scottish prince now assumed the government of Ulster. On the 2d of May, 1316, at Carrickfergus, he was solemnly crowned King of Ireland; and from this time he actually reigned in full and undisputed sovereignty over the greater portion of the northern province. By this time the King of Scots himself had come over to take part in the war; the force which he brought with him is said to have raised the entire numbers of the Scottish army to 20,000 men. Thus strengthened, the invaders again set out for the south. They failed, however, in their attempt to reduce Dublin, and it is probable that the want of provisions compelled them to remove. As they had already, however, wasted the country behind them, they proceeded in their course southwards, till at length, plundering and destroying as they proceeded, they had penetrated as far as the town of Limerick. The difficulties of their position were now serious; they were a handful of foreigners, with many miles of a hostile country between them and the nearest spot on which they could take up a secure station; famine was staring them in the face; indeed they were reduced to feed upon their horses; and want and disease were already beginning to thin their ranks. Notwithstanding, however, that an English army of 30,000 men was assembled at Kilkenny to oppose their passage, they contrived to extricate themselves from all these perils and embarrassments, and, by the beginning of May, 1317, the two brothers had made their way back to Ulster, after having thus overrun the country from nearly one extremity to the other.

The English, however, had taken advantage of the absence of the King of Scots from his own dominions to make several attempts to renew the war there. In the south, the Earl of Arundel, a Gascon knight, named Edmund de Cailand, who was governor of Berwick, and Sir Ralph Neville, were successively defeated by Sir James Douglas. Soon after, a force, which had made a descent at Inverkeithing, on the coast of Fife, was driven back by the gallantry of Sinclair, Bishop of Dunkeld. The pope now interfered, and attempted to compel a truce between the two countries; but as he evaded giving Bruce the title of king, the latter would enter into no negotia-

tion. On the 28th of March, 1318, the important town of Berwick fell into the hands of the Scots. The castle also soon after surrendered to Bruce, who followed up these successes by two invasions of England.

In the latter part of this year, however, the career of Edward Bruce in Ireland was suddenly brought to a close. Scarcely anything is known of the course of events for a period of about a year and a half; but on the 5th of October, 1318, the Scottish prince engaged the English at Fagher, near Dundalk, and sustained a complete defeat. He himself was one of 2000 Scots that were left dead upon the field. Only a small remnant, consisting principally of the men of Carrick, made good their escape to Scotland.

In the summer of 1319, Edward determined to make another effort for the reduction of Scotland. Having assembled a numerous army at Newcastle, he marched thence upon Berwick, and, after much preparation, made his first attack upon that town at once by land and sea on the 7th of September. He was, however, gallantly withstood by the garrison and the inhabitants, under the command of the steward of Scotland, and, after a long and fierce contest, repulsed at all points. The attempt was afterwards repeatedly renewed, and always with the same result. Meanwhile, Randolph and Douglas, passing into England, made a dash at the town of York, with the hope of carrying off Edward's queen; but a prisoner, whom the English took, betrayed their scheme just in time to prevent its success. The Scots then ravaged Yorkshire with a fury as unresisted as it was unsparing, till, on the 28th of September, they were encountered by a very numerous, but in all other respects very inefficient force, mostly composed of peasantry and ecclesiastics, under the command of the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Ely, at Mitton on the Swale. This rabble was routed at once—about 4000 of them being slain, including 300 churchmen; and in allusion to the presence of so many shaved crowns, this battle used to be termed the "Chapter of Mitton." The Scots then continued their devastation of the country unopposed. At length Edward, raising the siege of Berwick, marched to intercept them; but they succeeded in eluding him, and got back to Scotland in safety. On the 21st of December, a truce for two years was concluded between the two nations.

We now return to the course of domestic affairs. Edward could not live without a favourite, and soon after the death of Gaveston, he conceived the same unbounded affection for Hugh Despenser, a young man who was first placed about the court by the Earl of Lancaster. Hugh was an Englishman born, and the son of an Englishman

of ancient descent: he was accomplished, brave, and amiable; but all these circumstances, which, except that of his birth, Gaveston had held in common with him, did not rescue him from the deadly hatred of the barons when they saw him suddenly raised above them all. Edward married him to the daughter of the late Earl of Gloucester, and put him in possession of immense estates. Through the favour of the son, the elder Despenser obtained as much or more, and all the avenues to favour and promotion were stopped by this one family. In 1321, an imprudent exercise or abuse of authority, armed all the lords of the marches against the two Despensers, whose castles were taken and burned, and their moveable property carried off. Soon after this outbreak, the Earl of Lancaster, who, as a prince of the blood, had considered himself dishonoured by the promotion of Hugh, his poor dependant, marched from the north, and joined the Welsh insurgents with thirty-four barons and knights, and a host of retainers. Having bound them by an oath not to lay down their arms till they had driven the two Despensers beyond sea, the great earl led them to St. Alban's, whence he despatched a peremptory message to his cousin the king. Edward again made a show of resistance, upon which Lancaster marched upon London, and occupied the suburbs of Holborn and Clerkenwell. A few days after, a parliament having assembled at Westminster, the barons, with arms in their hands, accused the Despensers of usurping the royal power, of estranging the king from his nobles, of appointing ignorant judges, of exacting fines; and they pronounced a sentence of perpetual banishment against both father and son. The bishops protested against the irregularity of this sentence, but the timid king confirmed it.

Suddenly, however, the position of the two contending parties was reversed. The Despensers had been banished in the month of August. In October they returned to England, encouraged by a bold move of the king, who took and hanged twelve knights of the opposite party. The Earl of Lancaster retired to the north, and opened a correspondence with the Scots, who promised to send an army across the Borders to his assistance. This force, however, did not appear in time; but meanwhile the secret of the application for it transpired, and inflamed the hearts of the English against the earl, who now regarded him not as a patriot but a traitor.

In 1322, Lancaster and his confederates were suddenly met at Boroughbridge, by Sir Simon Ward and Sir Andrew Harclay, who defended the bridge, and occupied the opposite bank of the river with a superior force. The Earl of Hereford charged on foot to clear the passage; but a Welshman, who was concealed under the

bridge, put his lance through a hole in the flooring, and thrust it into the bowels of the earl, who fell dead. Lancaster then attempted a ford, but his men were driven back by the enemy's archers. Night interrupted the unequal combat, but in the morning the Earl of Lancaster was compelled to surrender. Many knights were taken with him; and besides the Earl of Hereford, five knights and three esquires were killed. Edward's opportunity for revenge had arrived, and he determined that many others, besides his cousin Lancaster, should perish by the hands of the executioner. A court was convoked at Pontefract, in the earl's own castle. It consisted of six earls and a number of barons of the royal party: the king presided. Lancaster was accused of many treasonable practices, and especially of calling in the Scots. He was told that his guilt was so well proved to all men that he must not speak in his defence, and the court condemned him, as a felon traitor, to be drawn, hanged, and quartered. Out of respect to his royal blood, Edward remitted the ignominious parts of the sentence; but his ministers heaped every possible insult on the earl, and the mob were allowed to pelt him with mud as he was led to execution, mounted on a wretched pony. Fourteen bannerets and fourteen knights-bachelors were drawn, hanged, and quartered, and one knight was beheaded. In a parliament held at York, the attainders of the Despenser family were reversed: the father was created Earl of Winchester, and the estates of the attainted nobles were lavished on him and on his son.

Many of the partizans of Lancaster were thrown into prison; others escaped to France, where they laid the groundwork of a plan which soon involved the king, his favourite, and adherents in one common ruin.¹ The arrogance of the younger Despenser, upon whom the lesson of Gaveston was thrown away, the ill success of an expedition into Scotland, and then the inroads of the Scots, who nearly took the king prisoner, and who swept the whole country as far as the walls of York, kept up a continual irritation, and prepared men's minds for the worst. On the 30th of May, 1323, Edward wisely put an end to a ruinous war which had lasted for twenty-three years. He agreed with Bruce for a suspension of arms, which was to last thirteen years, and which was not to be interrupted by the death of either or of both of the contracting parties. Soon after the conclusion of this treaty—which the English considered disgraceful—the king was alarmed by a conspiracy to cut off the elder Despenser, and then by a bold attempt to liberate some of the captives made at Boroughbridge

¹ Rymer; Knyghton; Walsing.; Froissart; Speed; Fulgrave, Chron. Abstract.

from their dungeons. This attempt failed; but the most important of those prisoners effected his escape by other means. This was Roger Mortimer, who had twice been condemned for treason, and who was then lying under sentence of death in the Tower of London. His adventure resembled that of Ralph Flambard, in the time of Henry I., for he escaped by drugging his keepers, and scaling the walls by a ladder of ropes. He rode with all speed to the coast of Hampshire, and there he embarked for France.

Charles le Bel, a brother to Isabella, Queen of England, was now seated on the French throne.¹ Differences had existed for some time between him and his brother-in-law Edward; and the intrigues of the suffering Lancaster party contributed to drive matters to extremities. The manifestoes of Charles scarcely merit attention—as far as the two kings were concerned, it was the quarrel of the wolf and the lamb; and after Edward had made apologies, and offered to refer matters to the arbitration of the pope, Charles overran a good part of the territories on the Continent that still belonged to the English, and took many of Edward's castles and towns. Isabella persuaded her husband that she was the proper person to be deputed to France, as her brother would yield to fraternal affection what ambassadors and statesmen could not procure from him. The simple king fell into the snare; and in the month of March, 1325, Isabella, accompanied by a splendid retinue, landed at Boulogne, whence she repaired to Paris.² The treaty she concluded was most dishonourable to her husband; but the weak Edward found himself obliged to ratify it, and to promise an immediate attendance in France, to do homage for the dominions he was allowed to retain on the Continent. A sickness, real or feigned, stopped him at Dover. At the suggestion of Isabella, the French court intimated that if he would cede Guienne and Ponthieu to his son, then that boy might do homage instead of his father, and everything would be arranged in the most peaceful and liberal manner. Edward again fell into the snare, or what is more probable, was driven into it with his eyes open by the Despensers, who dreaded the being separated from the king, and who durst not venture with him into France, where their enemies were now so numerous and powerful. Edward, therefore, resigned Guienne and Ponthieu, and the Prince of Wales went and joined his mother. The game on that side was now made up. When Edward pressed for the return of his wife and son, he received evasive answers, and these were soon followed by horrible

accusations and an open defiance of him and his authority. Isabella reported that "Messire Hugh" had sown such discord between her and her husband, that the king "would no longer see her, nor come to the place where she was." The modern historian can scarcely hint at certain parts of Isabella's complaints; but, to finish the climax, she accused the odious favourite of a plot against her life and the life of her son Edward. The king's reply was mild and circumstantial; but it did not suit the views of a vindictive party to admit of any part of his exculpation; and, making every rational abatement, we believe that it must remain undisputed, that the king had most justly earned the contempt and hatred of his wife; nor will the derelictions of Isabella at all plead in his excuse. During the lifetime of the Earl of Lancaster, the queen seems to have leaned on that prince for protection: the Lord Mortimer was now the head of the Lancastrian party; and when he repaired to Paris, the circumstances and necessities of her position threw Isabella continually in his society. Mortimer was gallant, handsome, intriguing, and not more moral than the generality of knights. Isabella was still beautiful and young—she was not yet twenty-eight years of age—and it was soon whispered that the intimacy of these parties went far beyond the limits of a political friendship. When Isabella first arrived in France, her brother promised that he would redress her wrongs; and he continued to protect his sister even after her connection with Mortimer was notorious. Hugh Despenser, however, sent over rich presents to the ministers of the French king, and even to the king himself, and thus prevented the assembling of an army on the French coast. He made his master, Edward, write to the pope, imploring the holy father to interfere, and induce Charles le Bel to restore to him his wife and son; and he sent, by "subtle ways," much gold and silver to several cardinals and prelates who were "nearest to the pope;" and so, by gifts and false representations, the pontiff was led to write to the King of France, that unless he sent his sister, the Queen Isabella, back to England and to her husband, he would excommunicate him.⁴ These letters were presented to the King of France by the Bishop of Saintes. When the king had seen them, he caused it to be intimated to his sister that she must hastily depart his kingdom, or he would drive her out with shame.⁵ This anger of

² Froissart.

⁴ Ibid.

¹ In thirteen years, three brothers of Isabella occupied, in succession, the French throne—Louis X., Philip V., and Charles V., or Le Bel, who succeeded in 1322.

² Froissart.

⁵ Froissart. Charles le Bel was awkwardly situated. He and his two brothers, Louis and Philip, had, a few years before, shut their wives up in dungeons on suspicion of irregularity of conduct. Louis, on ascending the throne, caused his wife to be strangled privately in Château-Gaillard; Philip was reconciled to his; but the wife of Charles was still pining in prison. It

Charles le Bel was only feigned—it appears to have been a mere sacrifice for the sake of appearances; and when his vassal, the Count of Hainault, gave shelter to Isabella and the Lancastrian party, the count probably knew very well that he was doing what was perfectly agreeable to his liege lord. The more to bind this powerful vassal to her interests, the queen affianced the young Prince of Wales to Philippa, the second daughter of the count. But no one embraced Isabella's cause with such enthusiasm as John of Hainault, a young brother of the count, who would not listen to those who warned him of the dangers of the enterprise, and told him how jealous the English were of all kinds of foreigners. In a short time, a little army of 2000 men gathered round the banner of Messire John. The English exiles were both numerous and of high rank, scarcely one of them being less than a knight. The active and enterprising Roger Mortimer took the lead; but the Earl of Kent, King Edward's own brother, the Earl of Richmond, his cousin, the Lord Beaumont, and the Bishop of Norwich, all joined the queen in the Low Countries, though they had been sent by Edward as his trusty ambassadors into France. Nor had Isabella any want of partizans in England to make her way easy and straight. The leader of these was another bishop—Adam Orleton. After a stormy passage, Isabella, with her little army and her son Prince Edward, landed on the 24th of September, at Orwell, in Suffolk, and was received as the deliverer of the kingdom. The fleet had purposely kept out of her way; and a land force detached to oppose her landing, joined her banner, and hailed the young prince with rapturous joy. The queen and the prince stayed three days at St. Edmundsbury, where they were joined by many barons and knights. The Archbishop of Canterbury sent her money, and three bishops offered their services in person, being accompanied by the Earl of Norfolk, the other brother of the king.¹ Thus wife, son, brothers, cousin, were all in hostile array against Edward. Never was king so thoroughly abandoned and despised. When he appealed to the loyalty of the citizens of London, they told him that their privileges would not permit them to follow him into the field; and they added, that they would honour with all duty the king, the *queen*, and *prince*, and shut their gates against the foreigners. Upon this, Edward fled, and there were none to accompany him save the two Despensers, the Chancellor Baldock, and a few of their retainers. He had scarcely ridden out of London, when the

populace rose and tore to pieces in the street the Bishop of Exeter, whom he had appointed governor. They afterwards murdered a wealthy citizen, one John le Marshal, because he had been a friend of the king's favourite; and, falling upon the Tower, they got possession of it, and liberated all the state prisoners. Edward, who had offered a high price for the head of Mortimer, was soon reduced to such straits, that he knew not where to put his own head for safety. Even the Welsh, among whom he was born, rejected the hapless fugitive, who was at last compelled to take shipping with his favourite.² For a time, the views expressed among the nobles and prelates, who had all, with very few exceptions, joined the queen, were, that the wife ought to be reconciled to the husband—that the king should be compelled to govern according to the will of his parliament—and that measures of extreme rigour should be adopted only against the Despensers; but Adam Orleton, the Bishop of Hereford, had no difficulty in convincing them that the king was not entitled to the society of his wife or to the confidence of his subjects, and Edward was never again seriously spoken of as king.

The elder Despenser had thrown himself into Bristol; but the citizens rose against him as soon as the queen approached their walls; and in three days he was obliged to surrender. He was brought to a trial before Sir William Trussell, one of the Lancastrian exiles; and, as had been the course taken with the Earl of Lancaster, he was condemned to die the death of a traitor, without being heard in his defence. Old age had not moderated his eager grasping after the honours and estates of others; and his venerable gray hairs inspired neither pity nor respect. They dragged him to the place of execution, a little beyond the walls of Bristol: they tore out his bowels, then hanged him on a gibbet for four days, and afterwards cut his body to pieces and threw it to the dogs. As he had been created Earl of Winchester, they sent his head to that city, where it was set on a pole. From Bristol the barons issued a proclamation summoning Edward to return to his proper post, but without desiring or even expecting that he would comply. On the 26th of September, the prelates and barons, assuming to themselves the full power of a parliament, declared that the king, by his flight, had left the realm without a ruler, and that they therefore appointed the Prince of Wales guardian of the kingdom in the name and by the hereditary right of his father. In the meantime, the unhappy fugitive found the winds

was held monstrous that so rigid a moralist with respect to his wife, should be so tolerant with regard to his sister.

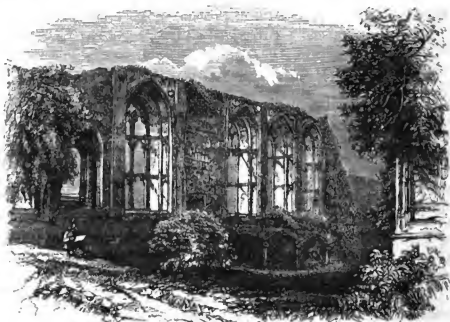
¹ *Knyghton; Walsing.; Heming.; De la More; Rymer; Froissart.*

² According to some accounts, he meant to escape to Ireland; according to others, merely to the Isle of Lundy, in the Bristol Channel.

and waves as adverse as his family and his subjects. After tossing about for many days, he was driven on the coast of South Wales. He concealed himself for some weeks in the mountains near Neath Abbey, in Glamorganshire; but an active and a deadly enemy was in pursuit of him; and the country people, if they did not betray him, betrayed his favourite and his chancellor, for gold. Despensers and Baldoek were seized in the woods of Lantressan, and immediately after their arrest, Edward came forth and surrendered to his pursuer, who was his own cousin, but also brother to the late Earl of Lancaster. The wretched king, for whom not a banner was raised, not a sword drawn, not a bow bent in any part of his kingdom, was sent by way of Ledbury to Kenilworth, where he was put in sure keeping in the castle. Despensers found his doom at Hereford, where the queen was keeping the festival of All-Saints. He had the same judge as his father, and his trial was scarcely more rational or legal. William Trussel pronounced his sentence in a rage, ordering that, as a robber, traitor, and outlaw, he should be drawn, hanged, embowelled, beheaded, and quartered. The sentence was executed with a minute observance of its revolting details; and the gallows upon which the favourite was hung was made fifty feet high. His confidential servant was hanged some yards below his master. The Earl of Arundel, who was closely connected with the Despensers by marriage, was beheaded; two other noblemen shared the same fate; but here the task of the executioners ceased. Baldoek, the chancellor, was a priest, and as such secured from the scaffold and the gallows; but he died not long after, a prisoner in Newgate.¹

On the 7th day of January, 1327, a parliament, summoned in the king's name, met at Westminster. Adam Orleton, the Bishop of Hereford, after an able speech, proposed this question:—whether, under circumstances, the father should be restored to the throne, or the son at once occupy that throne? The critical answer was deferred till the morrow, but no one could doubt what that answer would be. The citizens of London crowded to hear it, and they hailed the decision with shouts of joy. The king had now been a prisoner for nearly two

months, but not the slightest re-action had taken place in his favour; and when parliament declared that he had ceased to reign, not a single voice spoke in his behalf. His son was proclaimed king by universal acclamation, and presented to the rejoicing people. The earls and barons, with most of the prelates, took the oath of fealty; but the Archbishop of York and three bishops refused. The proceedings were followed by an act of assent, which surely ought to have preceded them. Five days after declaring the accession of the young king, Stratford, the Bishop of Winchester, produced a bill, charging the elder Edward with shameful indolence, incapacity, cowardice, cruelty, and oppression. The young Edward was present in parliament, and seated on the throne, when the articles were read and admitted as sufficient grounds for a sentence of deposition. Again not a voice was raised for Edward of Caernarvon. The queen alone thought fit to feign some sorrow at this sentence of the nation. On the 20th of January a deputation, consisting of bishops, earls, and barons, with two knights from each county, and two representatives from every borough in the kingdom, waited upon the royal prisoner at Kenilworth, to state to him that the people of England were no longer bound by their oath of allegiance to him, and to receive his resignation of the crown. The king



GREAT HALL OF KENILWORTH CASTLE. *Britain's Architectural Antiquities.*

appeared in the great hall of the castle, wrapped in a common black gown. At the sight of Bishop Orleton he fell to the ground. There are two accounts of a part of this remarkable interview, but that which seems most consistent with the weak character of the king is, that he, without opposition or protest, formally renounced the royal dignity, and thanked the parliament for not having overlooked the rights of his son.

¹ *Knyghton; More; Walsing.; Lelland, Collect.; Rymer; Tyrrell, Hist.*

Then Sir William Trussel, as speaker of the whole parliament, addressed him in the name of the parliament, and on behalf of the whole people of England, and told him that he was no longer a king; that all fealty and allegiance were withdrawn from him, and that he must henceforth be considered as a private man. As Trussel ceased speaking, Sir Thomas Blount, the steward of the household, stepped forward and broke his white wand or staff of office, and declared that all persons engaged in Edward's service were discharged and freed by that act. This ceremony, which was one usually performed at a king's death, was held as an entire completion of the process of dethronement. The deputation returned to London, leaving the captive king in Kenilworth Castle; and three or four days after, being Saturday, the 24th of January, Edward III.'s peace was proclaimed, the proclamation bearing, that Edward II. was, by the common assent of the peers and commons, "oust-ed" from the throne; that he had agreed that his eldest son and heir should be crowned king, &c. The young Edward, who was only in his fourteenth year, was crowned on the 29th of January at Westminster.¹

As the new king was too young to take the government upon himself, nearly the entire authority of the crown was vested in the queen-

mother, who herself was wholly ruled by the Lord Mortimer, a man whose questionable position made him unpopular from the first, and whose power and ambition could not fail of exciting jealousy, and rendering him odious to many. The indiscreet zeal of certain preachers,

and some plots which were at last formed, not so much in favour of Edward as against Mortimer, seem to have hurried on a fearful tragedy. The Earl of Lancaster, though he had the death of a brother to avenge, was less cruel than his colleagues; the spectacle of his cousin's miseries touched his heart, and he treated the king with mildness and generosity. The deposed king was therefore taken out of Lancaster's hands and given to the keeping of Sir John Maltravers, a man of a fiercer disposition, who had suffered cruel wrongs from Edward and his favourites. Maltravers removed the captive from Kenilworth Castle, and his object seems to have been to conceal the place of his residence, for he made him travel by night, and carried him to three or four different castles in the space of a few months. At last he was lodged in Berkeley Castle, near the river Severn; and the Lord Berkeley, the owner of the castle, was joined with Maltravers in the



BERKELEY CASTLE.²—From a drawing by Buryen.

commission of guarding him. The Lord Berkeley also treated the captive more courteously than was desired; but, falling sick, he was detained away from the castle at his manor of Bradley, and during his absence the care of Edward was intrusted, by command of Mortimer, to Thomas

¹ More; Walsing.; Knyghton; Rymer; Sir H. Nicholas, *Chron. of Hist.*

² Berkeley Castle is situated on the south-east side of the town so named. The date of this stronghold is not ascertained, but its antiquity is evident by a grant of the building, by Henry II., to Robert Fitz Hardinge, with power to strengthen and enlarge it. The castle was first inhabited by Maurice, the son of Robert, and he assumed the name of the place. This edifice is in complete repair, and is a most perfect example of castellated building. It is an irregular pile, consisting of a keep and various embattled appendances, which surround a court of about 140 yards in circumference, the chief feature being the baronial hall—a noble apartment in fine preservation—adjoining to which is the chapel. Access to an outer court is obtained by a machicolated gatehouse. The keep is nearly circular, having one square tower and three semicircular towers; that on

the north, which is the loftiest part of the castle, was rebuilt in the reign of Edward II., and is called Thorpe's Tower, from a family of that name holding their manor by the tenure of *castle guard*, it being their duty to keep this tower when required. On the right of the great staircase leading to the keep, approached by a gallery, is the room in which, it is said, Edward II. was cruelly murdered. It is a small and gloomy apartment, which, till within the last century, was only lighted by *feehes*. After his decease his heart was inclosed in a silver vessel, and the Berkeley family formed part of the procession which attended the body to Gloucester, where it was interred in the cathedral. The heart of the king was afterwards entombed in the church of the Greyfriars, London, lying on the breast of his queen Isabella—

"She-wolf of France, with unrelenting fangs
That tear'd at the bowels of thy mangled mate,"
the instigator of his atrocious murder.

Gourney and William Ogle. One dark night, towards the end of September, horrible screams and shrieks of anguish rang and echoed through the walls of Berkeley Castle, and were heard even in the town.¹ On the following morning the gates of the castle were thrown open, and people were freely admitted to behold the body of Edward of Caernarvon, who was said to have expired during the night of a sudden disorder. Most of the knights living in the neighbourhood, and many of the citizens of Bristol and Gloucester went to see the body, which bore no outward marks of violence, though the countenance was distorted and horrible to look upon. The corpse was then carried to Gloucester, and privately buried in the abbey church.

It was soon rumoured that he had been most cruelly murdered by Gourney and Ogle, who had thrust a red-hot iron into his bowels through a tin pipe; and there were many who had heard with their own ears his "waifful noise" at the dead of night; but still the nation continued in its unrelenting indifference to all that concerned this most wretched king.² Edward was forty-three years old; counting from the date of his recognition to that of his deposition, he had reigned nineteen years and six months, wanting some days.

It was during this unhappy reign that the great order of the Knights Templars was abolished. These knights, from a very humble beginning in 1118, when nine poor crusaders took upon themselves the obligation of protecting the faithful at Jerusalem, had attained immense wealth and power. Their association included men of the noblest birth, natives of every Christian country. Their valour in battle—their wisdom in council—had long been the admiration of the world; but, after the loss of the Holy Land, they forfeited much of this consideration, for they did not, like the Hospitallers, or Knights of St. John, secure an establishment in the East³—a real or fanciful bulwark to Christendom against the Mahometans. It was in France that the first blow was struck at their existence. Philip le Bel was involved in great pecuniary difficulties by his wars with the English and his other neighbours; and when he and Enguerrand de Marigni, a minister as unscrupulous as himself, had exhausted all other sources of revenue, they cast their eyes on the houses, and lands, and tempting wealth of the Red-cross Knights. Forthwith they proceeded to form a conspiracy—for such it really was—and in a short time the knights were accused of monstrous and contradictory crimes,

by a host of witnesses, whose depositions were either bought or forced from them by threats or imprisonment, or the actual application of the rack. On the 13th of October, 1307, Philip took possession of the palace of the Temple in his capital, and threw the grand-master and all the knights that were with him into prison. At the same time—at the very same hour—so nicely was the plot regulated, the Templars were seized in all parts of France. An atrocious inquisition forged letters of the grand-master to criminate the order, and applied the most horrible tortures to the knights: in Paris alone thirty-six knights died on the rack, maintaining their innocence to the last. Two years of a dreadful captivity, with infernal interludes of torture, and the conviction forced on their minds that Philip le Bel was resolved to annihilate their order and seize their property, and that there was no hope of succour from the pope or from any other power upon earth, broke the brave spirit of the Red-cross Knights. Even Jacques de Molai, the grand-master, an heroic old man, was made to confess to crimes of which he never could have been guilty. He afterwards, however, retracted his confession, and, in the end, perished heroically at the stake. The grand execution took place on the 12th of May, 1310, when fifty-four of the knights, who had confessed on the rack, and then retracted all they had said in their dungeons, were burned alive as "relapsed heretics" in a field behind the abbey of St. Antoine at Paris. Penal fires were lighted in other parts of France, and all the surviving knights who did not retract their plea of not guilty were condemned to perpetual imprisonment.

After a show of dissatisfaction at Philip le Bel's precipitancy, the pope had joined in the death-cry; and in the course of the years 1308 and 1309, he addressed bulls to all the sovereigns of Christendom, commanding them to inquire into the conduct of the knights. He afterwards threatened to excommunicate every person that should harbour or give counsel and show favour to any Templar. Without waiting for these Papal bulls, Philip, as soon as he had matured his plans, had endeavoured to stimulate his son-in-law, Edward of England, to similar measures; but the English court and council, while they engaged to investigate the charges, expressed the greatest astonishment at them; and two months later Edward wrote to the Kings of Portugal, Castile, and Arragon, imploring them not to credit the accusations which had most maliciously been heaped upon the Red-cross Knights. He also addressed the pope in their favour. Our weak king, however, was never firm to any purpose except where his favourite was concerned, and the ruin of the order was resolved upon; but,

¹ Holinshed.

² *More; Knayhton; Rymer; Holinshed.*

³ The Knights of St. John, it will be remembered, got possession of the island of Rhodes, and when they lost Rhodes, in the fifteenth century, of Malta and Gozo.

thank God! their suppression in England was unaccompanied by atrocious cruelties.

In 1308, in the second year of Edward's reign, one of the royal clerks was sent round with writs to all the sheriffs of counties, ordering each and all of them to summon a certain number of freeholders in the several counties—"good and lawful men"—to meet on an appointed day, to treat of matters touching the king's peace. The sheriffs and freeholders met on the day fixed, and then they were all made to swear that they would execute certain sealed orders which were delivered to the sheriffs by king's messengers. These orders, when opened, were to be executed *suddenly*. The same conspiracy-like measures were adopted in Ireland, and in both countries on the same day—nearly at the same hour—all their lands, tenements, goods, and all kinds of property, as well ecclesiastical as temporal, were attached, and the knights themselves arrested.¹ In the month of October, 1309, courts were constituted by the Archbishop of Canterbury, at London, York, and Lincoln. Forty-seven of the knights, the noblest of the order in England, who were brought from the Tower before the Bishop of London and the envoys of the pope, boldly pleaded their innocence; the evidence produced against them amounted to less than nothing; but the courts were appointed to convict, not to absolve, and, in spite of all law, they sent them back to their prisons to wait for timid minds and fresh evidence. The pope then censured the king for not making use of torture. "Thus," he wrote,

"the knights have refused to declare the truth O! my dear son, consider whether this be consistent with your honour and the safety of your kingdom." The Archbishop of York inquired of his clergy whether torture, which had hitherto been unheard of in England, might be employed on the Templars: he added that there was no machine for torture in the land, and asked whether he should send abroad for one, in order that the prelates might not be chargeable with negligence.² From the putting of such questions we may suppose that this archbishop was one who would not hesitate at cruelty; but it appears pretty evident that torture was *not* used on this occasion in England. The Templars were worn down by poverty and long imprisonment, and then the threat of punishing as heretics all those who did not plead guilty to the charges, produced its effect. The timid yielded first: some of the corrupt were bought over by the court, and finally (more than three years after their arrest), the English Templars, with the exception of William de la More, their grand-prior, and two or three others who shared his heroic firmness, made a vague confession; upon which they were sent into confinement in various monasteries, the king allowing them a pittance for their support out of their immense revenues. In the seventeenth year of Edward's reign it was ordained by the king and parliament that the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem should have all the lands of the *late* Templars,³ and hold them on the same tenure as their predecessors.⁴

¹ The number of Templars seized was about 250. Of these, about thirty were arrested in Ireland. It appears that only two knights were seized in Scotland.

² *Hemingford*.

³ "The general current of writers in the eighteenth century was in favour of the innocence of the Templars; in England it would have been almost paradoxical to doubt it. The rapacious and unprincipled character of Philip, the submission of Clement V. to his will, the apparent incredibility of the charges from their monstrousness, the just prejudices against confessions obtained by torture and retracted afterwards—the other prejudice, not always so just, but in the case of those not convicted on fair evidence deserving a better name, in favour of assertions of innocence made on the scaffold and at the stake—created, as they still preserve, a strong willingness to disbelieve the accusations which come so suspiciously before us. It was also often alleged that contemporary writers had not given credit to these accusations, and that in countries where the inquiry had been less iniquitously conducted, no proof of them was brought to light. Of these two grounds for acquittal, the former is of little value in a question of legal evidence, and the latter is not quite so fully established as we could desire."—Hallam's *Supplemental Notes*, page 48. The learned author, after referring to M. Michelet's being overcome by the force and number of adverse testimonies, notwithstanding his desire to acquit the Templars, and by every ingenious device to elude or explain away the evidence, proceeds to say that "the great change that has been made in this process, as carried before the tribunal of public opinion

from age to age, is owing to the production of fresh evidence." This evidence is of a most unlooked-for and extraordinary kind, and is alleged to exist in sculptures of certain extremely obscene images and symbols found in the churches built by the Templars, and presenting, it is said, an absolute identity with the Gnostic superstitious in their worst form; as well as in the identification of certain Gnostic idols, or, as some suppose, amulets, though it comes much to the same, with the description of what are called Baphometic, in the proceedings against the Templars, published by Dieux, and since in the *Documenta Inedita*, edited by Michelet. Attention was first drawn to the sculptures by M. von Hammer, in the sixth volume of a work published by him at Vienna in 1818, and the design of which is to establish the identity of the idolatry ascribed to the Templars with that of the ancient Gnostic sects, and especially with those denominated Ophites, or worshippers of the serpent; and to prove also that the extreme impurity, which forms one of the revolting and hardly credible charges adduced by Philip IV., is similar in all its details to the practice of the Gnostics. French writers have attempted to refute M. von Hammer, Mr. Hallam thinks not quite successfully, but he professes himself incapable of forming a decisive opinion. The architectural evidence, it appears, is the most positive, and whether bearing against the Templars or their masters, looks as if the evil one had sought to set his private mark on buildings professedly Christian, but to be desecrated by so much superstition and idolatry.

⁴ Raynour, *Hist. de la Condamnation des Templiers*; Wilkins, *Concilia*; Rymer; Stowe; *Hemingford*.

CHAPTER V.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1327—1341.

EDWARD III.—ACCESSION, A.D. 1327—DEATH, A.D. 1377.

Earl of Lancaster appointed guardian and protector to Edward III.—Edward makes war upon the Scots—Invasion of England by the Scots under Douglas and Randolph—Their singular campaign—A treaty honourable to Scotland concluded—Edward's marriage to Philippa of Hainault—The Earl of Kent executed—Edward conspires against Mortimer—Mortimer apprehended, tried, and executed—War renewed with Scotland—Defeat of the Scots at Dupplin—Edward Baliol wins and loses the crown of Scotland—Scots defeated at Halidon Hill—Edward's ambition diverted from Scotland to France—His claims to the French crown—His preparations to maintain them—He invades France—His naval victory at Sluis—Indecisive results of the campaign—John de Montfort claims the dukedom of Brittany—He does homage to Edward III. as King of France for the dukedom—Brave defence of Hennebon by his countess—An English armament raises the siege—Wars between the French and English in Brittany—Edward III. repairs thither in person—A truce.



HEN Edward was proclaimed king, parliament decreed that a regency should be appointed "to have the rule and government;" and to this end twelve of the greatest lords of the realm, lay

and ecclesiastic, were named. The Earl of Lancaster was appointed guardian and protector of the young king's person. The same parliament reversed the attainders which had been passed in 1322 against the great Earl of Lancaster and his adherents; confiscated the immense estates of the Despensers; granted a large sum of money to Isabella, the queen-mother, to pay her debts; and voted her a jointure of £20,000 a year—a most liberal allowance for those times, and which materially contributed to secure her ascendancy. Nearly the whole power of government was, indeed, monopolized by her and Mortimer.

Although Edward was excluded from political duties, he was not considered too young for those of war. It is said that his martial spirit had already declared itself; but it is probable that Mortimer at least would be glad to see him thus occupied at a distance from the court. The Scots had suffered too cruelly not to be anxious for revenge; and the existing truce was not sufficient to make

them resist the temptation of what they considered a favourable opportunity—the true King of England, as they deemed, being shut up in prison, and a boy intruded on the throne. In whatever way they might reason, the Scots acted with great vigour; and all nations in their circumstances would have been equally regardless of the truce.

About February they began to make inroads into England, and these Border forays were soon succeeded by the march of regular armies. Age and declining health had no effect on the valour and activity of Robert Bruce, who seems to have hoped that he should be able, under circumstances, to convert the truce into an honourable peace, if not to recover the northern provinces of England, which the Scottish kings had possessed at no very remote date. He summoned his vassals from all parts—from the Lowlands, the Highlands, and the Isles; and 25,000 men assembled on the banks of the Tweed, all animated with the remembrance of recent wrongs and cruel sufferings. Of this host about 4000 were well armed and well mounted; the rest rode upon mountain ponies and Galloways, which could subsist upon any-

thing and support every fatigue. Bruce intrusted the command of this army of invasion to Randolph, Earl of Moray, and the Lord James



EDWARD III.—From the Painted Chamber, Westminster.

¹ In this picture we have, in all probability, a tolerably accurate portrait of the king, taken soon after the year 1355, the date of the birth of his fifth son. The figure, if erect, would be in the original about 18 inches high. Edward is represented in full armour. His crown is embossed and gilt, the helmet

silvered, with its rim gilt. The mail, also, was embossed and gilt. To indicate his claims of sovereignty over the French kingdom, the surcoat is quartered with the arms of England and France, the lions being embossed and gilt on a red field.—*Shaw's Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages.*

Douglas. Crossing the Tweed, these chiefs marched through Northumberland and Durham, and penetrated into the richer county of York, without meeting any valid resistance. The mountaineers plundered and burned all the villages and open towns that lay on the road, and seized so many fat beeves that they hardly knew what to do with them. At the first breath of this invasion a powerful army, said to have amounted to 60,000 horse and foot, had gathered round the standard of young Edward; but his movements were retarded by a furious quarrel which broke out between the native English archers and the foreign troops of Isabella's knight-errant, John of Hainault. These allies fought in the streets and suburbs of York, where many lives were lost on both sides.¹ When these differences were composed, Edward marched to the north, and soon came in sight of the smoke of the fires which the Scots had lighted. Instantly the cry to arms ran through the English army, and horse and foot, knights and squires, with a tremendous body of archers, formed in order of battle, and so marched on, "even till the vesper hour." But the unequal force of the enemy retired, and not a Scot was to be seen anywhere, though the flames of burning villages, far, and then farther off, marked the line of their retreat. The English, fatigued by the pursuit, and in order to wait for their supplies of provisions, encamped for the night, and so lost all chance of ever coming up with the fleet Scots. After much useless labour, it was determined that Edward should move northward in a straight line, and, crossing the Tyne, occupy the roads between that river and the Tweed, by which, it was calculated, the enemy must return to their own country. But when the English got to the north of the Tyne they found the country so entirely wasted that they could procure neither forage nor provisions; and after staying there several days in vain expectation of intercepting the enemy, they re-crossed the Tyne, and retraced their steps towards the south, in a perplexing state of ignorance as to the movements of the Scots. Edward ordered it to be cried through camp and country that he would give a heritage worth £100 a-year, together with the honours of knighthood, to any man that would bring him certain information of the place where he might find the enemy. The prize was won by one Thomas of Rokeby, who came riding very hard to the king, and brought intelligence that the Scots, equally ignorant of the whereabouts of the English, were encamped on a hill not more than three leagues off. Edward confessed, ordered a number of masses, and then marching, soon came in sight of the enemy, who were advantageously

posted on the right bank of the Wear. The river was rapid and dangerous to pass, and there was no other way of getting at the Scots. As the latter showed themselves in order of battle, the young king sent a herald to challenge them to meet him like soldiers, on a fair and open field. The Scots were not so chivalrously inclined: the fiery Douglas, indeed, was nettled at the defiance, and would fain have accepted the challenge, but he was overruled by the better prudence of Moray. That night the English lay on the bare ground on the left bank of the river, facing the Scots, who lighted a prodigious number of fires along their strong position. Thus passed the night, which was the night of St. Peter ad Vincula, in the beginning of August; and in the morning the English lords heard mass. In the course of the next day a few knights and men-at-arms, who had strong horses, swam the river and skirmished with the enemy; but these were idle bravadoes, that cost many lives and produced no effect. For three days and nights the English lay on the river side. On the morning of the fourth day, when the English looked towards the hill on the right bank, they saw no army, for the Scots had secretly decamped in the middle of the night. It was presently ascertained that they had only moved to a short distance farther up the river, where they had taken up a position still stronger than the one they had left. Edward made a corresponding movement on the other bank, and encamped on another hill, immediately opposite, the river being between them as before. For eighteen days and nights the two hosts thus lay facing each other and doing nothing, but only suffering great discomfort. At last the Scots abandoned this second position, taking the English, it is said, again by surprise, and marching away, unheard and unseen, at the dead of night. If this account be true, the English were sadly wanting in proper military vigilance; but it appears more than probable that they were as anxious to be rid of the Scots as the Scots were to be quit of them, and that Edward's officers were glad to be able to cross the Wear without fighting at disadvantage for the passage. And soon after, fording the river, Edward marched straight to York, where the army was disbanded. The Scots got back to their own country with much booty. The young king, "right pensive," returned to London.² Both Mortimer and his mother were, for their own private interests, desirous of peace, and, soon after, they opened negotiations with Robert Bruce, who, on his side, labouring under his "heavy malady," and seeing that his son who was to succeed him was still an infant, was anxious to terminate the war by a definitive and honourable treaty.

¹ Froissart.² Froissart.

Before this treaty was concluded, young Edward was married to Philippa of Hainault, to whom his mother had contracted him during her escapade on the Continent, and who was brought over to England by her uncle, John of Hainault, a little before Christmas. She was received at London "with jousts, tournaments, dances, carols, and great and beautiful repasts;" and on the 24th of January (A.D. 1328) the marriage ceremonies were completed at York. A few months after, about the feast of Whitsuntide, the parliament met at Northampton, and there put the last hand to the peace with Bruce. The basis of this treaty was the recognition of the complete independence of Scotland. One of its leading articles was, that a marriage should take place between Prince David, the only son of Robert Bruce, and the Princess Joanna, a sister of King Edward. In spite of the tender age of the parties (for the bride was in her seventh and the bridegroom only in his fifth year), this part of the treaty was carried into almost immediate effect: the queen-mother Isabella carried her daughter to Berwick, where the marriage was solemnized on the day of Mary Magdalene, the 22d of July. With the princess, whom the Scots surnamed "Joan Makepeace," were delivered up many of the jewels, charters, and other things which had been taken out of Scotland by Edward I. In return for these and other advantages, Bruce agreed to pay to the King of England thirty thousand marks in compensation for the damages done by the Scots in their recent invasion. The great Bruce, who had raised his country from the depth of servitude to this glorious enfranchisement, did not long survive the peace, dying at his little castle of Cardross on the 7th of June in the following year.

In the month of October, parliament met again at Salisbury, and then Mortimer was created Earl of March, or Lord of the Marches of Wales. The council of regency was in a manner displaced, and the whole government seemed more than ever to be shared between him and the queen-mother. The Earl of Lancaster was the first to attempt to make head against this new favourite; but, though he was guardian of the young king, Edward remained with Mortimer and his mother, and after a show of force at Winchester, the earl was obliged to retreat, upon which Mortimer fell upon his estates and plundered them. The young king's uncles, the Earls of Kent and Norfolk, joined Lancaster; but, from some cause or other, they abandoned him almost immediately after, upon which the earl was compelled to submit to ask pardon in a humiliating manner, and to pay an immense fine.¹

¹ *Heming.; Knight.; Wals.; Rymer.; Holinshed.*

A.D. 1330. The Earl of Kent was now made to pay an awful price for his levity.

He was surrounded by the artful agents of Mortimer, and led to believe a story which was then widely circulated, that his brother, Edward II., in whose deposition he had taken so active a part, was not dead, but living. The body exhibited at Berkeley Castle, and afterwards buried at Gloucester (so went the legend), was not that of the deposed king, who was actually shut up in Corfe Castle. Some monks urged the Earl of Kent to release his captive brother, and restore him to the throne. The earl even received letters from the pope, exhorting him to pursue the same course. These letters appear to have been forgeries, but they imposed upon the credulous earl, who even went the length of writing to his dead brother, which letters were delivered to Sir John Maltravers, one of the suspected assassins of the late king. These strange epistles were put into the hands of Isabella and Mortimer, who immediately summoned a parliament to try the traitor. The Earl of Kent was inveigled to Winchester, and there a parliament, consisting solely of the partizans of Isabella and Mortimer, met on the 11th of March. The Earl of Kent was produced as a prisoner; and on the 16th he was convicted of high treason, for having designed to raise a dead man to the throne; at least nothing else was proved, or attempted to be proved, against him; and thus this trial is entitled to a place among the curiosities of jurisprudence. On account of his royal birth, it was not expected that the sentence against the earl would be carried into execution; but people had not taken the proper measure of Mortimer's audacity. On the 19th the son of the great Edward was carried to the place of execution outside the town of Winchester; but when he reached the spot nobody could be found who would perform the office of headsmen. For four hours the life of the earl was painfully prolonged by this popular scruple: at last a convicted felon took up the axe, on condition of a free pardon, and the head was struck off.²

About three months after the execution of the Earl of Kent, Philippa, the young queen, was delivered, at Woodstock, of her first child, the Prince Edward, afterwards so celebrated under the title of the Black Prince. A father, and eighteen years of age, the king now thought it time to assert his authority; and the nation was most willing to assist him in overthrowing the usurpation of his mother and her lover. At first, however, no person about the court was bold enough to declare himself; and when Edward opened his mind to the Lord Montacute, it was

² *Heming.; Knight.; Murim.; Holinshed.*

with the most circumspect secrecy, and the first steps taken in conjunction with this prudent nobleman were cautious in the extreme. In the month of October the parliament met at Nottingham: Edward with his mother and Mortimer were lodged in the castle; the bishops and barons took up their quarters in the town and the neighbourhood. On the morning of the 19th, Edward had a private conference with the Lord Montacute, who immediately after was seen to ride away into the country with many friends and attendants. In the afternoon Mortimer appeared before the council with a troubled countenance. This was a nervous moment for the young king: Mortimer proclaimed to the members of the council that a base attempt was making against him and the queen-mother, and that Edward himself was privy to the conspiracy. Edward denied the charge; but the favourite treated him as a liar. At the dead of the night the Lord Montacute and his associates returned quietly to Nottingham. The strong castle was not a place to be taken by assault or surprise. A proper military guard was kept, and the keys of the great gates were carried every evening to Isabella, who laid them by her bedside. But the conspirators had taken measures to defeat all these precautions: Montacute had won over the governor of the castle, who had agreed to admit them through a secret subterraneous passage, the outlet of which, concealed by brambles and rubbish, opened at the foot of the castle hill. It was near the hour of midnight that Montacute and his friends crawled through this dismal passage: when within the castle walls, and at the foot of the main tower, they were joined by Edward, who led them up a staircase into a dark apartment. Here they heard voices proceeding from a hall which adjoined to the queen-mother's chamber; they were the voices of Mortimer, the Bishop of Lincoln, and other adherents, who were sitting in late and anxious consultation. The intruders burst open the door, killing two knights who tried to defend the entrance. The guilty Isabella rushed from her bed, and in tears and in an agony of grief implored her "sweet son"

to spare "her gentle Mortimer." The favourite was not slaughtered there, but he was dragged out of the castle and committed to safe custody. On the following morning, Edward issued a proclamation informing his lieges that he had now taken the government into his own hands; and he summoned a new parliament to meet at Westminster on the 26th of November.¹

Before this parliament the fallen favourite was arraigned: the principal charges brought against him were—his having procured the death of the late king, and the judicial murder of the Earl of Kent; his having "accroached" or usurped the power which lawfully belonged to the council of regency, and appropriated to himself the king's moneys, especially the 20,000 marks recently paid by the King of Scots. His peers found all these articles of impeachment to be "notoriously true, and known to them and all the people;" and they sentenced him to be drawn and hanged.² Edward, who was present in court during the trial, then requested them to judge Mortimer's confederates; but this they would not do until they had protested in form that they were not bound to sit in judgment on any others than men who were peers of the realm, like themselves. Sir Simon Bereford, Sir John Maltravers, John Deverel, and Roeges de Bayonne, were condemned to



SUBTERRANEAN PASSAGE NEAR NOTTINGHAM CASTLE.³—Carter's Ancient Architecture.

death as accomplices, but three of these individuals had escaped. Mortimer was accompanied to the gallows only by Bereford. They were

¹ *Knyghton; Hemingford; Walsing.; Rymer.*

² *Rot. Parl.; Knyghton.*

³ These excavations evince rather a regular plan for a monastic building, for we meet with a chapel and various apartments, the latter both on the first and second stories, with a staircase,

chimneys, &c.; they are, however, deprived of their original fronts, as well as some of their groins or ceilings. The river Lin winds from the west extremity of the rocks, and directs its course to the neighbouring castle and town.—Carter's *Ancient Architecture of England*.

hanged at "the Elms," on the 29th of November. The queen-mother was deprived of her enormous jointure, and shut up in her castle or manor-house at Risings, where she passed the remaining twenty-seven years of her life in obscurity. In this same parliament a price was set upon the heads of Gourney and Ogle, the reputed murderers of the late king. Gourney was arrested in Spain and delivered over to an English officer, who, obeying secret instructions, cut off his head at sea. From this and other circumstances it has been imagined that there were persons who still retained their influence at court, to whom silence upon all that regarded this horrid subject was particularly convenient. What became of Ogle does not appear. Sir John Maltravers was taken and executed, but on a different charge, namely, for having aided Mortimer in misleading the Earl of Kent. The Lord Berkeley, in whose castle the deed had been done, demanded a trial and was fully acquitted.

We have noticed the death of the great Bruce, which happened in 1330: in the following year his brave companion in arms, the Lord James Douglas, was killed by the Moors in Spain as he was carrying his master's heart to the Holy Land; and in the month of July, 1332, Randolph, Earl of Moray, who had been appointed regent of the kingdom of Scotland and guardian of Prince David, died suddenly. The Earl of Moray was succeeded in the regency by Donald, Earl of Mar, a man inferior to him in prudence and ability. An article in the last treaty of peace had stipulated that a few English noblemen should be restored to estates they held in Scotland. This article was faithfully observed with regard to Henry de Percy; but it was disregarded with respect to the Lords Wake and Henry de Beaumont, and these two noblemen resolved to obtain redress by changing the dynasty of Scotland. Setting up the rights of Edward Baliol, the son and heir of the miserable John of that name, whom Edward I. had crowned and uncrowned, they went into the counties near the Borders, where they were presently joined by other English lords; and when Edward Baliol came over from Normandy, a few disaffected Scots came across the Borders to join him. Edward felt, or pretended to feel, many scruples; for the infant Queen of Scotland was his own sister, and he had also sworn to observe the treaty. Proclamations were issued prohibiting the gathering of any army of invasion on the Borders; but this did not prevent—nor was it intended to prevent—Baliol and the Lords Wake and Henry de Beaumont from getting ready a small fleet and army on the shores of the Humber. In the beginning of August this expedition sailed from Ravenspur: entering the Frith of Forth, the army landed at

Kinghorn, on the coast of Fife, on the 6th, and five days after won one of the most astonishing victories recorded in history. Edward Baliol—we use his name because he was first in dignity, though it is evident the campaign was directed by some bolder and abler mind than his—on finding himself suddenly in presence (or nearly so) of two Scottish armies—the one commanded by the Regent Mar, the other by the Earl of March—boldly threw himself between them, and encamped at Forteviot, with the river Earn running between him and the forces of the regent. At the dead of night he crossed the Earn, and fell upon the sleeping Scots, who were slaughtered in heaps before they could get ready their arms. As day dawned, the regent blushed to see the insignificant band that had done all this mischief: he was still in a condition to take vengeance, but, in his blind fury, he engaged in a wretched pass where his men could not form; and his own life, with the lives of many of the Scottish barons, and of nearly all the men-at-arms, paid forfeit for his military blunder. Thirteen thousand Scots, in all, are said to have fallen, while Baliol, who had not 3000 when he began the battle, lost but a few men. From Dupplin Moor, where this victory was gained, Edward Baliol ran to Perth, being closely pursued the whole way by the Earl of March, at the head of the other strong division of the Scots. He had just time to get within that city, and throw up some barricades. March besieged him there; but there were both scarcity and treachery in the Scottish camp: their fleet was destroyed by the English squadron which Baliol had ordered round to the mouth of the Tay; the ancient followers of his family, with all those who had forfeited their estates for their treasons under Bruce—with all who were in any way disaffected, or who hoped to benefit largely by a revolution—flocked to the standard of the pretender, who was crowned King of Scotland, at Scone, on the 24th of September. Edward Baliol had thus gained a crown in some seven or eight weeks, but he lost it in less than three months. Having secretly renewed to the English king all the forms of feudal submission imposed on his father by Edward I., and having stupified his opponents by the rapidity of his success, he retired with an inconsiderable force to Annan, in Dumfriesshire, where he intended to pass his Christmas. On the night of the 16th of December he was surprised there by a body of cavalry commanded by the young Earl of Moray, Sir Archibald Douglas, and Sir Simon Fraser. He got to horse, but had no time to saddle, and, nearly naked himself, he galloped away on a bare back, leaving his brother Henry dead behind him. He succeeded in crossing the Borders into England, where Edward,

who had privately abetted his enterprise, received him as a friend. With or without orders, the people near the Tweed and the Solway Frith now made incursions into England, carrying fire and slaughter with them. The inroads of the Scots, however, gave Edward a colourable pretext for declaring that they had infringed the treaty of peace, and he prepared for war, the parliament then engaging to assist him to the utmost.¹

In the month of May, 1333, Berwick was invested by a powerful English army; and on the 16th of July, Sir William Keith, the governor of the town, was obliged to promise that he would surrender on the 20th at sunrise, if not previously relieved by Lord Archibald Douglas, who now acted as regent of Scotland. On Monday, the 19th, after a fatiguing march, Douglas came in sight of Berwick, and found Edward's main army drawn up on Halidon Hill, about a mile to the north-west of the town. This elevation was in part surrounded by bogs and marshes; yet, in spite of all these advantages, the Scots resolved to attack them. As they moved slowly through the bogs, they were sorely galled by the English bowmen; when they got firm footing they rushed up the hill with more rapidity than order: their onslaught, however, was tremendous, and for a moment seemed to be successful; but the English, who were admirably posted, repelled the attack: the regent Douglas was killed in the *mêlée*; many lords and chiefs of clans fell around him; and then the Scots fell into confusion, and fled on every side. Edward spurred after them with his English cavalry—the Lord Darcy followed up with a horde of Irish kerns, who were employed as auxiliaries. Between the battle and the flight the loss was prodigious: never, say the old writers, had Scotland sustained such a defeat or witnessed such slaughter. The young king, David Bruce, with his wife, Edward's innocent sister, was conveyed into France, and Edward Baliol was again seated on a dishonoured throne. He openly professed homage and feudal service in its full extent to the King of England; and he not only made over the town of Berwick, but ceded in perpetuity the whole of Berwickshire, Roxburghshire, Selkirkshire, Peeblesshire, and Dumfriesshire, together with the Lothians—in short, the best part of Scotland. Edward left his mean vassal an army of Irish and English to defend him in his dismembered kingdom; but soon after his departure the indignant Scots drove Baliol once more across the Borders, and sent to request assistance from the King of France, who hospitably entertained their young king and queen in the Chateau Gaillard. Edward, on his side, reinforced Baliol, who returned to the south

of Scotland, and maintained himself there among English garrisons.

In 1335, Edward, having still further reinforced his vassal, marched with a powerful army along the western coast of Scotland, while Baliol advanced from Berwick by the eastern. In the month of August these two armies formed a junction at Perth, and, as they had met with little opposition, it was thought that the spirit of the Scots was subdued; but no sooner had Edward turned his back than the patriots fell upon Baliol from all quarters. In the following summer Edward was again obliged to repair to the assistance of his creature; and having scoured the country as far north as Inverness, and burned several towns, he flattered himself that he had at last subdued all opposition. But, again, as soon as the English king had crossed the Borders, the Scots fell upon Baliol. This obliged Edward to make a second campaign that same year: he marched to Perth in the month of November, and, after desolating other parts of the country, he returned to England about Christmas, once more buoyed up with the hope that he had mastered the Scots. As long as he was thus supported, Baliol contrived to maintain a semblance of authority in the Lowlands.

Affairs were in this uncertain state in Scotland when Edward's attention was withdrawn, and his mind filled by a wilder dream of ambition—the plan of attaching the whole French kingdom to his dominions. Charles IV., the last of the three brothers of Isabella, the queen-mother of England, died in 1328, in the second year of Edward's reign: he had no children, but left his wife *en-cointe*. A regency was appointed, and the crown was kept in abeyance; if Joan should be delivered of a son, then that infant was to be king; but in due time she gave birth to a daughter, and by an ancient interpretation of a portion of the Salic law, and by the usages and precedents of many ages, it was held that no female could reign in France. The daughter of the last king was set aside without debate or hesitation; and Philip of Valois, cousin-german to the deceased king, ascended the throne, taking the title of Philip VI. Edward's mother, Isabella, with the state lawyers of England and some foreign jurists in English pay, pretended from the first that Edward had a preferable right; but it was deemed unsafe to press it at the time: and when Philip of Valois demanded that the King of England should, in his quality of Duke of Aquitaine, go over to France and do homage to him, threatening to dispossess him of his continental dominions if he refused, the young King of England was obliged to comply. Putting aside the incapacity of females, Edward certainly was nearer in the line of succession; he was grandson of Philip IV.

¹ Fordun: *Knyghton*; *Hewingford*: *Rider*.

by his daughter Isabella, whereas Philip of Valois was grandson to the father of that monarch, Philip III., by his younger son Charles of Valois. But Philip traced through males, and Edward only through his mother. The latter, however, maintained that, although by the fundamental laws of France, his mother, as a female, was herself excluded, he, as her son, was not; but Philip and all France insisted that a mother could not transmit to her children any right which she never possessed herself. The principle assumed by Edward was a startling novelty—it had never been heard of in France; but, even if he had been able to prove it, he would have proved a great deal too much, and would have excluded himself as well as Philip of Valois; for by that very principle the succession rested with the son of Joan, Queen of Navarre, who was the daughter of Louis X., the eldest brother of Isabella, as also of Philip V. and Charles IV., who had, in default of issue male, succeeded the one after the other; and if this son of the Queen of Navarre had been born a little earlier than he was, then, by this same principle, Charles IV., the last king, must have been an usurper.¹ The French, moreover, who ought to have been the only judges in this case, maintained it to be a fundamental law, *that no foreigner could reign in France*; and contended that one of the principal objects of the so-called Salic law was to exclude the husbands and children of the princesses of France, who generally married foreigners. It was in every sense with a peculiarly bad grace that the English set themselves up as authorities in the laws of royal succession: by no people had such laws been more thoroughly disregarded at home: from the time of William the Norman, who was an usurper by conquest, four out of ten of their kings had been usurpers, or were only to be relieved from that imputation by the admission of the principle that the estates of the kingdom had the right of electing the king from among the members of the royal family. The present question would have been at once decided by leaving this same right of election to the French. The peers of the kingdom had voted that the crown belonged to Philip of Valois; the assembly of Paris had decreed the same thing; and the states-general afterwards confirmed their judgment: and not only the whole nation, but all Europe, had recognized him. Edward himself, in 1331, had repeated his homage to him in a more satisfactory way than on the former occasion; and it was not till 1336 that he openly declared that the peers of France and the

states-general had acted rather like villains and robbers than upright judges; and that he would no longer submit to their decision, or recognize the French king, who had now reigned in peace more than seven years.² But the plain truth was, that Edward had not been able to shape his intrigues and make his preparations earlier; and now several concurring circumstances hurried him on. Philip had not only given an asylum to David Bruce, but was actually beginning to aid the Scottish patriots with ships, arms, and money. Edward, on his side, had given shelter to Robert of Artois, who was descended from the blood royal of France, who had married King Philip's sister, and who was supposed to have a strong party in France. On account of a disputed succession to the great fief of Artois, this Robert had been involved in a quarrel (that entailed disgrace on both parties) with his brother-in-law of France, who eventually had driven him into exile and hanged some of his adherents. Robert was a man of violent passions; his rage against the French king was boundless; he was skilful alike in the cabinet and the field, and few princes enjoyed a higher military reputation. Philip, who foresaw the consequences of his stay in England, threatened to fall upon Guienne if Edward did not immediately dismiss him. There was not a sovereign in Europe so little likely to bear this insulting threat as the powerful English king, who sent over a commission, bearing date the 7th October, 1337, to the Earl of Brabant and others, to demand for him the crown of France as his indisputable right. The nation went along with the king; the coming war with France was most popular with all men; and having obtained subsidies, tallages, and forced loans—having seized the tin in Cornwall and Devonshire, and the wool of the year all over the kingdom—having even pawned the jewels of the crown, and adopted almost every possible means of raising money to subsidize his allies on the Continent, Edward sailed with a respectable fleet, and a fine but not large army, on the 15th of July, 1338. Four days after he landed at Antwerp, where he had secured himself a friendly reception. The Earl of Flanders was bound to his rival Philip; but this prince had scarcely a shadow of authority in the country, where the democratic party had triumphed over the nobles, and the inhabitants of the great trading cities had placed themselves under the government of James van Artaveldt, a brewer of Ghent, who

¹ Joan was married in 1310, during the reign of her first uncle, Philip V.; she was then only six years old, and certainly had not borne a son four years after 1322, when her third uncle, Charles IV., ascended the throne.

² Rymer; Froissart; Villaret, *Hist. Fr.*; Gaillard, *Hist. de la Rivalité de la France et de l'Angleterre*. Edward repeatedly offered to give up his claims if Philip would abandon the cause of the King of Scots, and restore some places he had seized in Gascony. See Rymer. Philip thought the claims too ridiculous to be worth any sacrifice of honour, and he was not captivated by Edward's proposal of intermarrying their children.

was, in fact, in possession of a more than sovereign authority in that rich and populous country—an authority which he exercised rigorously enough, but on the whole with great wisdom.



JAMES VAN ARTAVELDT holding his state at Ghent.¹—Illumination in Froissart, British Museum.

The King of France was hated by the Flemings, as the declared enemy of this state of things, and the avowed protector of the expelled or humbled nobles; and when Edward, doing violence probably to his own feelings, did not hesitate to court their plebeian alliance, they forgot some old grudges against the English, and engaged to assist heart and hand in their wars. Edward's other allies were the Emperor of Germany, the Dukes of Brabant and Gueldres, the

Archbishop of Cologne, the Marquis of Juliers, the Counts of Hainault and Namur, the Lords of Fauquemont and Bacquen, and some others, who, for certain subsidies, engaged to assist him with their forces. At the same time Philip of France allied himself with the Kings of Navarre and Bohemia, the Dukes of Brittany, Asturia, and Lorraine, the Palatine of the Rhine, and with several of the inferior princes of Germany. The whole of this year, 1338, was, however, passed in inactivity; and after granting trading privileges to the Flemings and Brabanters,² and spending his money among the Germans, all that Edward could procure from them was a promise to meet him next year in the month of July. But it was the middle of September, 1339, ere the English king could take the field, and then only 15,000 men-at-arms followed him to the siege of Cambrai. On the frontiers of France the Counts of Namur and Hainault abandoned him. Edward then advanced to Perone and St. Quentin, burning all the villages and open towns. Here the rest of his allies halted, and refused to go farther. Edward then turned towards the Ardennes, and, as Philip avoided a battle, he found himself obliged to retire to Ghent, having spent all his money and contracted an enormous debt. The pope made an attempt to restore peace; but Edward turned a deaf ear to his remonstrances, and immediately afterwards, by the advice, it is said, of Van Artaveldt, publicly assumed the title of King of France, and quartered the French lilies in his arms.³ About the middle of February, 1340, he returned to England to obtain fresh resources, and the parliament voted him immense supplies. Before he could return to Flanders he was informed that Philip had collected a tremendous fleet in the harbour of Sluis, to intercept him. His council advised him to stay till more ships could be collected; but he would not be detained, and set sail, with such an English fleet as was ready, on the 22d of June. On the following evening he came in sight of the enemy, who, on the morning of the 24th, drew out to the mouth of the harbour of Sluis. The battle soon joined. The English gained a complete

¹ In the present miniature the artist has attempted to exhibit the great state kept by James van Artaveldt, who, after assuming the supreme power in Flanders, surrounded himself with men-at-arms, numerous attendants, not omitting the jester, it would seem, and such a train of retainers as was usual with the great lords and sovereigns of that time.—*Illum. Illustr. of Froissart*

² "A more prosperous era began with Edward III., the father, as he may almost be called, of English commerce, a title not, indeed, more glorious, but by which he may perhaps claim more of our gratitude, than as the hero of Crecy. In 1331, he took advantage of discontents among the manufacturers of Flanders, to invite them as settlers into his dominions. They brought the finer manufacture of woollen cloths which had been unknown in England."—Hallam, *State of Europe during the Middle Ages*, iii. 379. Fuller, in his *Church History*, describes with charac-

teristic quaintness the inducements held out to these Flemings:—"Here they should feed on fat beef and mutton, till nothing but their fulness should stint their stomachs; their beds should be good and their bedfellows better, seeing the richest yeomen in England would not disdain to marry their daughters unto them, and such the English beauties that the most envious foreigners could not but commend them." Michelet dwells on the advantages which Edward gained by the commerce of England with Flanders, and ascribes to these that monarch's successes at Crecy and Poitiers.—See Hallam's *Supplementary Notes*, page 34.

³ Until he assumed the title of lawful King of France, many, even among the turbulent Flemings, had scruples; they cared nothing for Philip or his authority, but as vassals (nominal at least) they respected the name of King of France.

victory; nearly the whole of the French fleet was taken, and from ten to fifteen thousand of their mariners were killed or drowned.¹

This splendid success, and, still more, the great sums of money Edward carried with him, brought his allies trooping round his standard. Two hundred thousand men, in all, are said to have followed him to the French frontier; but again the mass of this incongruous host broke up without doing anything, and after challenging the French king to single combat, and spending all his money, Edward was obliged to agree to an armistice. The pope again laudably interfered, and endeavoured to convert the truce into a lasting peace. Edward could not chastise his lukewarm allies, but he resolved to vent his spite on his ministers at home, who, he pretended, had not done their duty. One night, in the end of November, he appeared suddenly at the Tower of London, where no one expected him, and where there were very evident signs of a culpable negligence. The next morning he threw three of the judges into prison, displaced the chancellor, the treasurer, and the master of the rolls, and ordered the arrest of several of the officers who had been employed in collecting the revenue. Stratford, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was president of the council of ministers, fled to Canterbury, and when summoned to appear, appealed for himself and his colleagues to the protection of Magna Charta, and issued the old excommunication against all such as should violate its provisions and the liberties of the subject by arbitrary arrests or the like. He would be tried, he said, by his peers, and would plead or make answer to no other persons or person whatsoever.² The king was now greatly distressed for money, and acting on that wise system, from the observance of which it has happened that the liberties of England have been purchased rather by the money than by the blood of the subject, parliament refused to pass the grants he wanted, unless he gave them an equivalent in the shape of a reform of past abuses, and a guarantee against future ones.

In the course of the year 1341, the French king allowed David of Scotland, who had now attained his eighteenth year, to return to his own dominions. David, with his wife, landed at Inverberrie on the 4th of May. Long before his coming the patriots had triumphed; they had taken castle after castle, and, in 1338, had again driven Baliol into England. They now enabled the young king to form a respectable government. The alliance with France was continued, and, within a year after his return, the Bruce made several successful inroads into the northern counties of England. Edward was so absorbed

by his continental schemes, that he was glad to conclude a truce with the restored King of the Scots. Baliol was provided for in the north of England, where, for some years, he did the duty of keeping watch and ward against the Scottish Borderers.

As long as Edward fought with foreign mercenaries and from the side of Flanders, he was unsuccessful; but now he was about to try the arms of his native English, and circumstances soon opened him a new road into France, and enabled him to change the seat of the war from the Flemish frontier, to Normandy, Brittany, and Poitou, the real scenes of his military glory. John III., Duke of Brittany, died in 1341, and left no children though he had had three wives. Of his two brothers, Guy and John de Montfort, Guy, the elder, had died some time before him, leaving only a daughter, Jane, surnamed *la Doctouse* (or the Lame), who was married to Charles de Blois, nephew of the French king. A dispute then arose between the uncle and the niece, each claiming the duchy by the laws of inheritance. The uncle, John de Montfort, was by far the more active and the more popular of these two competitors: as soon as his brother was dead, he rode to Nantes, and caused his claim to be recognized by the majority of the bishops and nobles; he got possession of the treasures of the late duke, besieged and took Brest, Vaunes, and the other chief fortresses, and then crossed over to England, privately, to solicit the co-operation of Edward, being well assured that, with or without reference to the old laws of Brittany, Philip would protect his nephew. Charles de Blois, in effect, went to Paris with his wife, and having no party in Brittany, threw himself upon the protection of Philip, who received him in a manner that left no doubt as to his decision. John de Montfort soon returned from England, and when summoned to attend a court of peers and other magnates which Philip had convoked to try this great cause, he went boldly to Paris, accompanied by 400 gentlemen of Brittany. Montfort's pleadings, which have been preserved, are remarkable specimens of the taste, the law, and the spirit of the times. The Divine law, the natural law, the Roman law, and the feudal law—the canons of the church, and the ancient customs of Brittany—were all put in requisition. He maintained, or his lawyers maintained for him, that the Salic law, excluding females, which obtained in France, must now be the law of Brittany, which was a fief of France; that women, who could not fight, could not reign; that he was nearer in blood to the late duke, his brother, than Jane, who was only the daughter of another brother. But what was evidently considered the strongest ground of all was, the incapacity of females; and on this

¹ *Wals.*; *Fris.*; *Arab.*; *Knygh.* ² *Rym.*; *Rot. Parl.*; *Item.*

particular point, heathen philosophers, Moses, and the Christian apostles, were cited in most admired confusion. To all this Charles de Blois replied, that Jane, his wife, had all the rights of her father—that she was the last shoot of the elder branch—that females had repeatedly inherited the duchy—and that her sex did not exclude her from a French peerage.¹ Philip demanded of De Montfort the immediate surrender of the treasures of the late duke. This demand convinced John that the judgment of the French court would be against him; he saw, or suspected, preparations for arresting him, and leaving his parchments and most of his friends behind him, he fled from Paris in disguise. A few days after his flight, sentence was pronounced in favour of his opponent.

After his escape from Paris, De Montfort repaired to London, and there did homage for his duchy to Edward as lawful King of France. At the same time Charles de Blois did homage to Philip, who furnished him with an army of 6000 men. Edward's assistance was not so prompt; but De Montfort, relying on the affection of the people of Brittany, returned to make head against the French invaders. Soon after he was taken prisoner by treachery, and sent to Paris. Charles de Blois then got possession of Nantes and other towns, and thought that the contest was over; but De Montfort's wife was still in Brittany, and the fair countess had "the courage of a man and the heart of a lion."² With her infant son in her arms, she presented herself to the people, and implored their assistance for the only male issue of their ancient line of princes. Such an appeal from a young and beautiful woman made a deep impression. As if expressly to refute the argumentations of her husband, she put her hand to the sword, placed a steelcasque on her head, and rode from castle to castle—from town to town—raising troops and commanding them like a hardy knight. She sent over to England to hasten the succour which Edward had promised her husband; and to be at hand to receive these auxiliaries, she threw herself into Hennebon, situated on the coast at the point where the small river

Blavet throws itself into the sea, having what was then a convenient port at its mouth. Long before the English ships arrived, she was besieged by the French under Charles de Blois. Within



HENNEBON, PART OF THE ANCIENT WALLS.³—From *Voyages dans l'Ancienne France*.

the walls she had the worst of enemies in a cowardly old priest, the Bishop of Leon,⁴ who was incessantly expatiating to the inhabitants on the horrors of a town taken by assault, and showing them how prudent it would be to capitulate, but the young countess constantly visited all the posts, showed herself upon the ramparts where the arrows of the enemy fell thickest, and repeatedly headed sorties against the besiegers. The story of the siege, as told by Froissart, with the sorties and marvellous adventures of the young countess, is the most spirit-stirring and romantic episode in the history of this age of chivalry.

At last, a scarcity of provisions began to be felt, and still the succours of Edward did not arrive. Day after day, anxious eyes were cast seaward, and still no fleet was seen. The Bishop of Leon renewed his dismal croaking, and at length was allowed to propose a capitulation. The countess, however, entreated the lords of Brittany, for the love of God, to conclude nothing as yet. On the morrow, the garrison was wholly disheartened, the bishop again communicated with the enemy, and the French were coming up to take possession, when the countess, who was looking over the sea from a casement in the high tower, suddenly cried out with great joy, "The English, the English! I see the succours coming." And it was, indeed, the English fleet she saw crossing the line of the horizon. It had

¹ Daru, *Hist. de la Bretagne*. The original manuscripts quoted are preserved in the Archives of Nantes, and in the Bibliothèque du Roi at Paris.

² Froissart.

³ The present town of Hennebon comprises the old town, the walled town, and the new town. The greater part of the ram-

parts still gird the walled town, and many old houses serve to give it a picturesque and antiquated appearance. The strong castle, rendered memorable by Froissart, has almost entirely disappeared.

⁴ It is not quite clear whether this bishop was coward or traitor: he had a brother in the service of Charles de Blois.

been detained forty days by contrary winds, but it now came merrily over the waves with a press of sail. The people of Hennebon crowded the seaward rampart to enjoy the sight. All thoughts of surrendering were abandoned; in brief time the English ships shot into the port, and landed a body of troops, under the command of Sir Walter Manny. The fair countess received her deliverers with enthusiastic gratitude. On the following day, after a good dinner, Sir Walter Manny said, "Sirs, I have a great mind to go forth and break down this great battering engine of the French, if any will follow me." Then Sir Hugh of Treguier said that he would not fail him in this first adventure; and so said Sir Gale-ran. The knights armed, and the yeomen of England took their bows and arrows. Manny went quietly out by a postern with 300 archers, and some forty men-at-arms. The archers shot "so thick together," that the French in charge of the engine could not stand it; they fled and the machine was destroyed. Manny then rushed on the besiegers' tents and lodgings, set fire to them in many places, smiting and killing not a few, and then withdrew with his companions "fair and easily."¹

The French, the very morning after this affair, raised the siege of Hennebon, and carried the war into Lower Brittany. But soon after, they suffered a tremendous loss at Quimperlé, where an army was cut to pieces by the English and the people of the countess. Some months after, however, Charles de Blois re-appeared in great force before Hennebon, and began a fresh siege. Another brilliant sortie, headed by Sir Walter, put an end to this second siege—the French retreating with disgrace. The wife of De Montfort then went over to England to press for further reinforcements which had been promised. Edward furnished her with some chosen troops, which were placed under the command of Robert of Artois, and embarked in forty-six vessels, most of which were small and weak. Off Guernsey, the ships encountered a French fleet of thirty-two tall ships, on board of which were 1000 men-at-arms, and 3000 Genoese cross-bowmen. A fierce fight ensued, during which De Montfort's wife stood on the deck with a "stiff and sharp sword," and a coat of mail, fighting manfully; but the combat was interrupted by the darkness of night and a tremendous storm, and the English, after suffering some loss, got safely into a little port between Hennebon and

Vannes. Robert of Artois landed the troops, and proceeded with the countess to lay siege to Vannes. After various sieges and fights, Robert of Artois was mortally wounded. Edward then determined to head the war in Brittany himself, and sailed to Hennebon with 12,000 men. He marched to Vannes, and established a siege there; he then proceeded to Rennes, and thence to Nantes, driving the French before him.

But Charles de Blois was reinforced by the Duke of Normandy, the eldest son of the French king, and then Edward retraced his steps to Vannes, which his captains had not been able to take. When the Duke of Normandy followed him with a far superior force, he intrenched himself in front of Vannes, and then the French formed



THE PRISON GATE, VANNES.—From Souvestre, *La Bretagne*.

an intrenched camp at a short distance from him. Here both parties lay for several weeks, during which winter set in. The Duke of Normandy dreaded every day that Edward would be reinforced from England. On the other side, Edward feared that he should be left without provisions. At this juncture, two legates of the pope arrived at the hostile camps, and by their good offices, a truce was concluded for three years and eight months.²

¹ Froissart.

² P. Lobineau; Daru; Froissart.

CHAPTER VI.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1341—1377.

EDWARD III.—ACCESSION, A.D. 1327—DEATH, A.D. 1377.

The truce broken—Edward III. renews the war with France—His march on Paris—Conflicts during his retreat—Great victory of Edward over the French at Crecy—Gallant conduct of his son, the Black Prince—Encounters after the battle—Calais besieged—David Bruce, King of Scotland, invades England—He is defeated and taken prisoner at the battle of Nevil's Cross—The French defeated at Roche-Derrien—Calais surrenders—Conditions of the surrender—Generous interference of Queen Philippa—A pestilence visits Europe—Edward III. invades Scotland—Victory of the Black Prince over the French at Poitiers—The King of France taken prisoner—David, King of Scots, ransomed—Miserable state of France—Armistice between France and England—John, King of France, returns to his English captivity—Pedro the Cruel, King of Castile, driven from his throne—He applies to the Black Prince for aid—The Black Prince invades Castile—He replaces Don Pedro on the throne—Hostilities with France renewed—The Black Prince takes Limoges—A truce with France—Growing detour of Edward III.—Death of the Black Prince—Disturbances arising from the preaching of Wycliffe—Death of Edward III.



THE truce with which the late war seemed to be closed was speedily violated. One of the conditions of it was, that Philip should release John de Montfort; but Philip kept him in closer imprisonment than

before, and answered the remonstrances of the pope with a miserable quibble. The war was continued against the Bretons, who still fought gallantly under their countess, and hostilities were carried on, both by sea and land, between the French and English. A savage deed threw an odium on King Philip, and roused the enmity of many powerful families. During a gay tournament, he suddenly arrested Oliver de Clisson, Godfrey d'Harcourt, and twelve other knights, and had their heads cut off in the midst of the Halles or market-place of Paris. He sent the head of De Clisson into Brittany, to be stuck up on the walls of Nantes. Other nobles were disposed of in the same summary manner in Normandy and elsewhere, upon the bare surmise that they had corresponded with the English king. A cry of horror ran through the land. The lords of Brittany, who had supported Charles de Blois, went over to the countess; other lords, fearing they might be suspected, fled from the court, and then really opened a correspondence with Edward, and doomed Philip to destruction. Soon after these events John de Montfort, who had been a captive for three years, contrived to escape in the disguise of a pedlar, and to get over to England. Having renewed his homage to Edward, he received a small force, with which he repaired to Hennebon. The joy of his heroic wife was of short duration; for De Montfort died shortly after, appointing by will the King of England guardian to his son. Charles de Blois returned into the country, and renewed the war; but he

had no chance of success, and Brittany remained an efficient ally of Edward. Whether he carried the war into Normandy or Poitou, it covered one of his flanks, and remained open to him as a place of retreat in case of a reverse. For some time, both he and Philip had been preparing for more extended hostilities.

Sharing in the popular feeling, the A.D. 1345. English parliament recommended war; and an army was sent into Guienne, under the command of Edward's cousin, the brave and accomplished Earl of Derby. The earl fell like a thunderbolt among the French; beat them in a decisive battle near Auberoche; took many of their nobles prisoners, and drove them out of the country, leaving only a few forresses in their hands. About the same time Edward went in person to Sluis, to treat with the deputies of the free cities of Flanders. As Louis, the Count of Flanders, though deprived of nearly all his revenues, and left with scarcely any authority, still refused to acknowledge the rights of the English king to the crown of France, Edward endeavoured, rather prematurely, to persuade the Flemings to transfer their allegiance to his own son. His old ally, James van Artaveldt, entered into this view; and his exertions for Edward cost him his life. Many of the cautious burgomasters opposed this extreme measure, and set intrigues on foot; and Van Artaveldt's long and great power, however wisely used, in the main, for the good of the country, had raised him up numerous enemies. He was savagely murdered in a popular insurrection. Thus James van Artaveldt finished his days—the brewer of Ghent, who, in his time, had been complete master of Flanders. "Poor men first raised him, and wicked men killed him."¹

¹ Froissart.

The news of this important event gave great joy to the Count of Flanders, and great grief to King Edward, who sailed away from Sluis, vowing vengeance against the Flemings who had thus murdered his steady friend and most valuable ally. The free towns fell into great consternation; their prosperity depended on their trade—their trade in a great measure depended on England. If Edward should shut his ports to their manufactured goods, or prohibit the exportation of English wool, they knew that they would be little better than ruined. Bruges, Ypres, Courtrai, Oudenarde—all the chief towns except Ghent—sent deputies to London to soften the wrath of the English king, and to vow that they were guiltless of the murder. Edward waived his claim to the formal cession of Flanders to his son, and contented himself with other advantages and promises, among which was one that the Flemings would, in the course of the following year, pour an army into France.

In 1346, Edward collected a fine army, consisting solely of English, Welsh, and Irish, and landed with them on the coast of Normandy, near Cape la Hogue, about the middle of July. That province was defenceless, for Edward's attack had been expected to fall upon the south. In the latter direction the Duke of Normandy had fallen upon the gallant Earl of Derby, and was endeavouring, with the flower of the French army, to drive the English from Guienne. One of Edward's principal objects was to create an alarm which should draw the French out of that province, and, by crossing the Seine, to join his allies, the Flemings, who had passed the French frontier. Having taken Carenton, St. Lo, and Caen, he marched to the left bank of the Seine, intending to cross that river at Rouen; but, when he got opposite that town, he found that Philip was there before him, that the bridge of boats was removed, and that a French army, in numbers far superior to his own, occupied the right bank. The English then ascended the river towards Paris by the left bank, the French manœuvring along the right, breaking down all the bridges, and preventing the enemy from passing the river. Edward burned the villages, sacked the towns of Vernon and Mantes, and at last came to Poissy, within eight or nine miles of Paris. Here there was a good bridge, but it had been partially destroyed by order of Philip. The English marched from Poissy to St. Germain, which they burned to the ground: by seizing some boats on the river, they were enabled to do still further mischief; and St. Cloud, Bourgu-la-Reine, and Neuilly were reduced to ashes. Still, however, Edward's situation was critical; he was separated from his Flemish auxiliaries, and Philip was reinforced daily. Having ex-

amined the bridge at Poissy, Edward struck his tents, and advanced as if he would attack Paris, and his van really penetrated to the suburbs of that capital. This movement obliged the French to cross over to the opposite bank, to the relief of that city. Edward then wheeled round, cleared the remains of the bridge of Poissy by means of his bowmen, repaired it, and crossed to the right bank. From the Seine he continued his way towards the river Somme, burning the suburbs of Beauvais, and plundering the town of Pois. Philip now determined to prevent his crossing the Somme: by rapid movements he got to Amiens on that river, and sent detachments along the right bank to destroy the bridges and guard every ford. The English attempted to pass at Pont St. Remi, Long, and Pequigny, but failed at each place. Meanwhile Philip, who had now 100,000 men, divided his force, and while one division was posted on the right bank to prevent the passage of the English, he marched with the other along the left, to drive them towards the river and the sea. So close was he upon his enemy that he entered Airaines, where Edward had slept, only two hours after his departure. That evening the English reached Oisemont, near the coast, where they found themselves cooped up between the sea, the Somme, and the division of the French army with Philip, which was six times more numerous than their whole force. The marshals of the army were again sent to see whether there was any ford, but they again returned with the sad news that they could find none. At last a common fellow told Edward that there was a place, a little lower down, called Blanche-Taque, or the White Spot, which was fordable at the ebb of the tide. "The King of England," says Froissart, "did not sleep much that night, but, rising at midnight, ordered his trumpets to sound." Instantly the baggage was loaded, and everything got ready. At the peep of day the army set out and soon came to the ford; but Edward had the mortification to find not only that the tide was full, but that the opposite bank of the river was lined with 12,000 men under the command of a great baron of Normandy, called Sir Godemar du Fay. He was obliged to wait till the hour of "primes," when the tide was out. This was an awful suspense, for every moment he expected Philip in his rear. As soon as it was reported that the river was fordable, Edward commanded his marshals to dash into the water, "in the names of God and St. George." Instantly the most doughty and the best mounted spurred into the river. Half-way across they

¹ A sketch map illustrating the marches of Edward III. and Henry V., and the difficulties in crossing the Somme, during the campaigns of 1346 and 1415, with the sites of Crécy and Azincourt, is given under the reign of Henry V.

were met by the cavalry of Sir Godemar du Fay, and a fierce conflict took place in the water. When the English had overcome this opposition they had to encounter another, for the French still occupied, in battle array, a narrow pass which led from the ford up the right bank. Among others posted there was a strong body of Genoese cross-bowmen, who galled them sorely; but the English archers "shot so well together" that they forced all their opponents to give way, upon which Edward cleared the bank of the river; and while part of his forces pursued Du Fay, he encamped with the rest in the pleasant fields between Crotay and Crecy. Philip now appeared on the opposite side of the ford, where

Edward had so long waited; but he was too late—the tide was returning and covering the ford; and, after taking a few stragglers, he thought it prudent to return up the river, to cross it by the bridge of Abbeville.

Edward was now within a few days' march of the frontiers of Flanders, but nothing was seen or heard of his Flemish auxiliaries. He was probably tired of retreating, and encouraged by the result of the remarkable battle at Blanche-Taque. When told that Philip would still pursue him, he said, "We will go no farther." As he had not the eighth part of the number of men that Philip had, his marshals selected an advantageous position on an eminence a little behind



THE FIELD OF CRECY, from the Windmill.¹—From a drawing on the spot by John Absolon.

the village of Crecy. After supper he entered his oratory, and, falling on his knees, prayed God to bring him off with honour if he should fight on the morrow. Rising at early dawn, he and his son Edward heard mass, and communicated; the greater part of his people confessed, and put themselves in a comfortable state of mind. They had not been harassed for many hours; they had fared well: they had had a good night's rest, and were fresh and vigorous. After mass the king ordered the men to arm and assemble, each under his proper banner. In the rear of his army he inclosed a large park near a wood, in which he placed all his baggage waggons and all his horses; for every one, man-at-arms as well as archer, was to fight that day on foot. The first division was under the command of his young son, with whom were placed the Earls of Warwick and Oxford, and other experienced captains; it consisted of about 800 men-at-arms, 2000 archers, and 1000 Welsh foot. A little behind them, and rather on their flank, stood the second division of 800 men-at-arms and 1200 archers, who were commanded by the Earls of Northampton and Arun-

del, the Lords de Roos, Willoughby, and others. The third division stood in reserve on the top of the hill: it consisted of 700 men-at-arms and 2000 archers. The archers of each division formed in front, in the shape of a portcullis or harrow.

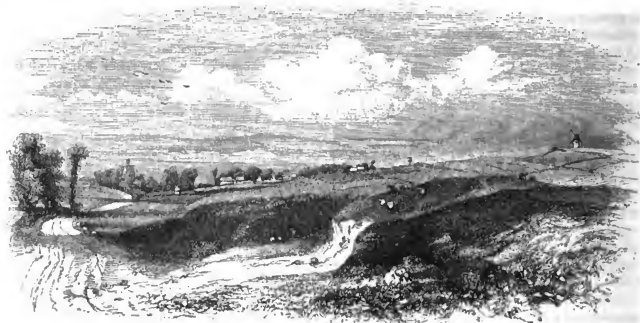
After his march and counter-march on the day of Blanche-Taque, Philip rested at Abbeville, and he lost a whole day there, waiting for reinforcements, among which were 1000 lances of the Count of Savoy. This morning, however, the French king marched to give battle, breathing fury and vengeance: his countenance was clouded—a savage silence could not conceal the agitation of his soul—all his movements were precipitate, without plan or concert. It seemed as if the shades of De Clisson and his murdered companions flitted before his eyes and obscured his vision. He ran rather than marched from Abbeville, and when he came in sight of the well-ordered divisions of Edward, his men were tired and his rear-guard far behind. By the advice of a Bohemian captain, he agreed to put off the battle till the morrow, and two officers immediately rode, one along the van and the other

¹ The hollow in which the battle was fought is called "*La vallée des claires ou gentilshommes*." The wood seen on the extreme right of the horizon, where 30,000 French were killed on the morning after the battle, is still called by the people, "the forest bathed in blood." Towards the centre of the view, in the hollow behind where three poplar trees now stand, is the spot where, according to Crecy tradition, the King of Bohemia is said to have fallen; his badge of three ostrich feathers and motto—"Ich Dien"—being said to have been taken from him and as- VOL. I.

sumed by the Black Prince. A cross which stood upon the spot was removed a few years since and set up by the roadside. Near to its former site in the wood is a small chapel called "*La chapelle des trois cents corps*," where, according to ancient report, 300 of the noblest knights were interred. The foreground in the view was the position of the English army of reserve, the right-hand edge being the extreme right of the English position; and between that and the mill was the English camp.—*Information collected on the spot and communicated by J. Absolon, Esq.*

toward the rear, crying out, "Halt, banners, in the name of God and St. Denis!" Those that were in front stopped, but those behind rode on, saying that they would not halt until they were as forward as the first. When the van felt the rear pressing on them they pushed forward, and neither the king nor the marshals could stop them, but on they marched without any order until they came near the English. Then the foremost ranks fell back at once in great disorder, which alarmed those in the rear, who thought there had been fighting. There was then room enough for those behind to pass in front had they been willing so to do: "some did so, and some remained very shy." All the roads between Abbeville and Crecy were covered with common people, who, while they were yet three leagues from their enemy, were bawling out, "Kill! kill!" "There is no man," says Froissart, "unless he had been present, that can imagine or truly record the confusion of that day, especially the bad management and disorder of the French, whose troops were innumerable." The kings, dukes, earls, barons, and lords of France, advanced each as he thought best. Philip was carried forward by the torrent, and as soon as he came in sight of the English, his blood began to boil, and he cried out, "Order the Genoese forward, and begin the battle, in the name of God and St. Denis!" These Genoese were famous cross-bowmen: according to Froissart, they were 15,000 strong. But they

were quite fatigued, having that day marched six leagues on foot. Thus they told the constable that they were not in a state to do any great exploit of battle that day. The Count d'Alençon, King Philip's brother, hearing this, said, "See what we get by employing such scoundrels, who fail us in our need." The susceptible Italians were not likely to forget these hasty and insulting words, but they formed and led the van. They were supported by the Count d'Alençon, with a numerous cavalry. While these things were passing, a heavy rain fell, accompanied by thunder: and there was a fearful eclipse of the sun. About five in the afternoon, the weather cleared up and the sun shone forth in full splendour. His rays darted full in the eyes of the French, but the English had the sun at their backs. When the Genoese had made their approach, they set up a terrible shout to strike terror into the English; but the English yeomen remained motionless, not seeming to care for it: they sent up a second shout, and advanced, but still the English moved not; they shouted a third time, and advancing a little, began to discharge their crossbows. Then the English moved, but it was one step forward, and they shot their arrows with such rapidity and vigour "that it seemed as if it snowed." These well-shot arrows pierced shield and armour; the Genoese could not stand them. On seeing these auxiliaries waver and then fall back, the King of France cried out in a



BATTLE FIELD AND OLD WINDMILL OF CRECY.—From a drawing on the spot by John Absolon.

fury, "Kill me those scoundrels, for they stop our way without doing any good!" and at these words the French men-at-arms laid about them,

killing and wounding the retreating Genoese. All this wonderfully increased the confusion; and still the English yeomen kept shooting as

¹ On the left-hand side of the view is the commencement of the forest and the village of Crecy. The road which leads to the village is that by which the French advanced. The ground between the mill and the spectator was occupied by the English army. The hill rises in a succession of terraced platforms,

which give it somewhat the character of a natural fortification. The great struggle took place in the hollow near the village, where the position of the Black Prince could not be seen from the mill.—Information collected on the spot and communicated by J. Absolon, Esq.

vigorously as before into the midst of the crowd: many of their arrows fell among D'Alençon's splendid cavalry, and killing and wounding many, made them caper and fall among the Genoese, "so that they could never rally or get up again." Having got free from the rabble-roust, D'Alençon and the Count of Flanders skirted the English archers and fell upon the men-at-arms of the prince's battalia, where they fought fiercely for some time. The second division of the English moved to the support of the prince. The King of France was eager to support D'Alençon, but he could not penetrate a hedge of English archers which formed in his front. But without the king's forces, D'Alençon, with whom fought French, Germans, Bohemians, and Savoyards, seemed to all eyes more than a match for the prince. At a moment when the conflict seemed doubtful, the Earl of Warwick sent to request a reinforcement from the reserve. Edward, who had watched the battle from a windmill on the summit of the hill, and who did not put on his



WINDOW OF THE OLD MILL AT CRECY, from which Edward III. watched the battle.

helmet the whole day, asked the knight whether his son was killed, or wounded, or thrown to the ground? The knight replied, "No, sire, please God, but he is hard beset." "Then," said the king, "return to those who sent you, and tell them that they shall have no help from me. Let the boy win his spurs; for I am resolved, if it please God, that this day be his, and that the

honour of it be given all to him and to those to whose care I have intrusted him." When Sir Thomas Norwich reported this message, they were all greatly encouraged, and repented of having ever sent him. Soon after this, D'Alençon was killed, and his battalions were scattered. The King of France made several brilliant charges, but he was repulsed each time with great loss: his horse was killed under him by an English arrow, and the best of his friends had fallen around him. Night now set in, but not before he had lost the battle. At the hour of vespers he had not more than sixty men about him of all sorts. John of Hainault now laid hold of his bridle-rein and led him away by force, for he had entreated him to retire before this, but in vain. The king rode away till he came to the castle of La Broye, where he found the gates shut, for it was dark night. He summoned the châtelain, who came upon the battlements and asked who called at such an hour. The king answered, "Open, open, châtelain, it is the fortune of France!" The governor knew the king's voice, descended, opened the gates, and let down the bridge. The king and his company entered the castle, but he had with him only five barons.¹

Such was the memorable battle of Crecy; it was fought on Saturday, the 26th day of August, 1346. On the Sunday morning a fog arose so that the English could scarcely see the length of half an acre before them. The king sent out a detachment of 500 lances and 2000 archers to reconnoitre. This detachment soon found themselves in the midst of a body of militia from Beauvais and Rouen, who, wholly ignorant of what had happened, had marched all night to overtake the French army. These men took the English for French, and hastened to join them. Before they found out their mistake, the English fell upon them and slew them without mercy. Soon after, the same party took a different road, and fell in with a fresh force, under the Archbishop of Rouen and the grand-prior of France, who were also ignorant of the defeat of the French; for they had heard that the king would not fight till the Sunday. Here began a fresh battle, for those two spiritual lords were well provided with stout men-at-arms. They could not, however, stand against the English: the two lords were killed, and only a few of their men escaped by flight. In the course of the morning the English found many Frenchmen, who had lost their road the preceding evening. All these were put to the sword; and of foot soldiers sent from the municipalities, cities, and good towns of France, there were slain this Sunday morning more than four times as many as in the great battle of Saturday. When this destructive detachment returned

¹ Froissart.

to head-quarters, King Edward sent to examine the dead, and learn what French lords had fallen. The Lords Cobham and Stafford were charged with this duty, and they took with them three heralds to recognize the arms, and two secretaries to write down the names. They remained all that day in the fields, returning as the king was sitting down to supper, when they reported that they had found the bodies of eleven princes, eighty bannerets, 1200 knights, and about 30,000 common men.

On Monday morning the King of England marched off to the north, keeping near the coast, and passing through Montreuil-sur-Mer. On Thursday, the 31st of August, five days after the great battle of Crecy, he sat down before Calais and began his famous siege of that place—a siege, or rather a blockade, which lasted nearly a year, and was enlivened by many brilliant feats of arms. An immediate consequence of his victory at Crecy was the withdrawing of the Duke of Normandy from Guienne, where the Earl of Derby was almost reduced to extremities notwithstanding the gallant assistance of Sir Walter Manny, who had removed a small body from Brittany to Gascony.

While Edward was occupied at Calais, Philip resorted to measures which he hoped would create such a confusion in England as to oblige his immediate return thither. Ever since his guest David Bruce had been reseated on the throne, he had kept up an active correspondence with Scotland. His communications were now more frequent, and, in the month of September, King David himself marched from Perth at the head of 3000 regular cavalry and about 30,000 others, mounted on Galloways. It is said that he was confident of success, seeing that nearly the whole chivalry of England was absent. He rode into Cumberland, took the peel or castle of Liddel on the 2d of October, and then marched into the bishopric of Durham. While he lay at Bearpark, near the city of Durham, the English assembled an army in Auckland Park. The Scots were ignorant of all the movements of the English: Douglas, the famous knight of Liddesdale, who had scoured the country as far as Ferry Hill, was intercepted on his return by the English at Sunderland Bridge. He cut his way through them, but lost 500 of his best men. David, though taken by surprise, immediately formed his troops, and a decisive battle was fought at Nevil's Cross. The English counted among their forces 3000 archers, and these men as usual decided the affair. David, after being twice wounded, was forcibly made prisoner by one Copland, a gentleman of Northumberland. Three earls and forty-nine barons and knights shared the fate of the king. The Earl of Mon-

teith, who had accepted office under Edward, and the Earl of Fife, who had done homage to Edward Baliol, were condemned as traitors without any form of trial, by the king in council at Calais. Monteith was executed, but Fife was reprieved on account of his relationship, his mother having been niece to Edward I. King David was soon carried to London and safely lodged in the Tower.¹

In the meantime Edward's ally, the Countess of Montfort, continued to defend the inheritance of her infant son, being well supported by an English force of 1000 men-at-arms and 8000 foot, under the command of Sir Thomas Dagworth. On the night of the 18th of June, 1347, while her bitter enemy, Charles de Blois, was lying before Roche-Derrien, which he was besieging with 15,000 men, he was suddenly attacked by the English. In the confusion of a nocturnal battle, Sir Thomas was twice taken prisoner, and twice released by his brave followers. A sortie from the garrison finished this affair—the French were thoroughly beaten and dispersed; Charles de Blois was taken prisoner, and sent over to England, to add another royal captive to those already in Edward's power.

Edward, meanwhile, pressed the blockade of Calais. As it was a place of incredible strength, he wisely resolved not to throw away the lives of his soldiers in assaults, but to reduce it by famine. He girded it on the land side by intrenchments, and he built so many wooden houses for the accommodation of his troops, that his encampment looked like a second town growing round the first; the old French writers, indeed, call it *La Ville de Bois*. At the same time his fleet blockaded the harbour, and cut off all communication by sea. John de Vienne, the governor of Calais, could not mistake Edward's plan, and, to save his provisions, he determined to rid himself of such as are called, in the merciless language of war, "useless mouths." Seventeen hundred poor people, of both sexes and of all ages, were turned out of the town and driven towards the English lines. Edward gave them all a good dinner, and then dismissed them into the interior of the country, even presenting them with a little money to supply their immediate wants. As provisions waxed low the governor made a fresh search for "useless mouths," and 500 more of the inhabitants were thrust out of the town: but this time Edward was not so merciful, and all of them are said to have perished miserably between his lines and the town walls, as the governor would not re-admit them. A French fleet, attempting to relieve the place, was met by the Earl of Oxford, and carried

¹ Froissart; Knyghton; Rymer.

to England. After this the hopes of the garrison began to fail them, and they wrote to King Philip that they had eaten their horses, their dogs, and all the unclean animals they could procure, and that nothing was left for them but to eat one another. This letter was intercepted by the English; but Philip knew the straits to which they were reduced, and resolved to make a great effort to save this important place. The

"Oriflamme," the sacred banner of France, which was not to be used except against infidels, was unfurled; the vassals of the crown were summoned from all parts; and, in the month of July, Philip marched towards Calais. That town, however, was only approachable by two roads—the one along the sea-shore, the other over bogs and marshes; and Edward guarded both—the one with his ships and boats, which were crowded with archers; the other by means of towers, fortified bridges, and a great force of men-at-arms and archers, under the command of the brave Earl of Derby, who, as well as Sir Walter Manny, had come from Gascony for this great enterprise. Philip was not bold enough to attempt either passage; and after a fruitless attempt at negotiation, and an idle challenge, he withdrew his army and left Calais to its fate. When the faithful garrison had witnessed his departure, they hung out the flag of England, and asked to capitulate. Edward, enraged at their obstinate resistance, refused them any terms, saying that he would have an unconditional surrender. Sir Walter Manny, and many barons who were then present, pleaded in favour of the men of Calais. "I will not be alone against you all," said the king. "Sir Walter, you will tell the captain that six of the nota-

ble burgesses must come forth naked in their shirts, bare-legged, with halters round their necks, and the keys of the town and castle in their hands. On these I will do my will, and the rest I will take to my mercy." When Sir Walter Manny reported this hard condition to

John de Vienne, that governor went to the market-place and ordered the church bells to be rung: the people—men, women, and children—repaired to the spot, and, when they had heard Edward's message, they all wept piteously, and were incapable of forming any resolution. Things were in this state when the richest burgess of the town, who was called Messire Eustace de St. Pierre, rose up and said before them all

—"Gentlemen, great and little, it were a great pity to let these people perish; I will be the first to offer up my life to save theirs."

After him another notable burgess, a very honest man, and of great business, rose and said that he would accompany his compeer Messire Eustace; and this one was named Messire Jehan d'Aire. After him rose up Jaques de Wisant, who was very rich in goods and lands, and said that he would accompany his two cousins, as did Peter Wisant his brother: then the fifth and the sixth offered themselves, which completed the number the king demanded. The governor, John de Vienne, mounted a small hackney, for his wounds prevented him from walking, and conducted them to the gate. The English barriers were opened, and the six were admitted to the presence of Edward, before whom they prostrated themselves, and presenting the keys, begged for mercy. All the barons, knights, and others who were there present, shed tears of pity, but the king eyed them very spitefully, for much did he hate the people of Calais; and then he commanded that their heads should be struck off. Every Englishman entreated him to be more merciful, but he would not hear them. Then Sir Walter Manny said, "Ha! gentle sire, let me beseech you to re-

strain your wrath! You are renowned for nobleness of soul—do not tarnish your reputation by such an act as this. These worthy men have, of their own free will, nobly put themselves at your mercy, in order to save their fellow-citizens." Upon this the king made a grimace, and said, "Let the headsmen be summoned." But the Queen of England, who had joined her husband after the battle of Nevil's Cross, and was far advanced in her pregnancy, fell on her knees, and



THE ORIFLAMME, borne by the constable of France.¹

¹ The drawing is from a window of the thirteenth century in Chartres Cathedral. The figure represents Henri Sieur d'Argenton et du Mar, marshal of France under St. Louis; he died in 1295. In the original he is receiving the banner from the hands of St. Denis; the banner is supposed to be the oriflamme.

with tears, said, "Ah! gentle sire! since I have crossed the sea with great danger, I have never asked you anything: now I humbly pray, for the sake of the Son of the Holy Mary and your love of me, that you will have mercy on these six men." The king looked at her, and was silent awhile: then he said, "Dame, I wish you had been somewhere else; but I cannot refuse you—I put them at your disposal." Philippa caused the halters to be taken from their necks, gave them proper clothes and a good dinner, and then dismissed them with a present of six nobles each.¹

On the following day, August 4, 1347, the king and queen rode towards the town, which they entered to the sound of trumpets, drums, and all kinds of warlike instruments. They remained there until the queen was delivered of a daughter, who was called Margaret of Calais; and after that they returned to England, Edward having agreed to a truce with Philip.

On the 14th of January, 1348, he asked the advice of his parliament touching the prosecution of the war with France. The commons, suspecting that this was but a prelude to the demand of a subsidy, declined giving any answer. When the parliament met again, on the 17th of March, the king told them that the French were making mighty preparation to invade England, and he demanded an aid on that account. In real truth there was no danger whatever; but, after bitter complaints of taxation, and consequent poverty, three-fifteenths were voted to be levied in three years. In the course of the following year he commanded in a naval battle against the Spaniards

belonging to the ports of the Bay of Biscay, who had given him many causes of discontent by joining the French and by plundering his trading vessels. The battle was fought within sight of the hills behind Winchelsea, whence the queen's servants watched it with an anxious eye, and the Spaniards were completely defeated, with the loss of fourteen ships. About this time Philip of France died, and was succeeded by his son, the Duke of Normandy, now John I. This new king gladly consented to prolong the truce, which, however, was but indifferently observed, the English and French frequently fighting at sea, in Brittany, and in the south of France.

As if in mockery of the petty carnage of men, who, doing their most, could only sacrifice a few thousand lives at a time, and on a given spot, the plague now invaded Europe, destroying its hundreds of thousands and depopulating hundreds of towns and cities at one and the same time. From the heart of China this pestilence, sweeping across the desert of Cobi and the wilds of Tartary, found its way through the Levant, Egypt, Greece, Italy, Germany, France, and at last embraced the western coast of England, whence it soon spread all over the land. It appeared in London in November, 1348, and there committed the most frightful ravages.²

It was after his return from Calais that Edward instituted an order of knighthood which has survived all his other achievements, as well as produced better fruits than his victories on the fields of France. This was the Order of the Garter, which he



EFFIGY OF QUEEN PHILIPPA.—From her tomb, Westminster Abbey.

¹ Froissart.

² On the table, in a rich tabernacle of copper, lies the queen's figure in marble, habited in a stiff bodice laced in front, a petticoat, and over all a mantle falling back; her sleeves buttoned on to the wrist, and reaching to her hands like mittens; a cordon in triangle on her breast, supported by her left hand; her face full and chin double; her head-dress reticulated and stiff, projecting forward, bound by a fillet in front; her neck bare below the shoulders, her right hand on her waist, her head on a cushion, two lions at her feet. On the ledge of the tomb is inscribed:—

REGINA PHILIPPA CONJUNX EDWARDI JACET HIC
REGINA PHILIPPA, DISCE VIVERE

³ "The victories which had conferred so much honour on Edward, had been purchased, it was said, with the blood of 50,000 Englishmen; but the memory of this loss was almost obliterated by the calamity which shortly after visited the island—a pestilence as general and destructive as any recorded in history.

We first discover it in the empire of Cathai; thence we may trace its progress through different provinces of Asia to the Delta and the banks of the Nile; a south wind transported it into Greece and the Grecian Islands, from which it swept the coasts of the Mediterranean, depopulated Italy, and crossed the barrier of the Alps into France. A succession of earthquakes, which shook the Continent of Europe from Calabria to the north of Poland, ushered in the fatal year 1348; and though England escaped this calamity, it was deluged from the month of June to December with almost incessant torrents of rain. In the first week of August the plague made its appearance in Dorsetshire; in November it reached London, and thence gradually proceeded to the north of the island. Of its victims many expired in the course of six hours, and few lingered more than two or three days. From man the exterminating maldy spread itself to the brute creation: the carcasses of sheep, horses, and oxen lay scattered on the fields; they were untouched by birds of prey; and their putrefaction aided the malignity of the

established in 1350.¹ The cause of this august institution has been attributed to such a frivolous accident as the dropping of a lady's garter in a ball-room; but a higher source has been sought for it than the popular legend, by learned inquirers into English historical antiquarianism. According to some, it originated in the word "garter" having been given by the king as the pass-word to his soldiers on the day of the battle of Crecy; while others allege that it was because, on this occasion, he ordered his garter to be raised on the point of a lance as the signal for onset. Others, going farther back, assert that the institution originated so early as the time of Richard I., who gave to his chief officers certain leather straps, to be bound round the left leg, in the storming of Acre, to distinguish them from the other soldiers of the crusade, and that Edward III. merely revived an order which had fallen into utter decay. But it is unlikely that distinctions bestowed by such a chivalrous sovereign as the Lion-hearted could thus easily have dropped out of remembrance; and therefore Edward must be considered as its real founder, let the cause that prompted him be what it might. Every preparation was made to give due grandeur and importance to the inauguration of this fairest and most highly-honoured of all the chivalrous institutions. "The king," says Froissart, "founded a chapel at Windsor in honour of St. George, and established canons there to serve God, with a handsome endowment. He then issued his proclamation for this feast by his heralds, whom he sent to France, Scotland, Burgundy, Hainault, Flanders, Brabant, and the empire of Germany, and offered to all knights and squires that might come to this ceremony, passports to last for fifteen days after it was over." At this splendid assembly of Windsor, which comprised the noblest of these several countries, the king and the elected knights "were clothed in gowns of russet, powdered with garters blue, wearing the like garters also on their right legs, and mantles of blue with scutcheons of St. George." It was intended that the Knights of the Garter should consist of forty, but at this first installation only twenty-six were elected; and among their names, which have

been carefully preserved, may be discovered those of the principal champions in the subsequent French and Scottish wars, and who founded some of the most distinguished families of England. But pre-eminent over them all, and highest in the list, was that of Edward the Black Prince, late the hero of Crecy, and soon after to be the victor of Poitiers, who was the first Knight of the Garter. In the long roll of illustrious princes, warriors, and statesmen, extending from that period to the present day, whose motto has been "*HONI SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE*," it would be difficult, perhaps impossible, considering the age in which he lived, to find a nobler and worthier character.

In part probably from a desire to reduce the Scots, who maintained their independence in spite of the captivity of their king, Edward several times made offers of peace to John of France, on condition of renouncing his pretensions to the French crown in exchange for the absolute sovereignty of Guienne, Calais, and the other lands which had been held as fiefs by the former Kings of England. The pride of the French court, however, revolted at this notion; and after the king had committed his honour, and promised, at the congress of Guisnes, to accede to Edward's proposition, they drove him into a most unfortunate war.²

In 1355, Prince Edward prosecuted a successful campaign in the south of France. A simultaneous movement, made by his father in the north of France, proved a failure; for King John would not fight, and Edward was obliged to turn back upon Calais through want of provisions; and there he was amused by a sort of challenge to a general battle, to take place some day or other, till the Scots retook their town of Berwick, and rushed across the Borders in hopes of retrieving the honour they had lost at Nevil's Cross. At the news Edward hurried to meet his parliament, and obtain supplies for this fresh difficulty.

It was the middle of January, 1356, before Edward could appear at Berwick; but, at his approach, as the Scots had only got possession of the town, and not of the castle, they withdrew. Edward was now fully resolved to put an end to the interruptions which the Scottish wars had so

disorder. The labours of husbandry were neglected; no courts of justice were opened; the parliament was repeatedly prorogued by proclamation; and men, intent only on their own safety, fled from the care of the infected, and slighted every call of honour, duty, and humanity. When historians tell us that one-half or one-third of the human race perished, we may suspect them of exaggeration; but it is easy to form some idea of the mortality from the fact that all the cemeteries of London were soon filled; that Sir Walter Manny purchased for a public burial place, a field of thirteen acres, where the Charter-house now stands; and that the bodies deposited in it during several weeks amounted to the daily average of two hundred. It was observed that though the mainly assailed English in Ireland,

it spared the natives. The Scots too escaped for several months; and the circumstance afforded them a subject of triumph over their enemies, and introduced among them a popular oath, 'By the foule dethe of the English.' They had even assembled an army to invade the neighbouring counties, when the contagion insinuated itself into their camp in the forest of Selkirk; 5000 men died before they disbanded their forces; and the fugitives carried with them the infection into the most distant recesses of Scotland."—*Lingard*, vol. iii. p. 78.

¹ This date is according to Stow. Froissart, who was somewhat careless in matters of chronology, makes its first celebration at Windsor six years earlier.

² Stow.

³ *Bymer: Mccrory.*

frequently offered to his wars in France. His army was immense, and composed in great part of tried soldiers. As if nations were to be bought and sold, and made over by sheets of parchment, he purchased, at Roxburgh, on the 20th of January, all Edward Baliol's rights to the Scottish throne for 5000 marks, and a yearly annuity of £2000—a vast deal more than they were worth. With these title-deeds in his chest, the King of England marched through the Lothians, burned Haddington and Edinburgh and wasted the neighbouring country. But here again he was compelled to retreat by want of provisions. The Scots, who could not meet him in the field, harassed his retiring forces, and inflicted a dreadful vengeance on the rear, and on all stragglers, for the horrible devastations they had committed. From this time Edward Baliol drops out of notice, and he died a childless and a childish old man in the year 1363.

Edward neither renewed the war in Scotland, nor reinforced his son in France; for the Black Prince,¹ as late as July in the following year, took the field with only 12,000 or 14,000 men, few of whom were English, except a body of archers. The prince, however, took a good many towns and penetrated into Berri, in the very heart of France. The King of France, crossing the Loire at Blois, made for the city of Poitiers. Prince Edward, ignorant of John's march, turned to the south-west, and marched also for the same city. On the 17th of September the English van came unexpectedly upon the rear of the great French army at a village within two short leagues of Poitiers; and Prince Edward's scouts soon after discovered that the whole country swarmed with the enemy, and that his retreat towards Gascony was cut off. "God help us!" said the Black Prince; "we must now consider how we can best fight them." On the following morning, (Sunday, the 18th of September), John drew out his host in order of battle: he had, it is said, 60,000 horse, besides foot; while the whole force of the Black Prince, horse and foot, did not now exceed 10,000 men. But Edward had chosen a most admirable position, and the issue of this battle, indeed, depended on his "military eye" and on "the sinewy arms of the English bowmen."² When the battle was about joining, a legate of the pope, the Cardinal Talleyrand, arrived on the field, and implored the French

king to avoid the carnage which must inevitably ensue. John reluctantly consented to let the cardinal-legate go to the English camp, and represent to the English prince the great danger in which he stood. "Save my honour," said the Black Prince, "and the honour of my army, and



EDWARD THE BLACK PRINCE.³—From a portrait in the Painted Chamber, Westminster.

I will listen to any reasonable terms." The cardinal answered, "Fair son, you say well." If this prince of the church failed, it was no fault of his; for all that Sunday he rode from one army to the other, exerting himself to the utmost to procure a truce. The prince offered to restore all the towns and castles which he had taken in this expedition, to give up all his prisoners without ransom, and to swear that he would not, for the next seven years, bear arms against the King of France. But John, too confident in his superiority of numbers, would not agree to these terms, and, in the end, he sent, as his ultimatum, that the prince and 100 of his best knights must surrender themselves prisoners, as the price of a safe retreat. All Sunday was spent in these negotiations. The prince's little army were but badly off for provisions and forage; but, during the day, they dug some ditches and threw up

¹ It appears to be now that the younger Edward was first called the "Black Prince," from the colour of his armour, which, says the Père d'Orléans, "gave éclat to the fairness of his complexion, and a relief to his *bonne mine*."

² Sir J. Mackintosh.

³ The portrait was probably made about the time of the battle of Poitiers, when the prince was twenty-six years of age, and he is accordingly represented as a beardless youth, bearing strong traits of resemblance to his father. His helmet, sur-

rounded by a coronet, resembles that on the effigy at Canterbury, in other respects his armour varies but little from that of King Edward. The title of Black Prince leads us to associate his likeness with a dark suit of plate and mail, although in our painting he is not so distinguished; but he perhaps did not introduce this peculiarity in the armour which he wore on pompous occasions, and in which he is no doubt here represented.—Shaw's *Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages*.

some banks round their strong position, which could only be approached by one narrow lane. They also arranged their baggage waggons so as to form a rampart or barricade, as had been done at Crecy. On the following morning, Monday, September 19, the trumpets sounded at earliest dawn, and the French again formed in order of battle. Soon a mass of French cavalry charged along the lane to force Edward's position, but such a flight of arrows came from the hedges that they were soon brought to a pause, and at last compelled to turn and flee, leaving the lane choked up with their dead and wounded, and their fallen horses. Of the two marshals of France who led this attack, Arnold d'Andreghen was wounded and taken prisoner, and Claremont, the other, was killed by the stout bowmen of England. After this success, Edward became the assailant. Six hundred English bowmen making a circuit, suddenly showed their green jackets and white bows on the flank and rear of John's second division. "To say the truth," writes Froissart, "these English archers were of infinite service to their army, for they shot so thickly and so well that the French did not know which way to turn themselves." The second division scarcely waited to feel the points of their arrows. Eight hundred lances were detached to escort the French princes from this scene of danger, and presently after the whole division dispersed in shameful disorder. At this sight the knights and men-at-arms under the Black Prince, who had as yet done nothing but looked on, mounted their horses. As soon as they were mounted, Sir John Chandos said to the prince, "Sire, ride forward, the day is yours! Let us address ourselves to our adversary, the King of France. Well I know that his valiancy will not permit him to flee, and he shall remain with us, please God and St. George!" Then the prince said to his standard-bearer, "Advance banners, in the name of God and St. George!" They went through the lane, charged across the open moor where the French had formed their battalia, and the shock was dreadful. The constable of France stood firm with many squadrons of horse, his knights and squires shouting, "Mountjoy, St. Denis!" but man and horse went to the ground, and the duke was slain, with most of his knights. The Black Prince then charged a body of German cavalry, who were soon put to flight. A strong body of reserve, under the command of the Duke of Orleans, fled without striking a blow. But Chandos was not mistaken as to the personal bravery of John; that king led up a division on foot, and fought desperately with a battle-axe; and when nearly all had forsaken him, his youngest son Philip, a boy of sixteen, fought by his side. John received two wounds in the face, and

was beaten to the ground; but he rose and still strove to defend himself, while the English and Gascons pressed upon him, crying, "Surrender, or you are a dead man!" They would have killed him, but a young knight from St. Omer, named Sir Denis, burst through the crowd and said to the king in good French, "Sire, surrender." The king said, "To whom shall I surrender? Where is my cousin, the Prince of Wales?" "He is not here," replied Sir Denis; "but surrender to me and I will conduct you to him." "But who are you?" said the king. "Denis de Morbecque," he answered, "a knight of Artois; but I serve the King of England because I cannot belong to France, having forfeited all I had there."¹ King John then gave him his right-



JOHN, KING OF FRANCE.—From a painting in the Bibliothèque Royal, Paris.

hand glove, and said, "I surrender to you." There was much crowding and struggling round about the king, for every one was eager to say—"I took him." At last John was removed out of a situation of great danger by the Earl of Warwick and the Lord Cobham, who saluted him with profound respect, and conducted him, with his youngest son Philip, to the Prince of Wales.²

Edward received his illustrious captive with the greatest modesty and respect, treating him with all the courtesy of the most perfect chivalry. He invited him to supper, waited on him at table as his superior in age and dignity, soothed his grief, and praised his valour. The day after this victory, Edward continued his march. He passed through Poictou and Saintonge without meeting with any resistance; for

¹ Sir Denis, it appears, had been banished from France for killing a man in an affray.

² Froissart.

the French nowhere rallied to rescue their king, and, coming to Blaye, he crossed the Garonne, and presently came to the good city of Bordeaux. He then concluded a truce for two years with the Dauphin Charles, and in the spring he returned to England, taking King John and Prince Philip with him. Their entrance into London (24th April, 1357) was magnificent, and John himself was treated not as the prisoner, but the hero of the triumph.

Edward soon showed an inclination to renounce his French scheme, and to follow up the Scottish project by other means than those of conquest. As early as the year 1351 he had opened negotiations with the Scots for the liberation of their king, but the ransom he then fixed was extravagantly high; in 1354 these negotiations were renewed, and the Scots consented to pay 90,000 marks in nine years; but their allies, the French, induced them to depart from this agreement, and, leaving their king a prisoner, they prepared to invade England. Edward's victory over their allies at Poitiers made the Scots willing to treat again, and the English king, in spite of those successes, was not in a condition to renew a war in the north. On the 3d of October, 1357, a treaty was concluded, the Scots agreeing to pay one hundred thousand marks in ten years, and to give hostages as security for such payments; and in the month of November, David, after a captivity of eleven years, recovered his liberty and returned to Scotland.¹ It was soon made to appear that his long residence in England and intimate association with Edward had produced their effect on his weak mind, and that Edward, in discontinuing the struggle by arms, had not renounced his ambitious hopes. In 1362, David's wife died childless, and, in a parliament held at Scone in the following year, David coolly proposed that they should choose Lionel, Duke of Cambridge, Edward's third son, to fill the throne in the event of his dying without issue. At this time the next heir was the Stewart of Scotland, the son of David's eldest sister. David hated his nephew, and this feeling may have had a great share in influencing him to make this strange proposal. But the parliament of Scotland rejected the project with indignation. The death of Edward Baliol without children, which happened soon after this conference, made David less careful in his proceedings: he went to London and agreed, in a secret arrangement with Edward, that, in default of the King of Scots and his issue male, the King of England for the time being should succeed to the throne of Scotland. The King of England took advantage of the debt owing to him for David's ransom, to

trouble and insult the Scots on many occasions, and the intrigues of his agents added to the unhappiness of that people; but when Edward was engaged abroad, the Scots breathed more freely. King David died in February, 1371, and his project died with him: his nephew, the Stewart of Scotland, ascended the throne without opposition, taking the title of Robert II.; and though Edward at one moment seemed inclined to undertake another Scottish war, old age, the loss of his son the Black Prince, and other misfortunes, prevented his so doing. Of all his conquests in Scotland, none were permanent except that of the town of Berwick. The house of Stewart held the independent crown of Scotland for two hundred and thirty-two years, and then James VI. succeeded by inheritance to the throne of England, thus laying a better foundation for the happy union between the two countries than could ever have been effected by conquest. Edward's proceedings with his other kingly captive may be briefly related. Two legates of the pope followed John and the Prince of Wales to London, where they laboured to promote an amicable arrangement between England and France. Edward readily consented to waive his absurd claim to the French crown, and to liberate John, on condition of receiving an enormous ransom, and the restoration of Normandy, of the heritage of Eleanor of Aquitaine, and of all the provinces which had belonged to Henry II., to be held in separate sovereignty without any feudal dependence on the French King.² John hesitated and tried to gain time, but time only increased the wretchedness and weakness of his kingdom, which fell into a frightful state of anarchy. Paris, and nearly all the provinces of France, were converted into human shambles by factions and insurrections. The peasants, or serfs, rose against their lords, plundered and burned their castles, and massacred the nobles—men, women, and children—wherever they could find them. This horrible Jacquerie,³ which was but faintly imitated in England during the next reign (by Wat Tyler and Jack Straw), lasted the greater part of the years 1357 and 1358, and was not suppressed without slaughter equally atrocious on the part of the government. This dreadful state of things conquered the pride of John, and he signed the treaty of peace as dictated by Edward; but the French nation, divided as it was, unanimously rejected it. Edward, enraged at what he termed the bad faith of the enemy, passed over to France in the autumn of 1359, with an army more numerous than any which he had hitherto employed on the Continent. From

¹ Rymer.

² So called from *Jacques Bon-homme*, or James Goodman, a name applied in derision to the French peasant.

³ Rymer: *Haila*.

his convenient landing-place at Calais, he poured his irresistible forces through Artois and Picardy, and laid siege to Rheims, with the intention, it is said, of being crowned King of France in that city. But the winter season and the strength of the place baffled his efforts: after losing seven or eight weeks, he raised the siege, and fell upon Burgundy. The duke was forced to pay fifty thousand marks, and to engage to remain neutral. From Burgundy Edward marched upon Paris, and, on the last day of March, 1360, the English encamped in front of that capital. He, however, was not strong enough to besiege Paris: the dauphin wisely declined a challenge to come out and fight; and in the month of April, a want of provisions compelled Edward to lead his army towards Brittany. His route was soon covered by men and horses, who died from want or dropped from the severe fatigues they had undergone in this winter campaign. Edward's heart was touched; but it was a terrific tempest of thunder, lightning, wind, hail, and rain, which he encountered near Chartres, and which reminded him of the day of judgment, that completely subdued his resolution, and inclined him to an amicable treaty.¹

An armistice was arranged, and, on the 8th of May, 1360, the great peace was concluded by the treaty of Bretigny. "The King of England, Lord of Ireland and of Aquitaine," as Edward was now content to style himself, renounced his pretensions to the crown of France, and his claim to Normandy, Anjou, and Maine, and some other territories that had belonged to his ancestors: he restored all the conquests made by himself and his son, with the exception of Calais and Guisnes, and reserved to himself Guienne and Poitou, with their dependencies, Saintonge, Angoumois, the Limousin, Perigord, Thouars, and other districts in the south, and the county of Ponthieu in the north-west, the inheritance of his mother. The Dauphin of France² agreed that Edward and his heirs for ever should have full and free sovereignty of the countries ceded by this treaty; that 3,000,000 crowns of gold should be paid in six years as John's ransom, and that sixteen of the prisoners taken at Poitiers, twenty-five French barons, and forty-two burghers chosen in the richest cities of France, should be constituted hostages for the faithful fulfilment of the articles. In July, John was sent over to Calais. Three months were spent in explanations and attempts at mutual deception, and then this treaty was ratified at Calais on the vague

condition that the really important clauses should remain in suspense and not be executed till the feast of the Assumption, or that of St. Andrew, in the following year.³ On the 24th of October, 1360, there was a solemn interchange of oaths in the church of St. Nicholas at Calais. On the following day, King John was set at liberty.

John, with all his faults and vices, was sensitive on the point of honour, and a scrupulous observer of his word; but the impoverished condition of his country, and the decided and violent opposition of his sons and great nobles, prevented his fulfilling any of the important parts of the treaty. It is not so written in the annals of France, but it appears to us pretty evident, that the uncomfortable life he led in his own dominions had a good deal to do with what followed. The Duke of Anjou dishonourably broke his parole, and, fleeing from Calais, where he was living as one of the hostages, repaired to Paris. His father the king was much affected by this breach of honour, and he felt that part of his own conduct since his return required explanation. It is said that he also hoped to obtain some modification of the treaty of Bretigny, and to speak with Edward about a new crusade. The French courtiers laughed at his scruples, but, to their astonishment, he went over to London, where Edward received him with every token of affection. It was then said, in France, that it was his violent love for an English lady, and not his honour, that induced him to put himself again in the power of his enemy. John quietly took up his old quarters in the Savoy; but soon after his arrival, and before any business was transacted, he fell dangerously ill. He died at London, in the month of April, 1364.⁴

The dauphin, now Charles V., held the treaty of Bretigny in the same state of suspense, and complained bitterly of the ravages committed in his dominions by the "companies of adventure" which had been in the service of the Black Prince. The truth was, that many of these lawless bands had been in the pay of France, so that Edward was not accountable for the whole of the mischief. The "free companions," as they called themselves, were mercenaries, vagabonds, and adventurers, from nearly every country in Europe, who sold their services to the best payers, and when peace was concluded between the sovereigns, they associated together, and carried on a war on their own account. They defeated a royal army led against them by John de Bourbon, who was mortally wounded in that action. They made Charles tremble in Paris, and the pope at Avignon. Edward engaged to clear the country of them, but Charles had no wish to see another

¹ Froissart: *Knyghton: Rymur*.

² John, as a prisoner, was at first no party to the compact, but when he went to Calais, on parole, he was considered as a free agent.

³ That is, the 15th of August or the 30th of November, 1361.

⁴ Rymur. Froissart: *Continuator of Nangis: Villaret*.

English army in his territory. Events in Spain afforded opportunities of getting rid of the marauders.

Pedro IV., called the "Cruel," was then legitimate King of Castile, but his atrocities provoked an insurrection. He was, however, strong enough to defeat the insurgents, who fled for refuge to the King of Arragon. The latter sovereign was unable to resist the arms of the tyrant, who made war upon him; and then the Castilian exiles, among whom were two illegitimate half-brothers of Pedro—Enrique, Count of Trastámara, and Tello, Count of Biscay—fled into France. Among his many recent murders, Pedro the Cruel had poisoned his wife, a French princess. It occurred to Enrique of Trastámara, or probably it was suggested to him by the French court, that he might collect among the veteran "companies" such a force as would give him a decided superiority over his half-brother Pedro. The King of France gave money; the pope gave more; and 30,000 of the adventurers put themselves under the command of the celebrated warrior Duguesclin and of Don Enrique, and, marching across the Pyrenees, drove the tyrant from his throne. Don Pedro, who had not even the satisfaction of fighting a battle in his defence, fled through Portugal to Coruña, where he embarked in the first ship he found, and sailed with his daughters for Bordeaux. The Black Prince was residing at Bordeaux, and regarding him as a legitimate sovereign dispossessed by rebels and traitors, he gave the tyrant a most friendly reception. His father took the same view; and it was soon determined to restore the fugitive king by force of arms. Charles of France at the same time took measures to support Don Enrique. The Black Prince had been married some time to a beautiful widow—his second cousin—Joan, Countess of Kent,¹ who had been familiarly and endearingly called "the Fair Maid of Kent;" but the arrival of Pedro's daughters was not without its effect; and the marriage of two of them to Edward's brothers, the Duke of Lancaster and the Earl of Cambridge, which took place a few years after, gave rise to the claim of an English prince to the throne of Castile. For the present the fair Spaniards remained at the gay and splendid court of Bordeaux, while their father and the Black Prince and the Duke of Lancaster raised their banners of war. Among the adven-

turers who had taken service under Don Enrique, there were several English captains; and such was Prince Edward's popularity among the companions generally, that as soon as they knew what was preparing, 12,000 men abandoned their new master, and returned with all speed to join Edward in Guienne. As Pedro's promises were most liberal, and the fame of Edward so prevalent, they soon marched with 30,000 men. The King of Navarre, who was master of that pass of the Pyrenees, was bought over; and in the midst of winter, snow-storms, and tempests, the Black Prince led his army in safety through Roncesvalles.

On the 3d of April, 1367, Don Enrique met the invaders in the open plains between Navarre and Najara, with an army which is represented as being three times as numerous as that of Prince Edward and Don Pedro. The battle was begun by the young Duke of Lancaster, who was emulous of the military fame of his brother Edward. In the end the Black Prince gained a complete victory; Enrique fled, and Don Pedro re-ascended the throne.² Misfortune had not taught him mercy; Pedro wanted to massacre all his prisoners, but this Prince Edward prevented. After being half-starved in the country he had won for another, and contracting heavy debts and a malady from which he never recovered, Edward was obliged to lead his army with all haste back to Guienne. Pedro had soon cause to deplore his departure: in little more than a year his bastard half-brother returned to Castile, and defeated him in battle. A conference was arranged, but, as soon as the two brothers met, they flew at each other with the fury of wild beasts, and in the struggle Don Enrique killed Pedro with his dagger. The bastard, who was still supported by Charles of France, again took possession of the throne.³

The wary Charles had been recovering strength while the English were losing it; he was now almost ready for an open war, and he bound Enrique by treaty to assist him as soon as he should declare it. At the same time he conciliated the King of Navarre, and entered into a secret understanding with the disaffected lords, vassals of the Black Prince, whose lands lay near the Pyrenees. For seven years the treaty of Bretigny had been little more than a dead letter: John's ransom had never been paid; many of the hostages, breaking

¹ The history of this fair lady, the mother of the unfortunate Richard II., as of an elder brother (Edward) who died in infancy, is rather curious. She was daughter and heiress to the Earl of Kent, uncle to Edward III., who had been put to death at the beginning of the present reign, by Mortimer and Isabella. She was married when very young to Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, from whom she was divorced; she then espoused Sir Thomas Holland, who assumed in her right the title of Earl of Kent,

and was summoned to parliament as such. By this second husband she had two sons—Thomas Holland, who inherited the honours of his father, and John Holland, who was afterwards created Earl of Huntingdon and Duke of Exeter. They will both appear in the sequel—John as the perpetrator of a savage murder. Her second husband had scarcely been dead three months when she married the Black Prince.

² Froissart.

³ Froissart; Walsing.; Mariana.

their parole, had returned to France; some of the territory stipulated had never been ceded; the sovereign title to the whole had been withheld by Charles, who had watched with a sharp eye the decaying vigour of King Edward, now an old man, and the shattered health of the Black Prince, who, melancholy and spirit-broken, was evidently sinking to a premature grave. The expedition for Don Pedro proved a curse in more ways than one—it so embarrassed the prince that he was obliged to impose additional taxes upon his subjects of Guienne, in order to obtain the means of paying his army. Upon this the Count of Armagnac, and other Gascon lords, already in the interest of France, went to Paris, and appealed to the King of France, as the lord paramount. Charles had waited patiently for years, but he now thought that circumstances, and, above all, the deplorable state of the prince's health, would allow him to declare himself. He summoned Edward, as Prince of Aquitaine and his vassal (which he was not since the treaty of Bretigny), to appear in his court at Paris. The prince replied that he would go, indeed, to Paris, but it should be at the head of 60,000 men. His father, however, was less violent; and, lowering his claims, the elder Edward, setting aside some territory which had been included in the treaty of Bretigny, said he would content himself with the separate sovereignty of Guienne and Poitou. But Charles took this moderation as a certain proof of weakness, and, declaring the Prince of Aquitaine to be contumacious, he poured his troops into his territories.

Edward now re-assumed his title of King of France, and offered lands and honours in that kingdom to any soldier of fortune that could conquer them with his good sword. He sent reinforcements to the Black Prince in the south; and at the same time despatched his other brave son, the Duke of Lancaster, with a gallant army from Calais. The duke marched through the north-western provinces, but the French would not risk an engagement with him; and while he laid waste the open country, Charles gradually extended his conquests in the south. The Black Prince was sick almost to death, but when he heard that the Dukes of Anjou and Berri were marching against him from opposite points, he roused himself and took the field. The royal dukes had not heart to meet him—they both retreated with precipitation; and, after garrisoning the places they had acquired, they disbanded their army. Limoges, the capital of the Limousin, had been betrayed to the dukes by the bishop and the inhabitants; and the prince was the more sensible to this treachery, as it was a place upon which he had conferred many honours and benefits. He swore by the soul of his father,

that he would have the town back again—that he would not move or attend to any other thing until he got it—and that then he would make the traitors pay dearly for their perfidy. He was now so ill that he could not mount his horse, but he caused himself to be carried on a litter from post to post. After a month's siege Limoges was breached and stormed. Men, women, and children threw themselves on their knees before the prince, crying, "Mercy! mercy!" but he would not hear them. They were all murdered—upwards of 3000. John de Villemur, Hugh de la Roche, and the other knights whom the dukes had thrown into Limoges, retreated to one of the squares, placed themselves with their backs to an old wall, and resolved to sell their lives dearly. The English knights, as soon as they saw them thus, dismounted, and attacked them on foot. The French fought with the courage of despair against very superior numbers. The prince, who came up in his litter, looked on with admiration at their feats, and he became mild and merciful at the sight. Some of the French knights, looking at their swords, said, "We are yours—you have conquered—treat us according to the laws of arms." Edward relented; and, instead of being massacred, they were received as prisoners. But no mercy was shown to any of the meaner sort; the whole city of Limoges was ransacked, and then burned to the ground.¹ The massacre of Limoges was the last military exploit of the Black Prince. Hoping that the air of his native country might benefit his ruined constitution, he returned to England, leaving the command in the south to his brother John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster.

Soon after his departure the Duke of Lancaster, having now married the Lady Constance, eldest daughter of Don Pedro, assumed in her right the arms and title of King of Castile and Leon,² an imprudent step, which complicated the difficulties of the English. In the month of June, 1372, when the Earl of Pembroke came off Rochelle with a fleet carrying reinforcements to the duke, he found a Spanish fleet, consisting of ships far larger than his own, and furnished with engines—probably cannons—lying between La Rochelle and the Isle of Rhé. Pembroke either could not or would not avoid a battle: he fought desperately the whole day, and renewed the unequal combat on the morrow; but at last, his ship was grappled by four Spanish ships at once, and boarded on every side: he was made prisoner,

¹ The Bishop of Limoges, the real offender, escaped death through the management of the Duke of Lancaster.

² The daughters of Don Pedro were illegitimate; but after the death of their mother, the celebrated Maria Padilla, he took an oath that he had been married to her, and he declared her daughters his heirs.

and not a single sail of his fleet escaped. Many of them went down with their flags flying; and a ship carrying the military chest, with £20,000 in it, sank with the rest. From this time, one ill success followed another with amazing rapidity. Charles V., who not without reason was called "the Wise," had determined not to hazard a general battle with the English. Sir Robert Knowles swept the whole of France from Calais to the walls of Paris, which he insulted; and the Duke of Lancaster marched through France from one end to the other without meeting any opposition; but they found all the important fortresses and great towns well guarded, and they both lost many men from want of provisions, while every straggler from their armies was cut to pieces. The Duke of Lancaster marched and counter-marched, but could never bring the French to a battle. He concluded a truce with the Duke of Anjou, and departed for England; but as soon as he had gone Charles broke the armistice.

The pope had never ceased his endeavours to secure a lasting peace; his legates had followed the army of the Duke of Lancaster in all his last campaign, and other envoys were constantly about the court of Charles. When the French had gained almost all they could hope to get, and when Edward's confidence in his own resources was broken by long disappointment, the arrangement for a treaty was commenced at the town of Bruges. After months of negotiation, a

truce was concluded for one year only; but this was subsequently renewed, and lasted till the death of Edward. At this time all that the English king retained of his continental dominions was Bordeaux, Bayonne, a few towns on the Dordogne, and his own important conquest of Calais, with a strip of territory round it.

On his return to England, the Black Prince embraced a course of popular opposition in parliament; and if he irritated his old father thereby, he had the good fortune to please the nation, whose idol he had ever been. But the state of his health obliged him to seek quiet and retirement; and then the Duke of Lancaster monopolized all the authority of government; for the king had become indolent and reckless, and, like other heroes in their old age, a slave to a young and beautiful woman. Philippa, Edward's excellent wife, had died seven

years before, and the fortunes of her husband were overcast from the day of her death. Alice Perrers, a married woman, whose wit is said to have equalled her beauty, and who had been a lady of the bed-chamber to the queen, so captivated Edward that he could refuse her nothing, and was never happy except when he was in her company. Among other presents he gave her the late queen's jewels, and these Alice was vain enough to show in public. She soon

became an object of popular outcry, as well as parliamentary censure, which, however, she little regarded; and she continued



MILITARY ACCOUTREMENTS OF EDWARD THE BLACK PRINCE.¹

¹ The military accoutrements of the Black Prince, which are preserved by an iron rod above his tomb in Canterbury Cathedral, are extremely curious. They are, perhaps, the most ancient remains of the kind existing; and, as might be expected, convey information on points which, but for such evidence, can be gained only by inference. The shield fastened to the column at the head of the tomb is of wood, entirely covered with leather, wrought in such a manner that the fleur de lis and lions stand forth with a boldness of relief and finish that, when we consider the material employed, is truly wonderful, at the same time possessing even to this day a nature so firm and tough, that it must have been an excellent substitute for metal. This is, beyond doubt, the celebrated *cuir bouilli* so often spoken of by the writers of the time. The surcoat, till closely examined, gives but little idea of its original splendour, as the whole is now in colour a dusky brown; it has short sleeves, and is made to lace up the centre of the back; its outward surface is velvet, upon which is richly embroidered with silk and gold the lions and fleurs de lis. The whole of the surcoat is quilted or gambrued with cotton, to the thickness of three quarters of an inch,

in narrow longitudinal portions, and lined with linen. It is remarkable that there is no file either on this surcoat or the shield. The helmet is of iron, and has been lined within with leather; besides the sights for the eyes, it has on the right side in front a number of holes drilled in the form of a coronet, for the purpose of giving air to the wearer. The chapeau and leopard upon it appear to be formed with cloth, covered with a white composition. The leopard is gilt, and the cap painted red, the facing white, with ermine spots, the inside lined with velvet. The gauntlets are brass, and remarkable for their similarity to those represented on the hands of the effigy, with this exception, that they have, in addition, leopards standing erect on the knuckles. The leather which appears on the inner side is ornamentally worked up the sides of the fingers with silk. The sword is said to have been taken away by Oliver Cromwell. The sheath which contained it yet remains; it appears to be leather, has been painted red, and ornamented on the outer side with gilt studs. There is yet a portion of the belt with the buckle attached; this belt is not of leather, but of cloth, the eighth of an inch thick.—Stothard's *Monumental Effigies of Great Britain*.

to retain her ascendancy over the old king to the last.¹

But the nation lost all thoughts of Alice Perriers in the great event which now took place. The Black Prince died on Trinity Sunday, the 8th day of June, 1376. It will appear, from our narrative, that this extraordinary man, though generally both merciful and generous, was not wholly exempt from the vices and barbarity of his times; but it is clear, from the universal popularity which he enjoyed at home, and from the frequent praises extorted from his bitterest enemies abroad, that he had endearing qualities, and many virtues beside those of gallantry and courage, in which he was probably never surpassed by a mortal being. So entirely had the nation been accustomed to look up to him, that though the melancholy event had long been expected, his death seemed to toll the knell of the country's glory.

The nation seemed well inclined to transfer all their affection to Prince Edward's only surviving legitimate son, Richard of Bordeaux, who was only in his tenth year; and a few days after the funeral, parliament petitioned the king to introduce the young prince among them, that he might receive the honours due to him as heir to the crown. The dislike of Prince Richard's uncle, the Duke of Lancaster, who was suspected of aiming at the throne, no doubt hastened this measure. With the full consent of the old king, the Archbishop of Canterbury presented the

young prince to the two Houses as "the fair and perfect image of his father," and the successor to all his rights. Lancaster, however, resumed all his former power; and as soon as the Black Prince was dead, the whole efficacy of the parliamentary opposition which he had directed ceased. Sir Peter de la Mare, the speaker of the Commons, was arrested, and William of Wykeham, the celebrated Bishop of Winchester, was deprived of his temporalities without trial, and dismissed the court. In the next parliament, which met on the 27th of January, 1377, the duke had a strong majority. Although forming a very weak minority, there still existed an opposition with spirit enough to speak and remonstrate; and while the Commons demanded, in right of the Great Charter, that Sir Peter de la Mare should be liberated or put upon his trial, the bishops demanded the same thing in behalf of their brother of Winchester. Wycliffe, a poor parish priest, the precursor of Huss, Luther, Calvin, and the great men who effected the Reformation, had long been preaching and writing against the abuses of the Catholic clergy; and his party, though small, already included some persons of the highest rank in England. It is generally stated that the Duke of Lancaster took up the cause of Wycliffe, who was lying under a dangerous prosecution, merely to spite the bench of bishops. On the day of trial, when the English reformer stood up to plead in the great church of St. Paul's, before Courtenay, Bishop of Lon-

¹ "It will be remembered by every one who has read our history, that in the latter years of Edward's life, his fame was tarnished by the ascendancy of the Duke of Lancaster and Alice Perriers. The former, a man of more ambition than his capacity seems to have warranted, even incurred the suspicion of meditating to set aside the heir of the crown when the Black Prince should have sunk into the grave. Whether he were wronged or not by these conjectures, they certainly appear to have operated on those most concerned to take alarm at them. A parliament met in April, 1376, wherein the general unpopularity of the king's administration, or the influence of the Prince of Wales, led to very remarkable consequences. After granting a subsidy, the commons, considering the evils of the country, through so many wars and other causes, and that the officers now in the king's service are insufficient, without farther assistance, for so great a charge, pray that the council be strengthened by the addition of ten or twelve bishops, lords, and others, to be constantly at hand, so that no business of weight should be despatched without the consent of all; nor smaller matters without that of four or six. The king pretended to come with alacrity into this measure, which was followed by a strict restraint on them and all other officers from taking presents in the course of their duty."—Hallam, *State of Europe during the Middle Ages*, vol. iii. p. 80.

After relating some further measures of this popular parliament, Mr. Hallam remarks that no House of Commons would have gone such lengths on the mere support of popular opinion unless instigated and encouraged by higher authority, which authority was in this case that of the Prince of Wales—the Black Prince. Consequently, on the premature death of that idol of the people, Lancaster recovered his influence, and the favourites whom the Commons had specially attacked returned to court. Nay, a parliament met next year which overthrew the

work of its predecessor, restored those who had been impeached, and repealed the ordinance against Alice Perriers. "So little security," says Mr. Hallam, "will popular assemblies ever afford against arbitrary power, when deprived of regular leaders and the consciousness of mutual fidelity." But parliamentary corruption seemed to be so common at elections, that with the rise or fall of parties at court, one might reckon on the most rapid changes in the proceedings of parliament. Still something was gained even by the House of Commons being employed as an engine for the subversion of an obnoxious party by attacking it on just grounds, and here Mr. Hallam judiciously remarks:—"The policy adopted by the Prince of Wales and Earl of March in employing the House of Commons as an engine of attack against an obnoxious ministry, was perfectly novel, and indicates a sensible change in the character of our constitution. In the reign of Edward II., parliament had little share in resisting the government; much more was effected by the barons through risings of their feudal tenantry. Fifty years of authority better respected—of law better enforced—had rendered these more perilous, and of a more violent appearance than formerly. A surer resource presented itself in the increased weight of the Lower House in parliament. And this indirect aristocratical influence gave a surprising influence to that assembly, and particularly tended to establish beyond question its control over public abuses. Is it less just to remark that it also tended to preserve the relation and harmony between each part and the other, and to prevent that jarring of emulation and jealousy, which, though generally found in the division of power between a noble and a popular estate, has scarcely ever caused a dissension, except in cases of little moment, between our two Houses of Parliament."—Hallam, *State of Europe during the Middle Ages*, vol. iii. p. 84.

don, he was accompanied and supported by the duke, and by his friend, the Lord Percy, marshal of England. These two great laymen were so ardent, that a violent altercation ensued in the church between them and the bishop: Lancaster, it is said, even threatened to drag the prelate out of the church by the hair of his head. The Londoners hotly resented the insult offered to their bishop. On the next morning a mob broke open the lord-marshal's house, and killed an unlucky priest whom they mistook for Earl Percy in disguise. They then proceeded to the Savoy, the duke's palace, and gutted it. The riot was so terrible that it interrupted the debates in parliament; and one of the last audiences of the great Edward was given at Shene (now Richmond) to the lord-mayor and aldermen of the city of London, who were brought there to submit themselves to the duke, and crave pardon for their grievous offence.

When parliament resumed

business, they took into consideration the circumstance that the truce with France was on the point of expiring; and to provide for a renewal of the war, which seemed probable, they granted an aid in the shape of a poll-tax—a disastrous precedent. In the month of February the king had completed the fiftieth year of his reign, and he published a general amnesty for all minor offences. This was Edward's last public act. He spent the remaining four months of his life between Eltham Palace and the beautiful manor of Shene. Decay had fallen alike on body and spirit. The ministers and courtiers crowded round the Duke of Lancaster or round Prince Richard and his mother. The old man was left alone with his mistress: and even she, it is said, after drawing his valuable ring from his finger, abandoned him in his dying moments. Edward died at Shene, on the 21st of June, 1377, in the sixty-fifth year of his life,¹ and the fifty-first of his reign.²



EFFIGY OF EDWARD III. IN OLD AGE.³
From his tomb in Westminster Abbey.

¹ *Walsingham; Rot. Parl.; Rym.; Stow.*

² "A silent alteration had been wrought on the condition and character of the lower classes during the reign of Edward III. This was the effect of increased knowledge and refinement, which had been making a considerable progress for fully half a century, though they did not readily permeate the cold region of poverty and ignorance. It was natural that the country people, or outlandish folk, as they were called, should repine at the exclusion from that enjoyment of competence and security for the fruits of their labour which the inhabitants of towns so fully possessed. The fourteenth century was, in many parts of Europe, the age when a sense of political servitude was most keenly felt. Thus the insurrection of the Jacquerie in France, about the year 1358, had the same character, and resulted in a great measure from the same causes as that of the English peasants in 1382. And we may account in a similar manner for the democratical tone of the French and Flemish cities, and for the prevalence of a spirit of liberty in Germany and Switzerland.

"I do not know whether we should attribute part of this revolutionary convulsion to the preaching of Wycliffe's disciples, or look upon both the one and the other as phenomena belonging to that particular epoch in the progress of society. New principles, both as to civil rule and religion, broke suddenly upon the uneducated mind, to render it bold, presumptuous, and turbulent. But at least I make little doubt that the dislike of ecclesiastical power, which spread so rapidly among the people

at this season, connected itself with a spirit of insubordination, and an intolerance of political subjection. Both were nourished by the same teachers—the lower secular clergy; and, however distinct we may think a religious reformation from a civil anarchy, there was a good deal common in the language by which the populace were inflamed to either one or the other. Even the Scripture moralities, which were then exhibited, and which became the foundation of our theatre, afforded fuel to the spirit of sedition. The common original and common destination of mankind, with every other lesson of equality which religion supplies to humble or to console, were displayed in coarse and glaring features in these representations. The familiarity of such ideas has deadened their effect upon our minds; but when a rude peasant, surprisingly destitute of religious instruction during that corrupt age of the church, was led at once to these impressive truths, we cannot be surprised at the intoxication of mind they produced."—Hallam's *Middle Ages*, vol. iii. p. 265.

³ The effigy is of copper, gilt; it is in a grand simple style. The hair flows over the neck, and the beard is forked, as then worn. The mantle is fastened to the shoulder by a broad band, which extends across the breast. The dalmatica is underneath, gathered in a few broad and beautifully disposed folds. He has had a sceptre in other hand, denoting his double dominion.

CHAPTER VII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.

RICHARD II., SURNAMED OF BORDEAUX.—ACCESSION, A.D. 1377—ABDICATED AND DEPOSED, A.D. 1399.

Richard II., son of the Black Prince, succeeds Edward III.—Duke of Lancaster suspected of aiming at the throne—The English coast invaded by the French—Lancaster's unsuccessful attempt to retaliate—Naval encounter between the English and Scots—Unsuccessful expedition to France—Discontent of the English commons at the capitation tax—The Wat Tyler insurrection—Its progress—Lawless proceedings of the insurgents—Their proposed terms—Interview of the king with their leader—Wat Tyler killed—Marriage of Richard II.—Condition of Flanders, and its civil wars—Flanders invaded by the Bishop of Norwich—Dissensions among the royal family of England—Castile invaded by the Duke of Lancaster—The Duke of Gloucester usurps the control of government—His tyrannical proceedings—Battle of Otterbourne—Richard II. suddenly asserts his right to rule—He visits Ireland—The Duke of Gloucester's mysterious imprisonment—His unexplained death—Obsequiousness of parliament—Quarrel between the Dukes of Hereford and Norfolk—Both banished—The Duke of Hereford returns during Richard's absence—Richard at his return to England is forsaken and taken captive—He is deposed—Henry, Duke of Hereford, claims the crown—He is elected king.



THE funeral obsequies of the late king occupied some time, but on the 16th of July 1377, Richard was crowned

in Westminster Abbey. The ceremony was unusually splendid, but the fatigue and excitement were too much for the royal boy, who, after being anointed and crowned, was so completely exhausted that they were obliged to carry him in a litter to his apartment. After some rest he was summoned to the great hall, where he created four earls and nine knights, and partook of a magnificent banquet, which was followed by a ball, minstrelsy, and other somewhat turbulent festivities of the time.¹ Considerable pains were taken to spoil this young king from the first; such adulation and prostrations had not been seen before in England; and if the bishops and courtiers did not preach to the boy the "Divine right," they seem to have made

a near approach to that doctrine; and they spoke



PORTRAIT OF RICHARD II.—From the Jerusalem Chamber, Westminster Abbey.

gravely of the intuitive wisdom, and of the heroism of a child not yet eleven years old. These men were indisputably answerable for much of the mischief that followed; but now the beauty of the young king's person, and the memory of his father, endeared him to his people, and a long time passed before they would think any ill of the son of their idol, the Black Prince. The Duke of Lancaster, the titular King of Castile, more popularly known under the name of "John of Gaunt,"² had long been suspected of the project of supplanting his nephew; but his unpopularity was great, and he yielded with tolerably good grace to the force of circumstances. As if on purpose to exclude the duke, no regular regency was appointed; but the morning after the coronation the prelates and barons chose, "in aid of the chancellor and treasurer," twelve permanent councillors, among whom not one of the king's

uncles was named. John of Gaunt withdrew to

¹ *Walsingham*. He gives an elaborate account of the coronation.

² He was so called from the town of Ghent or Gand (then pronounced Gaunt), the place of his birth.

his castle of Kenilworth; but nothing could remove the popular belief that the duke aimed at the throne, and prophecies were afloat which, like other such predictions, probably helped to work their own fulfilment a few years later, when his son, Henry of Bolingbroke, dethroned his cousin Richard.

The French were not slow in trying to take the usual advantage of a minority. The truce

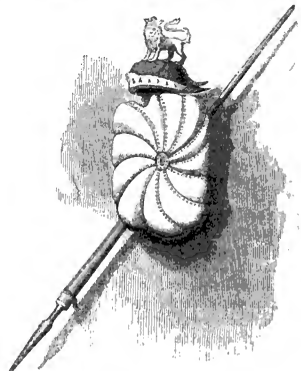


JOHN OF GAUNT, DUKE OF LANCASTER.¹—Cotton MS. Nero D. VI.

expired before the death of Edward, and Charles refused to prolong it. In close union with Henry of Trastámara, who was provoked by the Duke of Lancaster continuing to assume the title of King of Castile, he got together a formidable fleet, and insulted and plundered the English coast before Richard had been a month on the throne. A parliament was assembled while the impression of these injuries was fresh; and in order to obtain supplies of money (the treasury being exhausted) it was stated that the realm was in greater danger than it had ever been. Supplies were voted, and, by borrowing greater sums of the merchants, government was enabled to put to sea a considerable fleet under the command of the Earl of Buckingham, one of the Duke of Lancaster's brothers. Buckingham met with little success, and his failure, however un-

fairly, added to the unpopularity of the Lancastrian party.

A.D. 1378. John of Gaunt, however, obtained the command of the fleet, with nearly all the money which had been voted. He detached a squadron under the Earls of Arundel and Salisbury, who, in crossing the Channel,



SHIELD, CAP, AND LANCE OF JOHN OF GAUNT.²—From Hollar.

fell in with a Spanish fleet, and suffered considerable loss. The two earls, however, succeeded in their main object, and took possession of the town and port of Cherbourg, on the coast of Normandy, which were ceded to England by the King of Navarre, who was again engaged in a war with the French king, and who was glad to purchase the assistance of England at any price. In the month of July the duke sailed with the great fleet for the coast of Brittany, where the conquests of the French had reduced another ally of England almost to despair. The Duke of Brittany, son of the heroic Countess of Montfort, ceded to the English the important town and harbour of Brest, which Lancaster secured with a good garrison. The duke then invested St. Malo, but the constable Duguesclin marched with a very superior force to the relief of that place, and com-

¹ "This prince is here delineated in the habit of high-steward of England, examining the right, and granting the commissions of the offices claimed by the nobility at the coronation of Richard II. It is highly probable that the figure kneeling is Thomas of Woodstock, high-constable of England. This Thomas was the seventh and youngest son of Edward III., and brother to John of Gaunt. He (John of Gaunt) is dressed in dark blue and white; the figure kneeling is in dark blue and red; the seat a kind of pink, and the back-ground red."—Strutt's *Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities*.

² These accoutrements were suspended over the tomb of John of Gaunt in Old St. Paul's, and are preserved by Hollar's

engraving. The shield is described in Bolton's *Elements of Armories* as follows:—"It is very convex towards the bearer, whether by warping through age or as made of purpose. It hath in dimension more than three quarters of a yard of length, and above half a yard in breadth. Next to the body is a canvas glued to a board; upon that board are broad thin axicles, alices or plates of horn nailed fast, and again over them twenty and six pieces of the like, all meeting or centring about a round plate of the same in the navel of the shield, and over all is a leather closed fast to them with glue, or other holding stuff, upon which his armories were painted; but now they, with the leather itself, have very lately and very lowly been utterly spoiled."

pelled the duke to return to his ships. The great fleet then came home. A striking circumstance which had occurred did not tend to brighten the duke's laurels. The Scots, receiving their impulse from France, renewed the war, surprised the castle of Berwick, made incursions into the northern counties, and equipped a number of ships to cruise against the English. Berwick was recovered soon after by the Earl of Northumberland; but one John Mercer, who had got together certain sail of Scots, French, and Spaniards, came to Scarborough, and made prize of every ship in that port. Upon learning the injuries done, and the still greater damage apprehended from these sea-rovers, John Philpot—"that worshipful citizen of London"—lamenting the negligence of government, equipped a small fleet at his own expense, and, without waiting for any commission, went in pursuit of Mercer. After a fierce battle, the doughty alderman took the Scot prisoner, captured fifteen Spanish ships, and recovered all the vessels which had been taken at Scarborough. On his return, Philpot was received in triumph by his fellow-citizens, but he was harshly handled by the council of government for the unlawfulness of acting as he had done without authority, he being but a private man.¹

In the month of October the parliament met at Gloucester, and in a very bad humour; the government wanted money—the commons a reform of abuses. The disputes ended in a compromise, the commons being allowed to inspect the accounts of the treasurers, which was granted as a matter of favour, but not of right, nor were they to consider it as a precedent: they also obtained copies of the papers, showing how the moneys they had voted had been raised; but this also was granted as if proceeding from the king's good pleasure. In the end they granted a new aid by laying additional duties on wool, woolfells, hides, leather, and other merchandise. John de Montfort, the Duke of Brittany, had been driven to seek refuge in England, and the French king annexed his dominions to the crown of France. This premature measure reconciled all the factions in the country; and John was recalled by the unanimous voice of the Bretons. Leaving his wife, an aunt of King Richard,² in England, he embarked with 100 knights and men-at-arms, and 200 archers. Charles instantly prepared to send a French army into Brittany, and then the duke implored the assistance of a force from England. A considerable army was raised and sent to his relief, under the command

of the Earl of Buckingham. Buckingham landed at Calais, and from Calais he marched to Artois, Picardy, Champagne, and other inland provinces of France, plundering and devastating the open country. His progress was watched by far superior forces; but, firm to the system which the cautious Charles had adopted, the French would not risk a battle, and the English, after a circuitous march, reached the frontiers of Brittany without meeting any resistance. But the Earl of Buckingham was scarcely there when the King of France died, and the Bretons, who knew that a boy was to ascend the throne, thinking that they should no longer stand in need of their assistance, began to entertain as much jealousy and hatred of the English as they had hitherto done of the French. De Montfort was unable to resist the wishes of his subjects; and as the uncles of the young King Charles VI., who formed the regency, were willing to treat and to recognize his restoration, he concluded a peace with France, and engaged wholly to abandon the interests of England. Buckingham returned home in the following spring, glad to escape from the hostility of the Bretons.³

These proceedings had cost large sums of money, and the nation was sorely harassed by taxation, or by the way in which the taxes were levied. In an evil hour parliament passed a capitation tax: this was a repetition of the tax imposed in the last year of the preceding reign, but slightly modified, so as to make it fall less heavily on the poor. Every male and female of fifteen years of age was to pay three groats; but in cities and towns the aggregate amount was to be divided among the inhabitants according to their abilities, or in such a way that no individual should pay less than one groat, or more than sixty groats for himself and his wife. Where there was little or no registration, the fixing of the age was sure to lead to disputes: the collectors might easily take a boy or girl of fourteen to be fifteen, and poverty would induce many of the poor knowingly to make a mis-statement of the opposite kind. But the levying of this awkward tax might have passed over with nothing more serious than a few riots between the people and the tax-gatherers, had it not been for other circumstances involved in the mighty change which had gradually been taking place in the whole body of European society. The peasantry had been gradually emerging from slavery to freedom, and began to feel an ambition to become men, and to be treated as such by their superiors in the accidental circumstances of rank and wealth. In this transition state there were mistakes and atrocious crimes committed by

¹ Trussell, *Contm. of Daniel's Hist.*; Southey, *Naval Hist.*; *Walsing.*

² De Montfort married Mary, the fourth daughter of Edward III. and Queen Philippa.

³ Froissart; *Archives de Nantes*, quoted by Dura.

both parties; but ignorance may be particularly pleaded in exculpation of the people, while that very ignorance, and the brutalized state in which they had been kept, were crimes or mistakes on the part of the upper classes, who had now to pay a horrible penalty. The enfranchisement of the peasantry, which was the real motive of the movement—for the rest was an after-thought, begotten in the madness of success, and the frenzy inspired in unenlightened minds by the first consciousness of power—was so sacred an object that nothing could disgrace or eventually defeat it. In Flanders, notwithstanding that there the more respectable burghers took a share in the insurrection, many frightful excesses had been committed upon the aristocracy, and in France the recent *Jacquerie* had been little else than a series of horrors. The attempt of the French peasantry offered a discouraging example to their neighbours in England; but the democratic party had had a long triumph in Flanders; and at this very moment the son of Van Artaveldt, the brewer of Ghent, with Peter du Bois, was waging a successful war against their court, their nobles, and the whole aristocracy of France. From the close intercourse between the two countries, many of the English must have been perfectly acquainted with all that was passing in Flanders, and from it have derived encouragement. A new revolt had also commenced in France, headed by the burghers and inhabitants of the towns; it began at Rouen, where the collectors of taxes and duties on provisions were massacred. Many of our historians have attributed part of the storm which was now gathering in England to the preaching of Wycliffe's disciples; but their original authorities seem to have been prejudiced witnesses against the church reformer. The convulsion is sufficiently accounted for by the actual condition of the people of England at this period. That condition, though far superior to the state of the French people, was still wretched and galling. A considerable portion of the peasantry were serfs or "villains," bound to the soil, and sold, or transmitted with the estates of the nobles and other landed proprietors. The present discontents and sufferings of the classes immediately above these serfs—the poor town's-people on the coast, more particularly, who had been plundered by the foreign fleets—no doubt contributed to hurry on the sanguinary crisis; but it was the poll-tax that was the proximate cause of the mischief. At first the tax was levied with mildness; but being farmed out to some courtiers who raised money upon it from Flemish and Lombard merchants, it was exacted by their collectors with great severity. But the obstinacy of the people kept pace with the harshness of the collectors; many of the rural districts refused payment. The

recusants were handled very sorely and uncourtously, "almost not to be spoken," in various places in Kent and Essex, "which some of the people taking in evil part, secretly took counsel together, gathered assistance, and resisted the exactors, rising against them, of whom some they slew, some they wounded, and the rest fled." Alarmed at these proceedings, government sent certain commissioners into the disturbed districts. One of these commissioners, Thomas de Bampton, sat at Brentwood, in Essex. The people of Fobbing, on being summoned before him, said that they would not pay one penny more than they had done, "whereupon the said Thomas did grievously threaten them, having with him two serjeants-at-arms of the king." These threats made matters worse; and when Bampton ordered his serjeants to arrest them, the peasants drove him and his men-at-arms away to London. Upon this Sir Robert Belknap, chief-justice of the common pleas, was sent into Essex to try the offenders; but the peasants forced him to flee, and chopped off the heads of the jurors and clerks of the commission. They stuck these heads upon poles and carried them through all the neighbouring townships and villages, calling upon all the poor to rise and join them. "The commons of England" (for so the peasants called themselves, and were called by others) wanted nothing but a leader, and this they soon found in a "riotous priest," who took the name of Jack Straw. In a few days, not only the whole agricultural population of Essex were up in arms, but their neighbours in Kent, Suffolk, and Norfolk were following the example. In Kent, an act of brutality on the part of a tax-gatherer, and an act of great imprudence (considering the prevailing excitement) on the part of a knight, fanned the flames of revolt. One of the collectors of the poll-money went to the house of one Walter the Tyler, in the town of Dartford, and demanded the tax for a young maiden, the daughter of Walter. The mother maintained that she was but a child, and not of the womanly age set down by the act of parliament: the collector said he would ascertain this fact, and he offered an intolerable insult to the girl. The maiden and her mother cried out, and the father, who was tiling a house in the town, ran to the spot and knocked out the tax-gatherer's brains. The neighbours applauded the deed, and every one prepared to support the Tyler. About the same time, Sir Simon Burley went to Gravesend with an armed force, claimed an industrious man living in that town as his escaped bondsman, and carried him off a prisoner to Rochester Castle. The commons of Kent now rose unanimously, and being joined by a strong body of the men of Essex, who crossed the Thames, they fell upon Rochester Castle, and

compelled the garrison to deliver up Sir Simon's *serf* with other prisoners. In the town of Maidstone, the insurgents appointed Wat the Tyler their captain, and then took out of prison, and had for their chaplain or preacher, "a wicked priest called John Ball," at that time confined on a charge of heresy.

On the Monday after Trinity Sunday, 1381, Wat Tyler entered Canterbury, and after terrifying the monks and the clergy of the cathedral, he forced the mayor, aldermen, and commons of the town to swear to be true to King Richard and the lawful commons of England: then beheading three rich men of Canterbury, Wat marched away towards London. On his march recruits came to him from all quarters of Kent and Sussex; and by the time he reached Blackheath (11th June) there were, it is said, 100,000 desperate men obeying the orders of Wat Tyler. While at this spot the widow of the Black Prince, the young king's mother, fell into their hands; but, in the midst of their fury they respected her, and after granting a few kisses to some dirty-faced and rough-bearded men, she was allowed, with her retinue and maids of honour, to proceed quietly to London. While this host was bivouacked about Blackheath and Greenwich, John Ball, the priest of Kent, kept them to their purpose by long orations or sermons, in which he insisted that all men were equal before God, and ought to be so before the laws—and so far he was right; but it appears he went on to recommend an equality of property, which is impracticable, and a destruction of all the upper classes, which was monstrous. His eloquence had such an effect on the multitude, that forgetting his own doctrines of equality, they vowed they would make him primate and chancellor of England. They occupied all the roads, killed such judges and lawyers as fell into their hands,¹ and made all the rest of the passengers swear to be true to King Richard and the commons, to accept no king whose name was "John,"² and to pay no tax except the fifteenths which had been paid by their forefathers. The young king, with his mother, with his cousin Henry of Bolingbroke, with Simon, Archbishop of Canterbury and chancellor, Sir Robert Hales, treasurer, and some other members of the government, threw himself into the Tower of London. The Duke of Lancaster was in Scotland negotiating a peace. Some

of the council were of opinion that Richard should go and speak with the insurgents, but the archbishop and the treasurer strongly objected to this measure, and said that nothing but force should be used "to abate the pride of such vile rascals." On the 12th of June, however, Richard got into his barge, and descended the river as far as Rotherhithe, where he found a vast multitude drawn up along shore. "When they perceived the king's barge," says Froissart, "they set up shouts and cries as if all the devils from hell had come into their company." Startled and terrified, the persons with the king put about the boat, and, taking advantage of the rising tide, rowed back with all speed to the Tower. The commons, who had always professed the greatest attachment to Richard's person, now called aloud for the heads of all the ministers; and marching along the right bank of the river to Southwark, and then to Lambeth, destroyed the Marshalsea and King's Bench, and burned the furniture and all the records and books in the palace of the primate. At the same time the men of Essex advanced along the left bank of the river, and threatened the north-eastern part of London. Walworth, the mayor, caused the moveable part of London bridge to be drawn up, to prevent the men of Kent from crossing the river; but on the following day a passage was yielded to them through fear, and the insurgents entered the city, where they were presently joined by all the rabble. At first their demeanour was most moderate; "they did no hurt, they took nothing from any man, but bought all things they wanted at a just price." But the madness of drunkenness was soon added to political fury. The rich citizens, hoping to conciliate the mob, had set open their wine cellars for them; and thus excited, they went to the Savoy, the house of the Duke of Lancaster, broke into this palace, and set fire to it. To show that plunder was not their object, the leaders published a proclamation ordering that none, on pain of death, should secrete or convert to his own use anything that might be found there, but that plate, gold, and jewels should all be destroyed. It would have been well had the prohibition extended to the duke's wines, but they drank there immoderately, and thirty-two of the rioters, engaged in the cellars of the Savoy, were too drunk to remove in time, and were buried under the ruins of the house.

¹ In a note to his life of Lord Charles Sudbury, Lord Campbell says:—"Walsingham, in his interesting relation of Wat Tyler's rebellion, says:—'*Foluit*,' &c., which may be translated: 'For he wished to have obtained for himself and his followers a commission for other things; for the beheading of all lawyers and all, without exception, who were either learned in the law, or had any official connection with it. For he had taken it into his head that on all those learned in the laws being killed, every thing for the rest would be regulated according to the decree of

the commonalty, and that for the future there would be no law at all, or that if there were any, it would be framed according to their mere will.'"—*Walsingham*, p. 361.

² From the ill-omened career of the tyrant who had won it, John was an unhappy name in English history; and John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, the king's uncle, was held guilty of all the oppressions the people had recently suffered. The notion, moreover, of his having designs on the crown was as prevalent as ever.

Newgate was then demolished; and the prisoners who had been confined there and in the Fleet, joined in the work of havoc. The Temple was burned, with all the books and ancient and valuable records it contained; and about the same time a detachment set fire to the priory of St. John of Jerusalem, in Clerkenwell. They now also proceeded to the shedding of blood. They probably felt that antipathy to foreigners common to uneducated people; but against the Flemings, who, it was popularly said, fattened on their miseries, they bore the most deadly rancour. The sanctuary of the church was disregarded, and thirty Flemings were dragged from the altar into the streets, and beheaded; thirty-two more were seized in the Vintry, and underwent the same fate. Some of the rich citizens were massacred in attempting to escape; those who remained did nothing for the defence of the city, and all that night London was involved in fire, murder, and debauchery.

On the morning of the 14th it was resolved to try the effect of concession and of promises. A proclamation was issued to a multitude that crowded Tower-hill, clamouring for the heads of the chancellor and treasurer; and they were told that, if they would retire quietly to Mile End, the king would meet them there, and grant all their requests. The gates were opened, the drawbridge was lowered, and Richard rode forth with a few attendants without arms. The commonalty from the country followed the king; "but all did not go, nor had they the same objects in view." On arriving at Mile End, Richard was surrounded by upwards of 60,000 peasants; but their demeanour was mild and respectful, and they presented no more than four demands, all of which, except the second, were wise and moderate. These four demands of the peasants were—1. The total abolition of slavery for themselves and their children for ever. 2. The reduction of the rent of good land to fourpence the acre. 3. The full liberty of buying and selling, like other men, in all fairs and markets. 4. A general pardon for all past offences. The king, with a gracious countenance, assured them that all these demands were granted; and, returning to town, he employed upwards of thirty clerks to make copies of the charter containing the four clauses. In the morning these copies were sealed and delivered, and then an immense body of the insurgents, consisting chiefly of the men of Essex and Hertfordshire, quietly withdrew from the capital: but more dangerous men remained behind. The people of Kent, who had been joined by all kinds of miscreants, had committed some atrocious deeds on the preceding day, while the king was marching to Mile End. Almost as soon as his back was turned, with a facility which ex-

cites a suspicion of treachery or disaffection on the part of the garrison,¹ they got into the Tower, where they cut off the heads of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the chancellor; Sir Robert Hales, the treasurer; William Apuldore, the king's confessor; Legge, one of the farmers of the tax, and three of his associates. The widow of the Black Prince, who was in the Tower, was completely at their mercy; but the ei-devant "Fair Maid of Kent" was again quit for a few unsavoury kisses. The horror of the scene, however, overpowered her; and she was carried by her ladies in a senseless state to a covered boat. As soon as he could, the king joined his mother, who had been finally conveyed to a house called the Royal Wardrobe.

Wat Tyler and the leaders with him, rejected the charter which the men of Essex had so gladly accepted. Another charter was drawn up, but it equally failed to please, and even a third, with still larger concessions, was rejected with contempt. The next morning the king left the Wardrobe and went to Westminster, where he heard mass. After this he mounted his horse, and, with a retinue of barons and knights, rode along the "causeway" towards London. On coming into West Smithfield he met Wat Tyler. The mayor and some other city magistrates had joined the king, but his whole company, it is said, did not exceed sixty persons. In the front of the abbey of St. Bartholomew, Richard drew rein, and said that he would not go thence until he had appeased the rioters. Wat Tyler said to his men, "Here is the king! I will go speak with him. Move not hand or foot unless I give you a signal." Wat, who had procured arms and a horse, rode boldly up to Richard, and went so near that his horse's head touched the flank of Richard's steed. "King!" said he, "dost thou see all those men there?" "I see them," replied the king, "why dost thou ask?" "Because they are all at my will, and have sworn by their faith and loyalty to do whatsoever I bid them." During this parley the Tyler played with his dagger, and, it is said by some, laid hold of Richard's bridle. It is probable that this uneducated man, intoxicated by his brief authority, was coarse and insolent enough; but to suppose that he intended to kill the king is absurd. Some say that Richard ordered his arrest; others that John Walworth, the lord-mayor, thinking that he intended to stab the king, rode up and plunged a short sword into his throat without any orders. All accounts agree in stating that, whether with sword, dagger, or mace, it was the mayor that

¹ There were 600 men-at-arms, and as many archers, in the Tower. The rebels or insurgents were miserably armed and equipped.

struck the first blow. Wat Tyler turned his horse's head to rejoin his men, but Ralph Stanchish, one of the king's esquires, thrust his sword through his side, "so that he fell flat on his back to the ground, and beating with his hands to and fro for a while, gave up his unhappy ghost." When the men of Kent saw his fall they cried out, "We are betrayed! They have killed our captain and guide!" and the foremost men in that disordered array began to put their arrows on the string. The personal intrepidity of the royal boy—for Richard was only in his fifteenth year—saved his life. He rode gallantly up to the insurgents and exclaimed, "What are ye doing, my lieges? Tyler was a traitor—I am your king, and I will be your captain and guide." On hearing these words, many slipped away—others remained; but, without a leader, they knew not what to do. The king rode back to his lords, and asked what steps he should take next. "Make for the fields," said the lord-mayor: "if we attempt to retreat or flee, our ruin is certain; but let us gain a little time, and we shall be assisted by our good friends in the city." The king and his party made for the northern road, and the mob, wavering and uncertain, followed him to the open fields about Islington. Here 1000 men-at-arms joined the king, under the command of Sir Robert Knowles. The insurgents now thinking their case hopeless, either ran away through the corn fields, or, throwing their bows on the ground, knelt and implored for mercy.

While these events were passing in London and its neighbourhood, the servile war had spread over a great part of England; but, as the nobles shut themselves up in their strong castles, little blood was shed. Henry Spencer, the Bishop of Norwich, despised this safe course; he armed his retainers, collected his friends, and kept the field against the insurgents of Norfolk, Cambridge, and Huntingdon. He surprised several bodies of peasants, and cut them to pieces: others he took prisoners, and sent straight to the gibbet or the block.¹

Soon after the death of Wat Tyler, Richard found himself at the head of 40,000 horse, and then he told the people that all his charters meant nothing, and that they must return to their old bondage. The men of Essex made a stand, but they were defeated with great loss. Then courts of commission were opened in different towns to condemn rather than to try the chief offenders. Jack Straw and John Ball, the strolling preachers, Lister and Westbroom, who had taken to themselves the titles of kings of the commons in Norfolk and Suffolk, with several hundred more, were executed. The whole num-

ber of executions is said to have amounted to 1500.

When parliament assembled, it was seen how little the upper classes of society were prepared for that recognition of the rights of the poor, to which, in the present day, no one could demur without incurring the suspicion of insanity. The king had annulled, by proclamation to the sheriffs, the charters of manumission which he had granted to the insurgents, and this revocation was warmly approved by both lords and commons. There was a talk, indeed, about the propriety and wisdom of abolishing villanage; but the notion was scouted, and the owners of serfs showed that they neither doubted the right by which they held their fellow-creatures in a state of slavery, nor would hesitate to increase the severity of the laws affecting them. They passed a law by which "riots, and rumours, and other such things," were turned into high treason.² But this parliament evidently acted under the impulses of panic and of revenge for recent injuries. The commons, however, presented petitions calling for redress of abuses in the administration: but they only attributed the late insurrection to the extortions of purveyors—to the venality and rapacity of the judges and officers of the courts of law—to the horrible doings of a set of banditti called *maintainers*—and to the heavy weight of recent taxation.

The king being now in his sixteenth year, was married to Anne of Bohemia, daughter of the late Emperor Charles IV., an accomplished and excellent princess, who deserved a better and a wiser husband.

At this time there were two popes, Urban VI., an Italian, and Clement VII., a Frenchman. France, Scotland, Spain, Sicily, and Cyprus were for Clement; England, Flanders, and the rest of Europe for Urban. The Italian pope, after looking about for a brave and sure champion, fixed his eyes on the warlike Bishop of Norwich, who had so lately distinguished himself in the servile war of England. At the same time, the Flemings, sorely pressed by the French, renewed their applications to England for assistance. After preaching a sort of crusade, the Bishop of Norwich asked in the pope's name a tenth on church property, obtained the produce of a fifteenth on lay property, and raised a small army, and so passed over the Channel to make war.³ The war in which this military churchman engaged, presented two aspects: under one, it was a sacred crusade for the pope, but under the other, it was a conflict waged in union with, and for the rights and independence of the burghers and commons of Flanders against the aristocracy. After the

¹ Froissart: *Knyghton; Walsingham; Stow; Holinshed.*

² Stat. Rich. II. c. 7.

³ Froissart.

murder of James van Artaveldt, the cause of democracy declined; and thirty-six years after that event, the Flemings were almost reduced to extremities. In this state they fixed all their hopes on Van Artaveldt's son, who had been named Philip, after his godmother Philippa, the wife of Edward III. Philip van Artaveldt, warned by his father's fate, had passed his life in a quiet and happy retirement; and in 1381 he was dragged, with his eyes open to the worst consequences, to head the council and lead the armies of the dispirited people. For about fifteen months, which included the whole of his public life, his career was as brilliant as a romance: but in the month of November, 1382, he was defeated in the sanguinary battle of Rosebecque, and (in this more fortunate than his father) was killed by the enemy. After that dreadful defeat, the cause of the commons again declined.¹

Affairs were in this state at the arrival of the English force. The Bishop of Norwich led his little army to Gravelines, which he stormed and took: he next defeated an army of the Count of Flanders, took the town of Dunkirk, and occupied the whole coast as far as Sluis: he then marched, with an impetuosity which astonished more regular warriors, to lay siege to Ypres, where he was joined by 20,000 of the men of Ghent. Meanwhile, the count implored the protection of the young King of France, who sent a splendid army across the frontier. The bishop made one furious assault; but, on the approach of the French, he ran back to the coast. In England his failure was attributed to the jealousy of the Duke of Lancaster.

In her jealousy of the powers of A.D. 1384. his uncles, the Princess of Wales had surrounded her son with ministers and officers who were chiefly men of obscure birth. Richard, who lived almost entirely in the society of these individuals, contracted an exclusive affection for them, and, as soon as he was able, he began to heap wealth and honours upon them. Hence there arose perpetual bickerings between the favourites and the king's uncles. A dark mystery will for ever hang over most of these transactions. Once the Duke of Lancaster was obliged to hide himself in Scotland, and he would not return until Richard publicly proclaimed his conviction of his innocence. In the month of April of this year, just after the duke had done good service against the Scots, the parliament met at Salisbury. One day during the session, John Latimer, a Carmelite friar, a native of Ireland, gave Richard a parchment, containing the particulars of a conspiracy to place the crown

on the head of his uncle. The king communicated the contents to Lancaster, who swore that they were all utterly false, and insisted that his accuser should be placed in safe custody to be examined by the council. The monk was accordingly committed to the care of Sir John Holland, the king's half-brother, who is said to have strangled him with his own hands during the night. The Lord Zouch, whom the friar had named as the author of the memorial declared upon his oath that he knew nothing about it, and the matter dropped.

Truces with Scotland were prolonged till the month of May, 1385, when the French sent John de Vienne, lord-admiral of France, with 1000 men-at-arms, and 40,000 francs in gold, to induce the Scots to make an inroad into England. The French knights soon complained bitterly of the pride of the Scots, the poverty of the land, and the lack of amusements. At last, the French and Scots broke into Northumberland; but Richard, who now took the field for the first time, came up from York, and forced them to retire. With 80,000 men, Richard crossed the Borders, burned Edinburgh, Perth, and other towns; but then he was obliged to retreat; for information was brought that John de Vienne had crossed the Solway Frith, and was besieging Carlisle. The French and Scots marched off by the west, and returned towards Edinburgh, boasting that they had done as much mischief in England as the English had done in Scotland. During this campaign, the royal quarters were disgraced by a vile murder. At York, during the advance, Sir John Holland assassinated one of the favourites, and the grief, shame, and anxiety, caused by this event, broke the heart of his mother, the Princess of Wales, who died a few days after. After the campaign, the king made great promotions to quiet the jealousy of his relations; honours fell upon them, but these were nothing compared to the honours and grants conferred on his own minions. Henry of Bolingbroke, Lancaster's son, was made Earl of Derby; the king's uncles, the Earls of Cambridge and Buckingham, were created Dukes of York and Gloucester. As Richard had no children, he declared that his lawful successor would be Roger, Earl of March,² grandson of Lionel, Duke of Clarence.³

Soon after these arrangements, the Duke of Lancaster was enabled to depart, to press his

² Froissart: *Walsing.*; *Knyghts.*; *Rot. Parl.*; *Rymer.*

³ "The character of Richard II. was now developing itself, and the hopes excited by his remarkable presence of mind in confronting the rioters on Blackheath were rapidly destroyed. Not that he was wanting in capacity, as has been sometimes imagined. For if we measure intellectual power by the greatest exertion it ever displays rather than by its average results, Richard II. was a man of considerable talents. He possessed,

¹ Froissart; Baraudo, *Hist. des Ducs de Bourgogne.*

claim to the throne of Castile. A disputed succession in Portugal, and a war between that country and Spain, seemed to open a road for him. The king was evidently glad to have him out of England. Parliament voted supplies; and, in the month of July, the duke set sail with an army of 10,000 men. Lancaster landed at Coruña, opened a road through Galicia into Portugal, and formed a junction with the king of that country, who married Philippa, the duke's eldest daughter by his first wife. At first, the duke was everywhere victorious; but, in a second campaign, his army was almost annihilated by disease and famine; and his own declining health forced him to retire to Guienne. In the end, however, he concluded an advantageous treaty. His daughter Catherine, the grand-daughter of Pedro the Cruel, was married to Henry, the heir of the reigning King of Castile. Two hundred thousand crowns were paid to the duke for the expenses he had incurred; and the King of Castile agreed to pay 40,000 florins by way of annuity to the Duke and Duchess of Lancaster. The issue of John of Gaunt reigned in Spain for many generations.

Encouraged by the absence of the duke, the French determined to invade England, and for this purpose upwards of 100,000 men, including nearly all the chivalry of France, were encamped in Flanders, and an immense fleet lay in the port of Sluis ready to carry them over. Charles VI., who determined to take a part in the expedition, went to Sluis, and even embarked; but this young king was entirely in the power of his intriguing and turbulent uncles, who seem to have determined (not unwisely, perhaps) that the expedition should not take place, and in the end the army was disbanded. The fleet was dispersed by a tempest, and many of the ships were taken by the English.

Richard gained no increase of comfort by the absence of Lancaster, whose younger brother, the Duke of Gloucester, was far harsher than John of Gaunt had ever been. At the meeting of parliament, Gloucester headed an opposition which determined to drive Richard's favourites De la

Pole and De Vere from office. They began with De la Pole, who, after a weak attempt of the king to save him, was dismissed. After his expulsion, the commons impeached him of high crimes and misdemeanours, and he was sentenced to pay a heavy fine and to be imprisoned. Gloucester and his party then said that no good government could be expected until a permanent council was chosen by parliament—a council like those which had been appointed in the reigns of John, Henry III., and Edward II. Richard said he would never consent to any such measure. The commons then coolly produced the statute by which Edward II. had been deposed; and one of the lords reminded him that his life would be in danger if he persisted in his refusal. Upon this, Richard yielded, and the government was substantially vested for a year in the hands of eleven commissioners, bishops and peers, to whom were added the three great officers of the crown. At the head of all was placed the king's uncle Gloucester.¹

The king was now twenty years of age, but he was reduced to as mere a cipher as when he was but eleven. In the month of August in the following year, 1387, acting under the advice of De la Pole and Tresilian, the chief-justice, he assembled a council at Nottingham, and submitted to some of the judges this question—whether the commission of government appointed by parliament, and approved of under his own seal, were legal or illegal? These judges certified under their hands and seals that the commission was illegal, and that all those who introduced the measure were liable to capital punishment. On the 11th of November following, the king, who had returned to London, was alarmed by the intelligence that his uncle Gloucester and the Earls of Arundel and Nottingham, the constable, admiral, and marshal of England, were approaching the capital with 40,000 men.² The decision of the judges had been kept secret, but one of the number betrayed it to a friend of Gloucester. As soon as Richard's cousin, the Earl of Derby, Lancaster's son and heir, learned the approach of his uncle of Gloucester, he quitted the court, went

along with much dissimulation, a decisive promptitude in seizing the critical moment for action. Of this quality, besides his celebrated behaviour towards the insurgents, he gave striking evidence in several circumstances which we shall have shortly to notice. But his ordinary conduct belied the abilities which on these rare occasions shone forth, and rendered them ineffectual for his security. Extreme pride and violence, with an inordinate partiality for the most worthless favourites, were his predominant characteristics. In the latter quality, and in the events of his reign, he forms a pretty exact parallel to Edward II. Scrop, lord-chancellor, who had been appointed in parliament, and was understood to be irremovable without its concurrence, lost the great seal for refusing to set it to some prodigal grants. Upon a slight quarrel with Archbishop Courtney, the king ordered his temporalties to be seized, the execution of which Michael de la Pole, his new chancellor, and a favourite of

his own, could hardly prevent. This was accompanied with indecent and outrageous expressions of anger, unworthy of his station, and of those whom he insulted."—*Hallam*.

¹ *Rot. Parl.*

² "At such a slow pace did news travel in those days, that, on the night of the 10th of November, Richard and his justice went to bed thinking that their enemies were annihilated, and next morning they were awoken by the intelligence that a large force, under the Duke of Gloucester and the Earls of Arundel and Nottingham, was encamped at Higgate. The confederate lords, hearing of the proceedings at Nottingham, had immediately rushed to arms, and followed Richard towards London, with an army of 40,000 men. The walls of London were sufficient to repel a sudden assault; and a royal proclamation forbade the sale of provisions to the rebels, in the hope that famine might disperse them."—*Lord Campbell's Justices*, p. 100.

to Waltham Cross, and there joined him. The members of the council of eleven were there already. On Sunday, the 17th of November, the duke entered London with an irresistible force, and "appealed" of treason the Archbishop of York, De Vere, now Duke of Ireland, De la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, Robert Tresilian, chief-justice, and Sir Nicholas Brember, knight, and lord-mayor of London. The favourites instantly took to flight. De la Pole, the condemned chancellor, who had returned to court, succeeded in reaching France, where he died soon after; De Vere, the Duke of Ireland, got to the borders of Wales, where he received royal letters, authorizing him to raise an army and begin a civil war. He collected a few thousand men, but was met near Radcot, and thoroughly defeated by Gloucester and Henry of Bolingbroke. He then fled to Ireland, and afterwards to Holland, where he died. The Archbishop of York was seized in the north, but was allowed to escape by the people; he also finished his days not long after, in the humble condition of a parish priest in Flanders. After the defeat of his army under De Vere, Richard lost all heart, and retired into the Tower. His uncle Gloucester, who believed on pretty good grounds that the king and the favourites had intended to put him to death, showed little mercy. He drove every friend of Richard away from the court, and threw some ten or twelve of them into prison. The "wonderful parliament," which met in the beginning of the year 1388, carried out the impeachments. The five obnoxious councillors were found guilty of high treason, their property was confiscated, and Tresilian and Brember, the mayor, were executed, to the joy of the people.

The judges who had signed and sealed the answer at Nottingham were next impeached. Their only plea was, that they had acted under terror of the king and the favourites: they were capitally convicted; but the bishops interceded in their behalf, and, instead of being sent to the scaffold, they were sent into exile for life in Ireland. Blake, however, who had drawn up the questions at Nottingham, was executed, and so was Usk, who had been secretly appointed undersheriff to seize the person of the Duke of Gloucester. The king's confessor, who swore that no threats had been used with the judges at Nottingham, was also condemned to exile in Ireland. It was hoped that the shedding of blood would stop here, but such was not the intention of Gloucester. After the Easter recess he impeached four knights, and these unfortunate men were all convicted and executed.¹

For about twelve months Richard left the whole power of government in the hands of his

uncle and of the council or commission. It was during this interval that the battle of Otterbourne, famous in song under the name of Chevy Chase, was fought (15th August, 1388) between the Scottish Earl Douglas, and the Lord Harry Percy, the renowned Hotspur. Douglas was slain, but the English were in the end driven from the field, after both Hotspur and his brother, Lord Ralph Percy, had been taken prisoners. At length Richard gave a proof of that decisive promptitude which visited his mind at uncertain intervals. In a great council held in the month of May, 1389, he suddenly addressed his uncle—"How old do you think I am?" "Your highness," replied Gloucester, "is in your twenty-second year." "Then," added the king, "I am surely of age to manage my own affairs. I have been longer under the control of guardians than any ward in my dominions. I thank ye, my lords, for your past services, but I want them no longer." Before they could recover from their astonishment he demanded the great seals from the archbishop, and the keys of the exchequer from the Bishop of Hereford; and within a few days he drove Gloucester from the council without meeting with any opposition. The chief administration of affairs was, however, left to another uncle, the Duke of York, and to his cool-headed and calculating cousin, Henry of Bolingbroke.²

Lancaster returned from the Continent after an absence of more than three years, and, from circumstances with which we are not sufficiently acquainted, he became all at once exceedingly moderate and popular. He conducted his brother Gloucester and the nobles of his party to court, where an affecting reconciliation took place. The duke was re-admitted into the council; Lancaster was created Duke of Aquitaine for life,³ and intrusted with the negotiation of a peace with France. A truce was concluded for four years. This truce also embraced Scotland, the king of which country, Robert II., had died the 19th of April, 1390, leaving the crown to his eldest son John, Earl of Carrick, who took the name of Robert III.⁴

After the death of "the good A.D. 1394. Queen Anne"—as Richard's wife had long been called by the English people—which happened at Shene, on Whit Sunday, the king collected a considerable army, and crossed over to Ireland, where the native chiefs had been for some time making head against the English,

² *Walsingham: Knyghton: Rot. Parl.*

³ This grant was subsequently recalled.

⁴ The same popular prejudice against the name of John, at least for a king, which we have seen displayed by the English followers of Wat Tyler, was also entertained at this time by the Scots. It is commonly traced to the unfortunate reigns of John of England, John of France and John Balliol.

¹ *Rot. Parl.: Knyghton.*

and where some of the English themselves had revolted. This campaign was a bloodless one: the Irish chiefs submitted; Richard entertained them with great magnificence, knighted some of them, and, after spending a winter in the country and redressing some abuses, he returned home, and was well received by his subjects. Although the council was divided on the matter, Richard at last decided on contracting a matrimonial alliance with France; and in the month of October, 1396, he passed over to the Continent and married Isabella, the daughter of Charles VI.—a princess, a miracle of beauty and of wit, according to Froissart, but who was little more than seven years old. The blessing of a peace, or at least of a truce, for twenty-five years, was the consequence of this union, and yet the marriage was decidedly unpopular in England. The Duke of Gloucester had always opposed it. It is said that the duke's declamations were the more vehement, because he suspected what would follow to himself; and it is certain that Richard asked assistance from Charles VI., to be given in case of need, and that this alliance with France gave him courage to undertake a scheme which his deep revenge had nourished for many years. The year after his marriage, in the month of July, Richard struck his blow with consummate treachery. After entertaining him at dinner, in his usual bland manner, he arrested the Earl of Warwick. Two days after, he induced the primate to bring his brother, the Earl of Arundel, to a friendly conference; and then Arundel was arrested. He had thus got two of his victims: to entrap the third, and the greatest of all, he went with a gay company to Pleshy Castle, in Essex, where his uncle Gloucester was residing with his family. The duke, suspecting no mischief, came out to meet the royal guest, and, while Richard entertained the duchess with friendly discourse, Gloucester was seized by the earl-marshal, carried with breathless speed to the river, put on board ship, and conveyed to Calais. A few days after, Richard went to Nottingham Castle, and there, taking his uncles Lancaster and York, and his cousin, Henry of Bolingbroke, by surprise, he made them, with other noblemen, put their seals to a parchment, by which Gloucester, Arundel, and Warwick, were "appealed" of treason in the same manner that they had appealed the king's favourites ten years before. A parliament was then summoned to try the three traitors, for so they were now called by men like Henry of Bolingbroke, who had been partakers in all their acts, and by others who had supported them in their boldest measures.

On the 17th of September, Richard went to parliament with 600 men-at-arms, and a body-

guard of archers. The commons, who had received their lesson, began by impeaching Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, of high treason. Fearing the primate's eloquence, Richard artfully prevented his attending in the lords, and he was, at the king's will, banished for life. On the following day, his brother, the Earl of Arundel, was condemned and beheaded on Tower-hill. On the 21st of September, a writ was issued to the earl-marshal, governor of Calais, commanding him to bring the body of his prisoner, the Duke of Gloucester, before the king in parliament. On the 24th (and three days were probably then scarcely enough for a king's messenger to travel to Calais and back) an answer was returned to the lords, that the earl-marshal could not produce the duke, for that he, being in custody in the king's prison in Calais, had died there. This parliament made no inquiries. The lords appellants demanded judgment; the commons seconded their demand, and the dead duke was declared to be a traitor, and all his property was confiscated to the king. On the next day, a document, purporting to be Gloucester's confession taken by Sir William Rickhill, one of the justices who had been sent over to Calais in the preceding month for that sole purpose, as was pretended, was produced and read in parliament.¹ On the 28th, Gloucester's friend, the Earl of Warwick, was brought before the bar of the House: the earl pleaded guilty, but his sentence was commuted into perpetual imprisonment in the Isle of Man. In passing sentence on these nobles, there were many who condemned themselves. After their recent experience of the king, nothing but fatuity could make them repose confidence in any of his assurances, or in the steadiness of parliament; but for want of any better security, they extracted from Richard a declaration of their own innocence in regard to all past transactions. This declaration was made in full parliament. After this the king, who was very fond of high-sounding titles, made several promotions of his nobles. Among these, his cousin Henry Bolingbroke was created Duke of Hereford.²

Gloucester's "wonderful" parliament of 1388 had taken an oath that nothing there passed into law should be changed or abrogated; and now the very same men, with a few exceptions, took the same oath to the decisions of the present parliament, which undid all that was then

¹ Rickhill saw the duke alive at Calais on the 7th of September. The real object of his mission, and the real circumstances of Gloucester's death, are involved in a mystery never likely to be cleared up. But it seems that the universal impression, not only in England, but also on the Continent, was correct, and that he was secretly murdered, and in a manner not to disfigure the corpse, which was afterwards delivered to his family.

² *Rot. Parl.; Froissart; Knighton.*

done. The answers of the judges to the questions put at Nottingham, which had then been punished as acts of high treason, were now pronounced to be just and legal. It was declared high treason to attempt to repeal or overturn any judgment now passed; and the issue made of all the persons who had been condemned were declared for ever incapable of sitting in parliament or holding office in council. "These violent ordinances, as if the precedent they were then overturning had not shielded itself with the same sanction, were sworn to by parliament upon the cross of Canterbury, and confirmed by a national oath, with the penalty of excommunication denounced against its infringers."¹ Before this obsequious parliament separated, it set the dangerous precedent of granting the king a subsidy, *for life*, upon wool; and a commission was granted for twelve peers and six commoners to sit after the dissolution, and examine and determine certain matters as to them should seem best. These eighteen commissioners usurped the entire rights of the legislature: they imposed a perpetual oath on prelates and lords, to be taken before obtaining possession of their estates, that they would maintain the statutes and ordinances made by this parliament, or afterwards by the lords and knights having power committed to them by the same; and they declared it to be high treason to disobey any of their ordinances. Thus, with the vote of a revenue for life, and with the power of parliament notoriously usurped by a junto of his creatures, Richard became as absolute as he could wish. "In those days," says Froissart, "there was none so great in England that durst speak against anything that the king did. He had a council suitable to his fancies, who exhorted him to do what he *list*: he kept in his wages 10,000 archers, who watched over him day and night." This high and absolute bearing was, however, of short duration. The people were soon disgusted with Richard, who appeared only to crave power and money that he might lavish them on his minions, and indulge himself in an indolent and luxurious life.

A general murmur was soon raised against the late parliament: people said that it had not been freely chosen; that it had with bad faith and barbarity revoked former pardons and connived at illegal exactions; that it had been a party to the shameful impunity of the murderers of Gloucester; and that it had assisted the king in destroying the liberties of the kingdom. Matters were approaching this state when the mutual distrusts of two great noblemen, and the fears they both entertained of the cunning and vindictive spirit of the king, hurried on the catastrophe.

Henry of Bolingbroke, now Duke of Hereford, and Mowbray, now Duke of Norfolk, were the only two that remained of the five appellants of 1386. To all outward appearance they enjoyed the favour and confidence of the king; but they both knew that their original sin had never been forgiven. The Duke of Norfolk seems to have been the more alarmed or the more communicative of the two. Overtaking the Duke of Hereford, who was riding on the road between Windsor and London, in the month of December, during the recess of parliament, Mowbray said, "We are about to be ruined." Henry of Bolingbroke asked, "For what?" and Mowbray said, "For the affair of Radcot Bridge." "How can that be after his pardon and declaration in parliament?" "He will annul that pardon," said Mowbray, "and our fate will be like that of others before us." And then he went on to assure Hereford that there was no trust to be put in Richard's promises or oaths, or demonstrations of affection, and that he knew of a certainty that he and his minions were then compassing the deaths of the Dukes of Lancaster, Hereford, Albemarle, and Exeter, the Marquis of Dorset, and of himself. Henry then said, "If such be the case, we can never trust them;" to which Mowbray rejoined, "So it is, and though they may not be able to do it now, they will contrive to destroy us in our houses ten years hence."²

This reign, as abounding in dark and treacherous transactions, is rich in historical doubts. It is not clear how this conversation was reported to Richard, but the damning suspicion rests upon Henry of Bolingbroke. When parliament met after the recess, in the month of January, 1398, Hereford was called upon by the king to relate what had passed between the Duke of Norfolk and himself; and then Hereford rose and presented in writing the whole of the conversation. Norfolk did not attend in parliament, but he surrendered on proclamation, called Henry of Lancaster a liar and false traitor, and threw down his gauntlet. Richard ordered both parties into custody, and instead of submitting the case to parliament, referred it to a court of chivalry, which, after many delays, awarded that wager of battle should be joined at Coventry, on the 16th of September. As the time approached, Richard was heard to say, "Now I shall have peace from henceforward;" but, on the appointed day, when the combatants were in the lists, and had couched their lances, throwing down his warder between them, he took the battle into his own hands. After consulting with the committee of parliament—the base eighteen—to the bewilderment of all men, he condemned Hereford to banishment for ten years, and Norfolk for life. Here-

¹ Hallam, *Middle Ages*.

² *Rot. Parl.* This is the account which Hereford gave in parliament.

ford went no further than France: Norfolk made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and not long after died broken-hearted at Venice. On the death of the Duke of Lancaster, which happened about three months after the exile of his son Hereford, Richard seized his immense estates and kept them, notwithstanding his having, before Hereford's departure out of England, granted him letters-patent, permitting him to appoint attorneys to represent him and take possession of his lawful inheritance.¹ But now there was no law in the land except what proceeded from the will of Richard, who, after ridding himself, as he fancied, for ever, of the two great peers, set no limits to his despotism. He raised money by forced loans; he coerced the judges, and in order to obtain fines, he outlawed seventeen counties by one stroke of the pen, alleging that they had favoured his enemies in the affair of Radcot Bridge. He was told by some friends that the country was in a ferment, and that plots and conspiracies were forming against him; but the infatuated man chose this very moment for leaving England. In the end of the month of May, 1399, he sailed from Milford Haven with a splendid fleet. He took the field against the Irish on the 20th of June, and a fortnight after, his cousin, the Duke of Hereford, landed at Ravenspur in Yorkshire. The duke had not escaped from France without difficulty, and all the retinue he brought with him consisted of the exiled Archbishop of Canterbury, the son of the late Earl of Arundel, fifteen knights and men-at-arms, and a few servants.

But the wily Henry was strong in the affections of the people; and both he and the archbishop had many personal friends among the nobles. As soon as he landed, he was joined by the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland; and as he declared that he only came for the estates belonging to his father, he was speedily reinforced by many who did not foresee, and who, at that stage, would not have approved, his full and daring scheme. He marched with rapidity towards the capital, and arrived there at the head of 60,000 men. His uncle, the Duke of York, quitted the city before his approach, and, as regent of the kingdom during Richard's absence, raised the royal standard at St. Alban's. The Londoners received Hereford as a deliverer. A general panic prevailed among the creatures of Richard, some of whom shut themselves up in Bristol Castle. The Duke of York, with such forces as he could collect, moved towards the west, there to await the arrival of Richard. After staying a few days in London, Henry marched in the same direction, and so

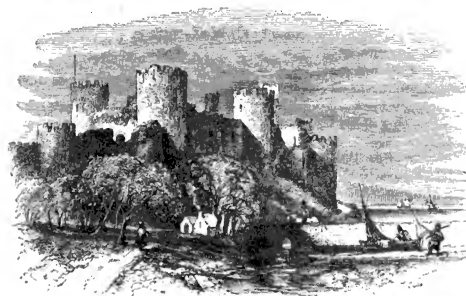
rapid was his course that he reached the Severn on the same day as the regent. The Duke of York had discovered before this that he could place no reliance on his troops: and probably his resentment for the murder of his brother Gloucester was greater than his affection for his nephew Richard. Henry of Bolingbroke was also his nephew, and when he agreed to meet that master-mind in a secret conference, the effect was inevitable. York joined his forces to those of Henry, and helped him to take Bristol Castle. Three members of the standing committee of eighteen, the Earl of Wiltshire, Bussy, and Green, were found in the castle, and executed without trial. Henry then marched towards Chester, but York stopped at Bristol.²

For three weeks Richard remained ignorant of all that was passing. Contrary winds and storms are made to bear the blame of this omission, but it is probable that some of the messengers had proved unfaithful. When he received the astounding intelligence, his first remark was, that he sorely regretted not having put Henry to death, as he might have done. From Dublin he despatched the Earl of Salisbury with part of his forces, and then he repaired himself to Waterford, with the intention of crossing over with the rest. Salisbury landed at Conway, and was reinforced by the Welsh; but the king did not appear so soon as was expected, and the earl was soon deserted by his whole army, both Welsh and English. A few days after, when Richard at last arrived at Milford Haven, he was stunned by bad news of every kind; and on the second day after his landing, the few thousands of troops which he had brought with him deserted him almost to a man. At midnight, disguised as a priest, and accompanied only by his two half-brothers, Sir Stephen Scrop, his chancellor, the Bishop of Carlisle, and nine other individuals, he fled to Conway, to seek refuge in the strong castle there. At Conway he found the Earl of Salisbury and about one hundred men, who, it appears, had already consumed the slender stock of provisions laid up in the fortress. Richard then despatched his two half-brothers to Chester, Henry's head-quarters, to ascertain what were his intentions. Henry put them under arrest. Soon after sending them, Richard rode to the castles of Beaumaris and Caernarvon: they were both bare of provisions, and he returned in despair to Conway Castle. A romantic and touching story is usually told, on the faith of two anonymous manuscripts, according to which Richard was lured from his stronghold by the ingenious treachery of the Earl of Northumberland; but we are inclined to believe that famine

¹ *Rot. Parl.*, Rymer.² *Walsingham*.

drove him from Conway Castle, and that, in a hopeless state, he surrendered to Northumber-

land, two justices, two doctors of laws, with many others, ecclesiastics and laymen, waited on the king in the Tower, who there, *according to the reporters*, made, "with a cheerful countenance," a formal renunciation of the crown, acknowledged his unfitness for government, and gave his royal ring to his cousin Henry. Whether all this passed as thus stated by the triumphant party of Lancaster is of little consequence, and Henry was too sagacious to rest his title to the crown upon what could never be considered in any other light than that of a compulsory resignation. On Tuesday,



CONWAY CASTLE.¹—Drawn by J. S. Prout, from his sketch on the spot.

land. At the castle of Flint, Henry of Bolingbroke met him and bent his knee, as to his sovereign. "Fair cousin of Lancaster," said Richard, uncovering his head, "you are right welcome." "My lord," answered Henry, "I am come somewhat before my time; but I will tell you the reason. Your people complain that you have ruled them harshly for twenty-two years: but, if it please God, I will help you to rule them better." The fallen king replied, "Fair cousin, since it pleaseth you, it pleaseth me well." The trumpets then sounded to horse, and, mounted on a miserable hackney, Richard rode a prisoner to Chester. No one appeared to pity his fate. At Lichfield, while on the way from Chester to the capital, the king eluded the vigilance of his guards, and escaped out of a window; but he was retaken, and from that time treated with greater severity, and on their arrival in London he was thrown into the Tower. While at Chester, writs were issued in Richard's name for the meeting of parliament on the 29th of Sept. On the day of that meeting, a deputation of lords and commons, which included the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Earl of

the 30th day of September, the parliament having met in Westminster Hall, the resignation of Richard was read. All the members then stood up, and signified their acceptance of it. Thirty-three articles of impeachment against Richard were afterwards read, and being declared guilty on every charge, his deposition was pronounced. Thus a deposition was added to an act of abdicaton.²

As soon as eight commissioners had proclaimed the sentence of deposition, Henry approached the throne, and having solemnly crossed himself, said, "In the name of God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I, Henry of Lancaster, challenge this realm of England, because I am descended by right line of blood from the good lord, King Henry III., and through that right, God of his grace hath sent me, with help of my kin and of my friends, to recover it; the which realm was in point to be undone for default of government and undoing of the good laws." He knelt for a few minutes in prayer on the steps, and then was seated on the throne by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York.³

¹ This castle, one of the finest in Britain, was founded in 1284 by Edward I. It is in form nearly a parallelogram, extending along the verge of a precipitous rock on the south-east side of the town: two of the sides are within the town walls, the third overhangs the estuary of the Conway, and the fourth a small stream tributary to the Conway. The walls are of from 12 ft. to 15 ft. in thickness, and are flanked on the town sides by four great circular unbattled towers, with turrets rising from them. The grand entrance was from the west towards the town, and there was an access from the river by an advanced work, and a narrow flight of steps cut in the rock. The interior consists of two courts. The great hall measures 130 ft. in length, 32 ft. in breadth, and about 30 ft. in height; but its extent can only be gathered from fragments of its ruin, and few vestiges of the other apartments can be traced. When most of the other

castles in Wales were dismantled by the parliament, this noble edifice was respected; but the roof and floors were afterwards removed by the Earl of Conway, to whom, after the Restoration, it was granted. A large breach at the base of one of the towers has been made by the town's people undermining it when digging for slates. Other parts of the castle are greatly damaged by the same practice.

² From the Harleian MS. 1319, a *History of the Deposition of Richard II.*, in French verse, professing to be "composed by a French gentleman of mark, who was in the suite of the said king, with permission of the King of France." The whole of the poem is printed in the *Archæologia*, with an English translation, and ample explanatory notes, by the Rev. John Webb, M.A., F.A.S., rector of Tretton, in Herefordshire.

³ Rot. Parl.; Knight; Brady.

CHAPTER VIII.—HISTORY OF RELIGION.

A.D. 1216—1399.

Resistance to the Papacy commenced throughout Europe—Encroachments of the Roman pontiffs in England—The kingdom drained of its wealth by foreign ecclesiastics—Power of dispensation assumed by the popes—Monasteries and monastic orders—Crusades—They are succeeded by the Inquisition—State of the English church in the reigns of Henry III. and Edward I.—Restraints laid upon ecclesiastical jurisdiction—Prohibitions upon Papal bulls, and sending money to Rome—Progress of religious liberty—Preaching of Wyckliffe—Its effect in loosening the Papal rule—His doctrines—His writings—His translation of the Scriptures—His death—Persecution of his ashes.



IT was during the period through which we have just passed, that the Papal dominion in Europe attained to its greatest height, and entered upon its long decline. The extravagant pretensions of Pope Innocent III., though submitted to for a brief space, provoked animosity and reaction on the part of European princes, and not a few of their subjects. A spirit of resistance was gradually diffused both among kings and people; till at length Philip le Bel began, and Wyckliffe, nearly a century later, carried forward the great rebellion which, after little more than another century, was to be fought out triumphantly by Luther.

In no country were the exactions and encroachments of the Roman pontiffs in the thirteenth century carried to a more exorbitant extent than in England, which was in fact one great field of Papal imposition and plunder. Throughout this century the bishoprics were filled either by the direct nomination of the pope, or, what was perfectly equivalent, by his arbitration in the case of a disputed election. The right of nominating to inferior benefices was also usurped by the pope; and many of these benefices were given to Italian priests, who drew the revenues and spent them at Rome. Some of these Italians never visited England at all. The total of the sum conveyed annually out of the kingdom to Rome was enormous: it was solemnly stated by the English envoys to the council of Lyons (held in 1245) that Italian priests drew from England sixty or seventy thousand marks every year—a sum greater than the whole revenue of the crown. All causes of importance were to be heard and decided at Rome. This was a material part of the scheme for bringing the civil under subjection to the ecclesiastical power, which had been pursued with such pertinacity from the time of Archbishop Anselm and Henry I. It was also a means of draining England of much wealth; and the Papal treasury was filled by various other modes. The entire taxation or tribute annually paid, under

a great variety of names, to Rome, must have amounted to an exorbitant sum. Gregory IX. is said to have extracted from the kingdom, in the course of a very few years, 950,000 marks—a sum estimated as equivalent to £15,000,000 at present.¹

In the early part of the fourteenth century the annual revenue of the church amounted to 730,000 marks; and at this period very nearly one-half of the soil of England was in the possession of the church. At the same time that all the richest benefices were in the hands of foreigners, where a cure was served at all, it was intrusted to a curate who appears to have been usually paid at a most wretched rate. Four or five marks a-year, or two marks and his board, was the usual amount of his scanty stipend.

Gregory IX., by extending and giving a more systematic form to the canon law, and by shaping this law so as to suit the interests of the Roman church, made an immense stride in usurpation. The five books of decretals which Gregory caused to be published, went to place the civil power completely at the foot of the ecclesiastical; and Boniface VIII. added a sixth decretal. It was expressly declared that subjects owed no allegiance to an excommunicated lord or prince; and the rubric prefixed to the declaration of the deposition of the emperor Frederic II. asserted that the pope might dethrone the emperor for lawful causes. "By means of her new jurisprudence," says Mr. Hallam, "Rome acquired in every country a powerful body of advocates, who, though many of them were laymen, would, with the usual bigotry of lawyers, defend every pretension or abuse to which their received standard of authority gave sanction."²

But a still higher power assumed by the pope than even that of declaring or making the law, was the power of dispensing with its strongest obligations—the power of legalizing what they themselves declared to be illegal, and of remitting in the world to come the penalties incurred by

¹ Mr. Hallam, *Hist. Mid. Ages*.² *Ibid.*

such unlawful deeds. They assumed and exercised this power, in particular, with regard to the canonical impediments to marriage, and with regard to oaths. And as uncanonical unions or marriages contracted within the forbidden degrees of relationship could be legalized by the pope, so it was held, and equally to the benefit of the Holy See, that any illegitimacy of birth could be entirely removed by the same authority. With regard to oaths, it was expressly laid down as the law, not only that any oath extorted by fear might be annulled by ecclesiastical authority, but that an oath disadvantageous to the church was essentially, and from the first, without any force, whether it were formally dispensed with or not.

As in the preceding ages, new monasteries still continued to be founded, and new monastic orders to be introduced. As the more ancient orders had acquired so vast a share of the land and wealth of the country, and as the civil law began to place some restraints upon the disposition to make over estates to the church, it might have been difficult to procure endowments for the new orders, or to increase the number of the houses of the old ones: but these new orders were sworn to poverty, and were called Mendicant Friars. The first of this class of monks were the Dominicans or Black Friars, who were established in 1216; the second were the Franciscans or Gray Friars,

built and supported their churches. Being of the people, they had always a close sympathy with the people. They presented the show, and to a great extent preserved the reality of destitution and a hard rule of life. The very name of the mendicants was a standing proclamation of their sympathy with the humbler and more numerous classes, and their indifference to the pomp and pre-eminence which appeared to be so much coveted by the other monastic orders. They could preach to the populace in their own language, and meet them on something like a footing of equality; and whenever there was sickness or sorrow in the poor man's house, the Franciscan monk was sure to be there to give assistance or spiritual comfort. Their activity was prodigious: they preached and administered the sacraments far more frequently than the superior orders, whom they completely distanced in the race to win the favour of the multitude. Nor was it long before the Franciscans and Dominicans became distinguished for their learning and literature. Their numbers increased almost beyond all precedent. All these troops of religious persons were bound in their whole interests and affections to the church, not only by their voluntary vows, but by the strong incorporating tie of celibacy, the practice of which, in conformity to what had certainly been the distinctly-declared law of the church from very early

times, was now also enforced upon all descriptions of the clergy with a strictness greatly beyond what it had heretofore been found possible to maintain. In the reign of Henry I. it is stated that more than half the English clergy were married; but after the twelfth century, although a few occasional violations of the rule may have still occurred, celibacy was certainly the general practice as well as the law of the church.

As to the era of the Templars belonged the Crusades, so with the Mendicant Friars appeared the Inquisition, of which, indeed, St. Dominic is commonly reputed the founder, or at least the first suggester. The crusades which took place in this age were animated by little or nothing of the old spirit. In the preceding Book we noticed the fourth, which was undertaken in 1203, but which was eventually diverted from an expedition against the infidels in Palestine to a war with the Greeks in Constantinople. Both this and the fifth crusade (A.D. 1218) were undertaken at the instigation of the energetic Innocent III.; but even his breath was impotent to blow up again into a blaze the dying fire. Of the sixth and seventh crusades, both conducted by St. Louis, the former (which set out in 1248) issued



(1) DOMINICAN AND (2) FRANCISCAN FRIAR.—Dugdale's Monasticon.

established in 1223. Of many other orders which soon sprung up in imitation of these, and which carried still farther the principle of poverty and abnegation, none took a lasting root in England except the Carmelites or White Friars, and the Augustines. These mendicant orders were filled by youths and men drawn from the poorer classes of society; they had no lands, but begged from door to door for the food they ate and for the money which purchased their coarse dress, and

in the captivity, the latter (in 1270) in the death of the enthusiastic monarch; and ere the century had closed, the Christians were driven for ever from their last narrow footing in the Holy Land. Meanwhile, in the midst of these abortive attempts to revive crusading in the East, a new species of crusades, as they were also called, was introduced in the West—namely, military expeditions against the unconverted heathens in various parts—against the Jews, against the Albigenes, and other heretics—the object being in each case to extirpate indifferently either the misbelief or the misbelievers. Here, then, was exactly the object of the Inquisition, to which, therefore, these expeditions may be regarded as the natural transition from the original Crusades. Both the Crusades and the Inquisition equally operated to uphold for their season the fabric of the Papal ascendancy.

It was in the nature, however, of most, if not of all of these stimulants, to contribute something to the weakening, in the end, of the system upon which they apparently bestowed an immediate strength. Even the strict celibacy of the clergy, if it invigorated the internal organization of the church, tended to loosen its roots in the general soil of human society. Nor did the mendicant orders themselves always continue to be the same manageable and subservient allies of the Papal power which they were at first: when certain questions came to be debated between the church and the people, the constitution and position of these bodies inevitably led them to a great extent to side with the latter.

In the course of the period now under review some important measures were adopted against the more glaring and intolerable evils of this foreign tyranny. Even during the feeble reign of Henry III. considerable progress was made in restraining the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical tribunals. "The judges of the king's courts," says Mr. Hallam, "had until that time been themselves principally ecclesiastics, and consequently tender of spiritual privileges. But now, abstaining from the exercise of temporal jurisdiction, in obedience to the strict injunctions of their canons, the clergy gave place to common lawyers, professors of a system very discordant from their own. These soon began to assert the supremacy of their jurisdiction, by issuing writs of prohibition whenever the ecclesiastical tribunals passed the boundaries which approved use had established."¹ In the next reign we find an Archbishop of Canterbury unreservedly admitting the right of the king's bench to issue prohibitions. The question was finally settled in the

thirteenth year of Edward I., by the statute entitled "Circumspecte agatis," which, under the form of an order to the judges to respect the privileges of the spiritual jurisdiction, in fact restrained them, by express enumeration, within certain specified limits. Ten years before this, by the statute of Westminster the first, it had been provided that clerks charged with felony should be first indicted by solemn inquest in the king's court, and that, being then delivered to the ordinary, if found guilty by such inquest, they should in no manner be let free without due purgation—words which were afterwards construed to mean that their property, both real and personal, should be forfeited to the crown.

In the seventh year of this reign, also, the making over of lands to religious persons or societies was for the first time effectually restrained by what is commonly called the first statute of mortmain.

By another statute, passed in the thirty-fifth year of his reign, Edward prohibited all abbots, priors, or other religious persons of whatsoever condition, from henceforth sending any money, under any name or pretence whatsoever, as a payment to their superiors beyond the sea. It is also stated that one of this king's subjects having obtained a bull of excommunication against another, Edward ordered him to be executed as a traitor, according to the ancient law, and was only induced to commute the punishment into banishment out of the realm on a representation made by the chancellor and treasurer, on their knees, that the law in question had not for a long time been put in execution.²

One of the principal charges made by the parliament against Edward II., on his deposition, was, that he had given allowance to the bulls of the see of Rome. "But Edward III.," says Blackstone, "was of a temper extremely different; and to remedy these inconveniences first by gentle means, he and his nobility wrote an expostulation to the pope; but receiving a menacing and contemptuous answer, withal acquainting him that the emperor, and also the King of France, had lately submitted to the Holy See, the king replied, that if both the emperor and the French king should take the pope's part, he was ready to give battle to them both in defence of the liberties of the crown. Hereupon more sharp and penal laws were devised against provisors,³ which enact, severally, that the court

¹ See *Blackstone*, by Coleridge, iv. 110, and the authorities there quoted.

² Speaking of the tameness with which the continental nations submitted to the exactions of Rome in the fourteenth century, Mr. Hallam says:—"A manlier spirit was displayed by our ancestors. It was the boast of England to have placed the first legal barrier to the usurpations of Rome (in 1267 Alexander III. of Scotland, when Clement IV. granted the tithes of its ecclesi-

of Rome shall not present or collate to any bishopric or living in England; and that whoever disturbs any patron in the presentation to a living by virtue of a Papal provision, such provisor shall pay fine and ransom to the king at his will, and be imprisoned till he renounces such provision; and the same punishment is inflicted on such as cite the king, or any of his subjects, to answer in the court of Rome. And when the Holy See resented these proceedings, and Pope Urban V. attempted to revive the vassalage and annual rent to which King John had subjected his kingdom, it was unanimously agreed by all the estates of the realm in parliament assembled, 40 Edward III., that King John's donation was null and void, being without the concurrence of parliament and contrary to his coronation oath; and all the temporal nobility and commons engaged, that if the pope should endeavour, by process or otherwise, to maintain these usurpations, they would resist and withstand him with all their power.⁷¹ By subsequent statutes, passed in the reign of Richard II., the power of the pope in presenting to benefices was still farther restricted, and the presentation of aliens forbidden. Finally, by the famous statute commonly called the statute of *Premunire*,⁷² passed in 1392, it was "ordained and established," in still more comprehensive terms, that any person purchasing in the court of Rome or elsewhere, any provisions, excommunications, bulls, or other instruments whatsoever, and any person bringing such instruments within the realm, or receiving them, or making notification of them, should be put out of the king's protection; that their lands and goods should be forfeited; and that they themselves, if they could be found, should be attached and brought before the king and council, there to answer for their offence. The popes maintained the struggle for some time; but the king and the parliament were resolute and steady in their resistance. The victory obtained by the civil over the ecclesiastical power, in this great battle, was complete.

While the king, lords, and commons were thus repelling the encroachments of the Papal power

by the statutes of provisors and *præmunire*, a great reformer with his disciples was shaking the church at once in its doctrine, its discipline, and the whole fabric of its polity. This was John de Wyckliffe, who held no higher office in



JOHN DE WYCKLIFFE.—From a rare print, by Hondius.

the church than that of a humble country rector. He was born A.D. 1324, at Sprewswel, in the neighbourhood of Richmond; or, as others allege, at Wyckliffe in Yorkshire, a parish from the proprietorship of which his ancestors had derived their family name. In 1340 he entered as a student in Queen's College, Oxford, which was founded in the same year by Philippa, queen of Edward III.; and soon after he removed to Merton College, of which he became a fellow. Having taken priest's orders, he in 1361 was presented to the church of Fylingham, in the archdeaconry of Stow; and before the close of the year he was also warden or master of Baliol College. The first circumstance that called the reforming zeal of Wyckliffe into action, was the corruption that now pervaded the different orders of mendicant friars, in consequence of the wealth that had flowed in upon them, and the vices which it naturally engendered; and his printed treatise which he wrote upon the subject, entitled *Objections to Friars*, is a sum-

astical revenues for one of his mock crusades, refused, with the concurrence of the Scottish church, the legate permission to enter his dominions, if we except the dubious and insulated pragmatic sanction of St. Louis, from which the practice of succeeding ages in France entirely deviates. . . . But the court of Avignon was not to be moved by remonstrances; and the feeble administration of Edward II. gave way to ecclesiastical usurpations at home as well as abroad. His magnanimous son took a bolder line. After complaining ineffectually to Clement VI. of the enormous abuse which reserved almost all English benefices to the pope, and generally for the benefit of aliens, he passed in 1350 the famous statute of provisors. This act enacts that all elections and collations shall be free according to law, and that in case any provision or reservation should be made by the court of Rome, the king should for that turn have the col-

lation of such benefice, if it be of ecclesiastical election or patronage. This devolution to the crown, which seems a little arbitrary, was the only remedy that could be effectual against the connivance and timidity of chapters and spiritual patrons. We cannot assert that a statute so nobly planned was executed with equal steadiness. Sometimes by royal dispensation, sometimes by neglect or evasion, the Papal bulls of provision were still obeyed, though fresh laws were enacted to the same effect as the former."—Hallam, iv. li.

⁷¹ See Blackstone, iv. 111.

⁷² This statute (16 Richard II. c. 5), and also the offence against which it is directed, are so called from the words *Premunire*, or *Premunere facias*, used to command a citation of the party in the writ for the execution of this and the preceding statutes respecting provisions.

mary of the controversy which he waged against them during the rest of his laborious life. And what Protestant can fail to discover the foundation of his church in the following declarations of Wyckliffe, respecting the supremacy of the Word of God over the authority of popes and priesthoods?

"First, friars say that their religion, founded of sinful men, is more perfect than that religion or order which Christ himself made, that is both God and man. For they say that each bishop and priest may lawfully leave their first dignity, and after be a friar; but when he is once a friar, he may in no manner leave that, and live as a bishop or a priest by the form of the gospel. But this heresy says that Christ lacked wit, might, or charity, to teach apostles and his disciples the best religion. But what man may suffer this foul heresy to be put on Jesus Christ? Christian men say that the religion and order that Christ made for his disciples and priests is most perfect, most easy, and most siker [secure]. Most perfect, for this reason—for the patron or founder thereof is most perfect, for he is very God and very man, that of most wit, and most charity, gave this religion to his dear worthy friends. Also the rule thereof is most perfect, since the gospel in its freedom, without error of man, is rule of this religion. Also knights' of this religion be most holy and most perfect. For Jesus Christ and his apostles be chief knights thereof, and after them holy martyrs and confessors. It is most easy and light; for Christ himself says that 'his yoke is soft, and his charge is light,' since it stands all in love and freedom of heart, and bids nothing but reasonable things, and profitable for the keeper thereof. It is most siker; for it is confirmed of God, and not of sinful men, and no man may destroy it, or dispense thereagainst; but if the pope or any man shall be saved, he must confirmed be thereby, and else he shall be damned. But men say, that other new orders and rules be nought worth but if they be confirmed of the pope and other sinful men; and then they be not worth but if they be confirmed of the devil, and in case the pope shall be damned, for then he is a devil, as the gospel says of Judas; and thus men say, that Christ's religion in its own clearness and freedom is more perfect than any sinful man's religion, by as much as Christ is more perfect than is any sinful man. And if new religions say that they keep all that Christ's religion bids, they spare the sooth [truth], for they lack the freedom and measure of Christ's religion, and be bound to errors of sinful man, and thereby be letted [hin-

dered] to profit to Christian men's souls, and not suffered to teach freely God's law, nor keep it in themselves. For by the first and most [greatest] commandment of God they be holden 'to love God of all their heart, and all their life, of all their mind, and all their strength, and their neighbours as themselves;' but who may do more than this? Then may no man keep more than Christ's religion bids. And so, if this new religion of friars be more perfect than Christ's religion, then, if friars keep well this religion, they be more perfect than Christ's apostles, and else they be apostles; and if men be apostles, they leave the better order, and take another less perfect. And the order of Christ in its clearness and freedom is most perfect, and so it seems that all these friars be apostates."

In these sentiments may be perceived the great principle for which Wyckliffe contended against the mendicant and preaching friars during a controversy of twenty years. But it was not merely the authority of the church in matters of doctrine which he thus so severely examined, and its claims to infallibility independent of the Word which he so fearlessly exposed: he also investigated its claims to civil and political supremacy, and handled them with equal boldness. One of these instances occurred when he had reached the age of forty, and held, as is supposed, the office of one of the royal chaplains. The English parliament having repudiated the insolent demand of the pontiff for the tribute money of the nation as a vassal of the Holy See, in terms of the abject stipulation of King John, an anonymous monk wrote a tract in justification of these demands, and challenged Wyckliffe by name to answer his arguments. This the Reformer was not slow to do, although his courage might have involved more serious consequences than those of clerical deprivation. One position of the monk was, that the state under no circumstances might deprive the clergy of their lands and revenues, the goods of the church being placed beyond the power of secular lords, both by law and gospel. In answer to this cherished and profitable dogma which Romanism has never lost sight of, Wyckliffe replied, that the goods of the church were in a large sense the goods of the state; and that where they were evidently misapplied, it belonged to the king, of whom all lands should be held, to see that they were rightly administered. The claim of immunity for the persons as well as property of ecclesiastics, and their exemption from civil tribunals, was next asserted; but in the same strain Wyckliffe argued, that in all civil offences, the civil court was the supreme judge over priest and layman alike.

In the year 1372 Wyckliffe became professor of divinity at Oxford; and as a teacher of the future

¹ A title given to priests, who had also "sir" prefixed to their names, like knights. Hence, at the time of the Reformation, the Roman Catholic clergy were called the pope's knights.

priesthood of England, the appointment of such a man had an ominous significance; it spoke of innovations that would grow in the church—of religious contention and persecution. But the amount of corruption that had already gathered upon it could not be removed by unimpassioned arguments and gentle words. At the outset of his career as a Reformer, Wyckliffe scarcely appears to have aspired to such a character; and the abuses of the friars, against which his mission had commenced, led him slowly, and only step by step, to a perception of the perversity of those doctrines upon which their excesses in practice had been founded. It was thus that the earliest of the Reformers had commenced, and Luther himself, the greatest of them all. What were Wyckliffe's theological opinions when he became a professor of theology, may be gathered from his Latin treatise entitled *Triologus*, written, according to the fashion of the times, in the form of a dialogue between three speakers, whom he calls *Alithia* [Truth], *Pseudis* [Falseness], and *Phronesis* [Wisdom], the last speaker being the exponent of Wyckliffe's own opinions. In this work he denounces the authority of tradition, declaring that if there be any truth it is in the Scriptures; and that no truth is to be found in the schools which does not exist in greater excellence in the Bible. He is so intrepid, and so much in advance of the wisdom of his age, that he denounces astrology and alchemy as being delusions that had not only injured the science of medicine, but that of theology also. He discourses of faith, hope, and charity, in the full spirit of modern theology, although in the old form of Aristotelian logic; and upon the last of these three Christian graces, he utters sentiments most widely apart from the cherished statute *de comburendo hereticis*. "Christ," he says, "wished his law to be observed willingly, freely, that in such obedience men might find happiness. Hence, he appointed no civil punishment to be inflicted on transgressors of his commandments, but left the persons neglecting them to a suffering more severe, that would come after the day of judgment."

Upon the subject of sins, and the favourite distinction of the churchmen between mortal and venial transgressions, Wyckliffe is as express and as fearless as either Calvin or Luther. He declares that these terms "mortal" and "venial," about which even prelates "babble so much," are used by those who "know better how to extort money for sins, than how to cleanse any man from them, or how to distinguish between them." "A sin," he adds, "may be called mortal, when, according to the judgment of God, it is worthy of death; and thus it is the sin of final impenitence only, that is the sin against the

Holy Ghost, that is properly mortal. But any other sin, inasmuch as it is a sin that may be pardoned, may be called venial. But as these actual sins which extinguish Divine grace, cannot be determined by our limited knowledge, and we are thus left in ignorance as to what sins committed in our pilgrimage may be venial and what mortal, we are bound to avoid all sin whatsoever, seeing that we are aware, in a general way, of its evil consequences, but know little of its real enormity. The believer may judge somewhat of the evil of sin, from the fact that he owes to God an infinite gratitude, and the greater the gratitude due, the greater must be the guilt of failure. So that the evil of every sin is infinite." From the fact of this enormity, Wyckliffe contended that God only can forgive sin, and that therefore pardons and dispensations were not "to be bought or sold like an ox or an ass." In speaking of saint-worship, the Reformer is more cautious, as if he were less assured upon that topic than the others; but still there is enough in his measured language to show that he was rather inclined to its abrogation. "Whoever entreats a saint," he thus writes, "should direct his prayer to Christ as God, not to the saint specially, but to Christ. Nor doth the celebration or festival of a saint avail anything, except in so far as it may tend to the magnifying of Christ, inciting us to honour him, and increasing our love to him. If there be any celebration in honour of the saints, which is not kept within these limits, it is not to be doubted that cupidity or some other evil cause has given rise to such services. Hence not a few think it would be well for the church if all festivals of that nature were abolished, and those only retained which have respect immediately to Christ. For then, they say, the memory of Christ would be kept more freshly in the mind, and the devotions of the common people would not be unduly distributed among the members of Christ. But, however this may be, it is certain that the service paid to any saint must be useless, except as it incites to the love of Christ, and is of a nature to secure the benefit of his mediation. For the Scriptures assure us that Christ is the mediator between God and man. Hence, many are of opinion, that when prayer was directed only to that middle person of the Trinity for spiritual help the church was more flourishing, and made greater advances than it does now, when many new intercessors have been found out and introduced."

As it was necessary to appeal to an unquestionable authority in behalf of truths so startling, Wyckliffe recommended the careful study of the Scriptures beyond every other kind of reading, and the adoption of their *dicta* as the only

test of every theological question. It was from the neglect of this simple rule that the church had become corrupted, and it was only by the resumption of this rule that the church could be purified and reformed. "We do not sincerely believe," he says, "in the Lord Jesus Christ, or we should abide by the authority of his Word, especially that of the evangelists, as of infinitely greater weight than any other. Inasmuch as it is the will of the Holy Spirit, that our attention should not be dispersed over a large number of objects, but concentrated on one sufficient source of instruction, it is his pleasure that the books of the Old and New Law should be read and studied, and that men should not be taken up with other books, which, true as they may be, and containing even Scripture truth, as they may by implication, are not to be confided in without caution and limitation. Hence, Augustine (Book II. *De Ordine Rerum*) often enjoins it on his readers, not to place any faith in his words or writings, except in so far as they have their foundation in Scripture, wherein, as he often says, are contained all truth, either directly or by implication. Of course, we should judge in this manner concerning the writings of other holy doctors, and much more concerning the writings of the Roman church, and of her doctors in these later times. If we follow this rule, the Scriptures will be held in becoming reverence. The Papal bulls will be superseded, as they ought to be. The veneration of men for the laws of the Papacy, as well as for the opinions of our modern doctors, which, since the loosing of Satan, they have been so free to promulgate, will be restrained within due limits. What concern have the faithful with writings of this sort, except as they are honestly deduced from the fountain of Scripture? By pursuing such a course, it is not only in our power to reduce the mandates of prelates and popes to their just place, but the errors of these new religious orders also might be corrected, and the worship of Christ well purified and elevated."

All this was well; but at this time the Bible, the reading of which Wyckliffe so earnestly recommended, and the authority of which as the guide of religious faith he so earnestly advocated, was a sealed book except to the learned. Attempts, indeed, had been made from the time of Alfred to embody the Scriptures in the English tongue, and thus make them accessible to the community at large, instead of confining them to those favoured few, almost wholly of the ecclesiastical order, who could master the Latin translation. But as such attempts were hostile to priestly domination, they had either been discouraged or suppressed, so that they had ended in the translation of a few detached portions

of sacred writ into Saxon English, or rhyming paraphrases of Scripture history adapted to the popular taste. These versions, too, had in no case been literal, and consequently abounded in such misconceptions and errors as rendered their aid a very doubtful benefit. By his recommendations, therefore, to study the Bible, and judge for themselves independently of priestly authority, Wyckliffe had bound himself in honour and in conscience to furnish the people with the means of discharging that duty, by translating the whole Word, and translating it faithfully and literally into their own tongue. The result was that earliest edition of the entire Scripture in English, commonly known as Wyckliffe's Bible. His writings had already prepared the way for this daring attempt, and several were willing to aid in its accomplishment. This important work the Reformer is supposed to have commenced soon after the year 1381, when he was silenced as a public teacher in Oxford, and obliged to retire to his secluded rectory of Lutterworth; and with the aid of his learned and zealous coadjutors, the work was accomplished part by part, and appears to have been fully completed previous to the time of his death. Of the feeling which this decisive achievement excited in the breasts of the churchmen we have a distinct exposition in the fierce vituperations of Knyghton, written only a few years after the Reformer's decease. "Christ delivered his gospel," says Knyghton, "to the clergy and doctors of the church, that they might administer to the laity and to weaker persons, according to the states of the times and the wants of men. But this Master John Wyckliffe translated it out of Latin into English, and thus laid it out more open to the laity and to women who could read, than it had formerly been to the most learned of the clergy, even to those of them who had the best understanding. In this way the gospel pearl is cast abroad, and trodden under foot of swine, and that which was before precious both to clergy and laity, is rendered, as it were, the common jest of both. The jewel of the church is turned into the sport of the people, and what had hitherto been the choice gift of the clergy and of divines, is made for ever common to the laity."

Of the other particulars of Wyckliffe's eventful life as connected with the religious history of the period, we can only give a very summary notice. So highly was his reputation established for talent, learning, eloquence, and religious patriotism, that in 1374 he was sent from the English court in a diplomatic capacity to the court of Rome, then held at Bruges, and which was attended by ambassadors from France and England. Three years after, occurred his memorable

trial before the convocation held in London, of which mention has been made in another portion of our history, and where he would probably have been consigned to martyrdom, but for the effectual patronage of the Duke of Lancaster and Lord Percy. Even at this early period, as we are told by Walsingham, nearly all the Londoners were Lollards—a reproachful term by which the followers of Wyckliffe had begun to be distinguished. In the following year (1378) he was again summoned to answer for his writings and opinions before a synod held at Lambeth; but on this occasion the citizens of London, alarmed for his safety, assembled in great multitudes round the place of meeting, so that the trial was abandoned. His life of labour and anxiety, however, his literary conflicts, in which he stood alone against a formidable and merciless hierarchy, and the persecution that continually hung over his head, had so weakened his health, that soon afterwards he sickened at Oxford, and it was hoped by his enemies that he could not recover. In this case, the mendicant friars, hoping to extort a retraction of the bitter truths he had written against them, sent a deputation, who exhorted him to repent, and make confession of his errors. Having heard them to an end, the apparently exhausted man caused himself to be raised in the bed by his servant, and fixing his eyes upon the tormenting monitors, he exclaimed in a deep determined voice, "I shall not die, but live, and again declare the evil deeds of the friars." The crest-fallen deputies hastily retired, and Wyckliffe recovered from his ailment.

It was as the rector of Lutterworth, to which clerical office he had been presented in 1375, that Wyckliffe was chiefly known in England, and afterwards to the world at large, as a Reformer and controversialist. While his preaching to the flock of this little town, as appears from certain homilies in manuscript still extant, consisted chiefly of expositions of the errors of the established religious system, he was still more at pains to show them the better way, as it was unfolded in the authoritative pages of revelation. But while the pulpit of Lutterworth was thus the centre of irradiation for England, to the remotest parts of which his doctrines were gradually carried, the writings which his unwearied pen produced were disseminated over Europe at large. The zeal with which they were

transcribed, and the inquiry they must have awoken, is attested by the fact, that at Prague, 200 volumes of works attributed to him were condemned to the flames. Of course, many of these volumes would now only class as pamphlets; but collectively, their bulk would equal the voluminous writings of St. Augustine. Much indeed has been said of their contradictory character, and their obscurity; but when it is remembered at how early a period he appeared, how much he was isolated from those sources by which his successors were enlightened and confirmed, and how much he was obliged to attempt, the marvel rather is, that he should have written so clearly and so truthfully. The Lollardism of England, and the Hussite doctrines of Bohemia and Germany, by which the Reformation of Europe was heralded and prepared, may be traced to the pulpit and the parsonage study of Lutterworth.

The death of Wyckliffe was in character with his life and actions: it was at his post, and



LUTTERWORTH CHURCH.—From Nichols' Leicestershire.

while employed in his sacred duties. At the age of fifty-eight his manifold toils and anxieties had brought on paralysis, from which he never fully recovered; and two years afterwards, on the 28th or 29th of December, 1384, while engaged in the service of the church at Lutterworth, he was attacked by a stroke of palsy, of which he expired on the 31st of the same month. Thus he died in peace, although his enemies had so often attempted to bring him to the stake. All that they could do was, forty years after, when clerical dominion had resumed for a season its old ascendancy, to cause his bones to be disinterred and burned, and his ashes to be thrown into the river Swift, at Lutterworth: but as old Fuller, in

his *Church History*, quaintly observes, "the Swift conveyed them into the Avon, Avon into the Severn, Severn into the narrow seas, they to the main ocean. And thus the ashes of Wyckliffe are the emblem of his doctrine, which now is dispersed all the world over."¹

CHAPTER IX.—HISTORY OF SOCIETY.

A.D. 1216—1399.

Change in English society—Formation of a middle class—Rural life—Condition of agriculture—Manorial establishments—Houses and furniture of the period—Dress and personal ornaments during the different reigns of this period—Fopperies during that of Richard II.—Female dress and ornaments—Chivalrous sports—Tournaments—Combats—The ordeal combat—Peaceful sports—Banquets—Classes of English society, and their modes of life, as described by Chaucer—The Tabard inn—The host—CHIVALROUS classes: the knight, the squire, the yeoman—ECCLESIASTICAL classes: the prioress, the monk, the summoner, the pardoner, the Oxford clerk, the good parson, the ploughman—CLASSES OF LAW AND MEDICINE: the doctor of physic, the serjeant-at-law—MERCANTILE classes: the merchant, the tradesman, the shipman—RURAL classes: the franklin, the reeve, the miller—Sketch of the wife of Bath—Architecture of the period—Introduction of the pointed arch—Ecclesiastical buildings—Early English style—Decorated style—Castellated buildings—Walls, courts, and defences of English castles—Progress of science and literature—Preference given to metaphysical speculation—Tokens of intellectual revival—Universities of Cambridge and Oxford—Character of the students—Chaucer's Oxford clerk—His description of Clerk Nicholas—Eminent scholars of the period—Robert Grosstête—Gilbert Anglieus—John Arderne—Matthew Paris—Roger Bacon—Poetry of the period—Early English poets—Layamon—Robert of Gloucester—Robert de Brunne—Laurence Minot—Robert Langland—Chaucer—Gower—Condition of Scotland—Scottish merchandise, manufactures, and ship-building—Scottish music—Progress of the people arrested by the war with England—Literary Scotchmen—Michael Scott—John Duns Scotus—John de Fordun—Early Scottish poetry—Thomas the Rhymer—John Barbour.



THE transition state which a community must undergo before some great beneficial change, had now ended in England, and the season had already commenced, in which the disadvantages of that change were to be superseded by its benefits. The odious distinctions of Saxon and Norman, like those of Saxon and Dane, had at last melted away; the races once so antagonistic, had become one people; and those energies which had hitherto been

wasted in mutual contention and extermination, were concentrated and directed to a common aim. Every inhabitant of the land was now an Englishman, while the leading events in which he bore a part had assumed a general and national character. The great question now at issue was, the advance of English liberty, and the promotion of English prosperity.

One evidence of this happy change is to be found in the condition of the rural population. They no longer exclusively consisted of master

¹ "At the end of the fourteenth century French was still the official language in England, of all the political bodies and high personages whose existence was connected with the Norman conquest. It was spoken by the king, the bishops, the judges, and by the earls and barons; and it was the language their children learned as soon as they could speak. The position of the aristocracy, which had preserved it for three centuries and a half, amidst a people speaking a language quite different, had not been favourable to its progress; and when compared with the French of the court of France at the same period, it was rather antiquated and incorrect in grammar and pronunciation. Some expressions were used in it which were peculiar to the provincial dialect of Normandy, and the manner of pronouncing, as far as can be judged from the orthography of the records, much resembled the low Norman accent and pronunciation of the present day. . . . The nobles and the courtiers being very fond of poetry, but disdaining to write verses or compose books, the troubadours who sang for the court and the castles, could find pupils only among the trading classes or the inferior clergy, who, being of English origin, spoke English in their usual conversation. The effort which these men had to make in order to express their ideas and feelings in a language which was not that of their infancy, detracted from the perfection of their works, and made them less numerous. At the end of the

thirteenth century, most of those who, in the towns or in the cloisters, felt a taste or a talent for literature, endeavoured to treat in English most of the historical and imaginative subjects which had hitherto been treated of only in pure Norman.

"A great many attempts of this kind made their appearance all at once before the year 1350. A part of the poets of that period, and such as were most in favour with the higher classes of society, still wrote verses in French; others, contenting themselves with the approbation of the middle classes, composed for them in their own language; and others, combining the two languages in the same poem, changed them in every alternate couplet, and sometimes at every second line. At this period the scarcity of good French books written in England became such, that the higher ranks of society were obliged to procure from France the romances and tales with which they diverted themselves in the long evenings, and the ballads which enlivened their banquets and festive parties. But the war of chivalry which broke out at that time between England and France, inspiring the nobility of both nations with reciprocal aversion, lessened, in the eyes of the Anglo-Normans, the attractions of the literature imported from France, and obliged all gentlemen who were nice on the point of national honour, to content themselves with the reading of works produced at home."—*Thierry's Norman Conquest*.

and slave; their sole inheritance was no longer that of enjoyment or endurance. From both ranks, but especially the latter, a middle class was forming, created by the political necessities of the times, and the yeomanry of England were soon, both in point of influence and number, to form a sufficient counterpoise between the oppressors and the oppressed. There was now a peasantry in the land who could sit under their own roof tree without fear of dislodgment, and eat the fruits of their industry in open day, without having it snatched from their hands. They still had lords indeed, and proud ones too; but what was a noble without his yeomanly followers, by whom his lands were enriched in peace, and his banner upheld in war? Or what other refuge could sovereignty itself find amidst the changes by which it was constantly imperilled?

In coming, however, to the particulars of rural life during this period, we must confess that our knowledge is still very scanty. From gleanings that can be obtained among the earliest agricultural accounts and documents, some of the estates must have been very large, as well as plentifully provided. From that of the elder Spenser, in the reign of Edward II., it was stated that his enemies carried off 1000 oxen and heifers, 1200 cows and their calves, 500 cart-horses, 23,000 sheep, and 2000 hogs. Such, in all likelihood, were the estates belonging to the highest of the English nobility. But in descending from these extreme to more common cases, let us take, as an example, the parish of Hawstead, in Suffolk, as detailed in Sir T. Cullum's history of that district. The manor-house, which was of large extent, was surrounded by a moat, and had two court-yards and three gardens, with its due establishment of pigeon-house, rabbit warren, and fish-ponds. The tenants were thirty-two in number, who held of the lord of the manor, and did him service for the land they occupied, the wages with which they were repaid being in kind and money; and independently of the tenants, he held in his own hands 572 acres of arable and 50 of meadow land, with sufficient pasture for the live stock of the manorial farm. The persons employed in such an establishment were—a steward, who presided at the manor courts, kept the accounts of the farm and family, and took charge of the domestics; a bailiff, who superintended the whole farming operations; a head harvest-man, elected by the tenantry themselves, and confirmed in office by his lord; and a sufficient staff of ploughmen, plough-drivers, carters, shepherds, swine-herds, and deyes or labourers of all work. This was a large establishment to provide for; but in looking to the live stock, we find, that the manor of Hawstead had ten horses, ten oxen, one bull, twenty cows, six heifers, six calves, ninety-two sheep, 200 two-year-old sheep,

five geese, thirty capons, one cock, and twenty-six hens. In these, independently of the gardens, fish-ponds, rabbit warren, and pigeon-house, we have a sufficient guarantee that the manor was abundantly victualled, not only for all its inmates, but the additional purposes of show and hospitality.

In the domestic architecture of this period, we find that comfort, and even elegance, were beginning to be blended with that grim security which was still indispensable. While the towers of lordly mansions were, therefore, assuming a more graceful appearance, the decoration of halls and apartments was more carefully studied. One effect of this was to sweep away the cumbrous tapestry and hangings of needle-work with which the walls were concealed, and substitute in their place paintings of subjects selected from popular romance or Scripture, and surmounted with scrolls containing a legend or a text applicable to the event delineated. Windows also of glass, painted or transparent, were now in use; and at the latter part of the present period, they were made with lattices, to open and shut at pleasure. In the articles of furniture, the unwieldy tables were exchanged for light tressels, and chairs in their form and carving were assimilated to the architectural improvements that had taken place in public buildings. One of the chief objects of domestic splendour was the bed, the outer coverings of which were generally of the richest fabric, such as satin or velvet, beautifully embroidered with various flowers and figures, or the armorial distinctions of the owner; and underneath, the sheets were of cloth of Rennes, which was linen of the finest texture. Andirons were now introduced as graceful supporters of the burning logs, instead of allowing them to consume on the hearth; and fire-screens with ornamented feet and stands. These descriptions, however, as yet, are only applicable to the homes of the rich; but in regard to the houses of the poor, and even of the middle classes both in town and country, we are still unable to speak with certainty.

In this, as in other periods of our history, the subject of costume is so multifarious and complex—so utterly removed from the fashion of our own day, and therefore so difficult to describe in words—that we should be unable to convey an intelligible account of it without a reference to those pictures that speak to the eye more distinctly than any form of language. To these ancient illustrations, therefore, upon which we have largely drawn for this department, we must refer the attention of the reader. In these we can perceive that fashion still continued to ebb and flow with its wonted restlessness. In these changes we can also, in some measure, detect the character of the reigning sovereign as illustrated in the attire of his grantees

and courtiers, and of the aristocracy at large who followed such a prevalent example.

During the reigns of Edward I. and Edward II., when the wars with France and Scotland were

alternated with popular discontent and civil commotion, we can perceive, even from their dress, that men were astir, and braced for a life of action. This was indicated not only by the tight hosen and shoes, or short boots, that formed an essential part of everyday male costume, but by the close sleeves of the under tunic, on which buttons were worn from the wrist almost to the elbow. Over this succinct dress, a large cloak with ample sleeves, and having a cowl attached, was usually thrown in foul weather, or in travelling. But the recent introduction of velvet and cloths of gold and silk, soon produced cloaks of more striking cut, as well as elegant ap-



COSTUMES FOR THE FOUR SEASONS, TIME OF EDWARD II.—Sloane MS. 2455.



LADIES' HEAD-DRESSES, TIME OF EDWARD I.—Royal MS. 15. D. II.

pearance; and the practice of escalopping the edges of garments, and especially of sleeves, was carried to a most inordinate extent, especially in the earlier part of this period. An exquisite of the thirteenth century, with his long sleeves

fashioned in this manner, must have been a most grotesque spectacle; and his picture suggests to us the idea of a compound figure in heraldry, half-man half-dragon, rather than a living and



SCALLOP-EDGED DRESS. Harleian MS.

human reality. Such was the "slyttering" of robes which Chaucer described, and which his predecessors had been pleased to admire. This love of finery, which so elongated and adorned the sleeves, also ascended to the head-dress of the male sex, which still continued to be a cowl, but which was wreathed into every form that the caprice of the wearer could devise, from the cap of a licensed merry-andrew to the turban of a stern and formal Saracen.

Of the female dress of the reign of Edward I., the examples are not only numerous, but in many cases indicative of simplicity and elegance. The hair, as seen in the accompanying illustration, was not plaited as formerly, but turned up behind, and inclosed within a network of gold, silver, or silk thread. In some cases, a round cap or hat was worn; in others, where the head was uncovered, the hair appears to have been carefully crisped or curled. We cannot, however, so highly commend the gorget, which seems to have been a prevalent fashion in female



FEMALE COSTUME, TIME OF EDWARD I.—(1), From a monument in Staindrop Church, Durham. (2), From a brass in Minster Church, Kent.

head-dress during this reign. This was a neckcloth wrapped two or three times round the neck, and fastened on either side of the face above the ears with abundance of pins, stuck so close that they seemed to be secured in the skin of the wearer.

In some instances, however, where a better taste seems to have kept this extravagance in check, the gorget was loosely drawn over the lower part of the face in the form of a muller; and as such, it forms a precise, demure, and not altogether ungraceful article of female costume. The simple, yet rich and gracefully flowing robes by which these figures are distinguished, indicate a more improved taste than that which is generally supposed to have belonged to the period, and suggest the predominant influence in female fashion which may have been exercised by Eleanor, the amiable queen of the stern and unbending Edward Longshanks.

With the reign of Edward III., such a change of costume commenced, as seemed to intimate a thorough revolution in the national character and circumstances. The ascendancy of effeminate favourites had vanished; a recoil into active life and enterprise had commenced; and the long trailing robes which had been stealing into use during the close of the preceding reign, seemed to be borne away upon the wings of the national revolution. The chief garment of the young

streamers, however, that had come into vogue, were retained, although not of such longitude as before, for they reached no farther than the knees,



COSTUMES OF THE TIME OF EDWARD III.¹

instead of descending to the ankle. Sometimes the sleeves terminated at the elbow, and had attached to them long streamers by way of prolongation. Over the cote was thrown a very long mantle lined either with silk or with fur, which last article had been introduced into England during the reign of Edward I., and adorned with serrated edges. But during this long reign of Edward III., the fashions were so mutable, that it is difficult to convey any definite idea of them. They shifted and changed from long to short garments, and from short to long: sometimes they were wide and flowing, and sometimes straight and narrow. Among these innovations, were beaver hats, long hose of two colours, pointed shoes richly embroidered, and a long-tailed cowl, that was drawn over the head, and buttoned under the chin. Beards, also, which had been curtailed or shaven during the period of Edward II., were trained into luxuriance under the reign of his son, but probably not until the royal beard had reached the length of full manhood. These mutable fashions of the period were thus summed up in their essentials by the following well-known rhymes of a Scottish satirist:—

“Long beards heartless,
Painted hoods witless,
Gay coats graceless,
Make England thrifless.”

In the above sketch from various authorities of the period, several of the peculiarities we have mentioned may be detected, although confined within sober limitations.



COSTUMES OF THE TIME OF EDWARD III.—William of Windsor and Blanche de la Tour, from their tomb in Westminster Abbey.

nobles was now the *cote hardie*, a tight close-fitting dress buttoned down in front, and girt to the hips with a rich girdle. The preposterous sleeve-

¹ Reading from the left, the figures are—(1), From the monumental brass of Lady Stapleton, Ingham Church, Norfolk; date 1365. (2), From the effigy of Lady Berkeley. (3), From the tomb of Roger Curdiston, Rupham Church, Norfolk; date 1337. (4), *Burpees*, from a monumental brass at Lynn. (5), *Doctor of medicine*, from Sloane MS. 2435.

But the gay and luxurious reign of Richard II. was a season at which the frenzy of fashion reached its height and could go no farther. The male dress now consisted of a jacket so short as to be thought utterly indecent, and composed of two different colours; and to this a pair of hose was attached, also parti-coloured, and sometimes of as many hues as the rainbow. The outer mantle that was thrown over this harlequinade, was as odd as the inner dress, which it was meant not to conceal but to set off; for its edges were snipped from top to bottom into the shape of leaves and other vagaries, letters and mottoes were embroidered upon it like fetiches or phylacteries; and the sleeves, which were sometimes as wide as the body itself, trailed upon the ground in full grandeur. As for the head-dresses of the men, those that are delineated in the illuminated MSS. of the period are almost as various as the heads they cover. Sometimes they resemble an old Persian



HEAD-DRESSES, TIME OF RICHARD II.—(1). From Harleian MS. 1319. (2). From Royal MS. 15. D. iii.

tiara, sometimes a Geneva skull-cap, and sometimes a sort of hat with a brim of very small dimensions. But the most fashionable kind of hat or bonnet was a high circular covering, like a lady's muff or grenadier's cap, also black in colour, and seeming, from the stiffness of its texture, to be made of some kind of felt. Not the least remarkable part of this strange costume was the shoe; and how our ancestors could contrive to walk in spite of such an incubraunce, will always be a subject of wonderment; for the toe, instead of ending with the foot, is projected about fourteen inches farther, and terminates in a sharp point. In the illuminated MSS. these shoes have an odd resemblance to radishes. We are also informed that these long extremities, which appear to have been made of elastic materials, were sometimes turned up and fastened to the knees with silver chains, and thus the wearer, if bound upon some active enterprise, could shuffle along with less impediment. These preposterously shaped shoes were called "cracowes," from Cracow in Poland, the place whence the fashion was imported by the Bohemian followers of Anne, the queen of Richard II.

All this extravagance in costume was bad enough; but one peculiarity in the fashions of the time was still worse—this was a gown reaching from



CRACOWES.—From Harleian MS.

the chin to the heel, closed in front, and furbelowed at the sides, so that when the forked beard of the wearer was not seen, he might have been mistaken for a woman. We can easily imagine how the re-appearance of an exquisite arrayed in all the finery of that age would in our day be the most startling of apparitions. It is to be observed, too, that this more than feminine love of rich and showy attire was not exclusively confined to the noble and the opulent; it was imparted by the masters to their servants, as part and parcel of themselves; and they, too, ruffled along, as we are told, in suits of silk and satin, and in cloth of damask, green, and scarlet.

As display in dress is generally an epidemic, and as male and female fashions generally act and re-act upon each other, we can scarcely expect the ladies to have been exempted from those weaknesses in which the stronger sex so liberally indulged. The dressing of their locks and fashion of the head-covering were, therefore, continually undergoing new changes; sometimes the hair being plaited, and at others worn turned up in a net-work; sometimes adorned with natural flowers, and sometimes with wimples, that varied into every form from the simple to the ridiculous. In the same manner, the length as well as form of



COURT COSTUMES, TIME OF RICHARD II.—Harleian MS.

their dresses was altered, so that while sometimes the ladies were likened to horned animals on account of their head-attire, at others they were com-

pared to "peacocks and magpies that trailed still shorter tails in the dirt." In the reign of Edward III. the ladies usurped an undue portion of the male attire by assuming the cote hardie, with its narrow long hanging sleeves, and a kirtle shaped like a loose jacket or surtout, bordered with velvet or fur, and ornamented with jewels; and as if this had not been sufficiently masculine, they also on gay public occasions girt themselves with small swords stuck through pouches, which they wore in front. In the reign of Richard II. splendour in female dress attained its height, so that the be-gemmed, bedizzened, parti-coloured beaux of the period were fully matched by the glittering belles at whom they arrayed themselves so extravagantly. It is just, however, to add that the female costume was at this time in much better taste than the attire of their admirers; and that, while it was more succinct, and better adapted to the natural figure than in former periods, it had also parted with the long sleeves that formed such unnatural appendages.

In mentioning the sports of the period, those connected with war hold the most prominent place. Defensive armour had now improved from a partial covering to a complete *cap-a-pie*, and from chain or mail to plate armour that covered the wearer from head to foot. Adroitness in movement under such a load being only the result of long and laborious practice, it was therefore necessary to redouble those exercises in riding and in pel and quintain encounters, by which ease and dexterity could be attained; and to these was also added the graceful amusement of riding at the ring, which holds such high distinction in the festivals of the day. This consisted in carrying off upon the point of a lance a small ring suspended in mid-air, while the rider passed it at full gallop; and he who succeeded in such a difficult feat, was reckoned the most dexterous in the use of his weapon, and best able to unhorse an antagonist in real encounter. While such were the military sports of the high in rank, the commons had full occupation in acquiring dexterity in archery; and the village green was crowded with stout yeomen contending with the long bow, and striving who should send his arrow right into the centre of the target, amidst the cries of "i' the clout! i' the clout!" But of all these contentious public amusements, nothing was comparable with the tournament, which,

not only in splendour, but also in generous military excitement, reduced the gladiatorial exhibitions of ancient Rome to utter barbarism and insignificance. From the long and brilliant warfare both in Scotland and France, the English had acquired an unwonted passion for these martial exercises, while the peace that followed gave ample scope and leisure for its gratification. The stirring spirits of the land must still be up and doing although peace had been proclaimed, and fight in all love and courtesy with each other, when they could do it no longer in hate and against an enemy. Happily, also, for the tournament, while it had the renowned heroes of Crecy and Otterbourne to contend in the lists, it possessed in Froissart the very Homer of chivalry, to delineate its grandeur and chronicle its achievements.

These tournaments were of various kinds. Sometimes they celebrated a private event, such as a marriage in a noble family, and sometimes a national victory, or a royal coronation: in the former case, the lists were established in the neighbourhood of the baronial castle; and in the latter, at some noted part of the kingdom, such as Oxford, or Smithfield in the metropolis. The

most splendid tournament that probably had ever been assembled in England, was held at Smithfield during the reign of Richard II., and lasted five days, while the combatants were not only the bravest knights of England, but also those of the Continent. Every effort was wont to be made on such occasions to aggrandize the event, not only by the high renown of the warriors, who were frequently invited from every country, but the beauty of the ladies, the gorgeousness of the pavilions, and the rich banquets with which the combats of the day were closed. The mode of combating was also various; sometimes consisting of a joust with headless lances, or a close encounter on foot with blunted two-handed swords, by which strength and address were fully exhibited, with no worse result than a few bruises, or a broken rib or two; and sometimes the spears were sharpened, and the swords edged and pointed, while the warriors closed at *outrance*, and often fought it out to the death. At times, also, the combatants fought in pairs, one man taking possession of the lists and challenging every comer in succession; and at other times, it was a regular *mêlée*, in which all the knights, arranged in two equal parties, fought as in a real field of battle. Of course, when such hot fearless spirits



PLATE ARMOUR, TIME OF EDWARD I.¹

¹ This figure represents Sir John D'Abernon, from a monumental brass in Stoke d'Abernon Church, Surrey.

encountered, and when ladies looked on and applauded, each man did his uttermost, and dreadful wounds and even death was frequent, and a complete mutual extermination might have been the consequence, but for the authority of the king



TOURNAMENT, from the Life of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick.
Ex. MS. apud Bib. Cot. Julius E. IV

or the marshal of the tournament to arrest the havoc at his pleasure. In this case, he had only to cry "Ho!" and throw down his truncheon, when the knights in an instant reined up in mid career. But even already the death-knell of these chivalrous pageants had been sounded, and an agency had risen up under which chivalry itself was to disappear; for the hidden power of "villainous saltpetre" had been brought to light, and its first terrible explosions been heard. Cannons had actually been used at the battle of Crecy; and thus a new era of destruction and civilization had commenced. Knighthood was soon to find, that barbed steeds and an ample panoply of Milan plate armour were utterly bootless in a charge against a park of artillery.

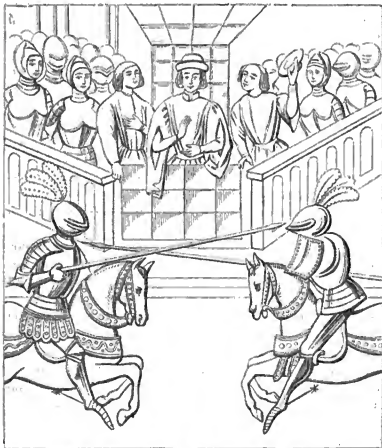
Other encounters, however, than those of the regular tourney were common in such iron days of chivalry, among men who, in a season of peace or truce, were too impatient to wait for the proclamation of a regular "passage of arms." Neighbours quarrelled, and reasoned out the controversy with sword or lance; and armed knights meeting upon the highway would often invite

each other to a tilt, in which one or both might be wounded to their hearts' contentment. Any question, or even no question at all, was sufficient to kindle such inflammable souls, while spectators were always at hand to applaud every good blow. Sometimes, however, a single combat was to be fought upon more public and important grounds, and was therefore attended with a considerable share of that solemn preparation which graced the tournament. One of these related by Hector Boece, the Scottish historian, is too remarkable to be omitted. Sir David Lindsay, Earl of Crawford, and Lord Wells, the ambassador of Richard II., having differed at a solemn banquet in Scotland about the valour of their respective countrymen, resolved to settle the question in their own persons; and to make the trial more difficult as well as more conspicuous, London bridge was selected for the place of combat, while the ensuing St. George's Day (of 1390) was appointed for the day of meeting. Attended by a mighty crowd, who mustered to the settlement of this great national assize, the two champions entered these strange lists; and at sound of trumpet, rode in furious career against each other with grinded lances. But in the shock, Lindsay sat so firmly that a cry of foul play rose among the on-lookers, who declared

that, contrary to the law of arms, he had fastened himself to his saddle. On hearing this, Lindsay leaped from his war horse, to show the falsehood of the charge, and then bounded once more into the saddle although laden with his heavy armour. The combat was renewed, and the second course passed with equal fortune; but in the third Lord Wells was hurled to the ground with such force, that he lay without sense or motion. On this, Earl David dismounted, embraced the fallen man to show that he had done nothing in hate but all in honour, and afterwards continued to visit his antagonist every day at his lodging, until he was healed. It was a noble and touching sequel to what we might otherwise condemn as savage or puerile. But this was not the only generous trait that softened the fierce wars of the two contending nations. When the desperate battle of Otterbourne was ended, each captor said to his English prisoner, "Sir, go and unarm you, and take your ease; I am your master;" and, adds Froissart, "they made their prisoners as good cheer as though they had been brethren, without doing to them any damage."

But besides these various modes of contention, there was the ordeal combat, which formed not only an essential part of chivalry, but was incorporated with the civil institutions of almost every country in Europe. This kind of trial was a natural result of the Northern immigrations and conquests, and the Teutonic character impressed upon the renewed state of society, when in every doubtful matter, a blunt-witted but warlike people had recourse to the arbitration of their swords. With a view to humanize the spirits of the Norsemen, and probably to render such combats less frequent, the clergy identified them with religion, and took them under their own especial management; and as such a mode of trial was considered a direct appeal to Heaven, they endeavoured to fence it with such solemn observances as would have been sufficient to deter most appellants from the lists. But the chivalrous spirit was not to be so restrained: Men who wore gilded spurs on their heels, and were impatient of the shadow of insult or contradiction, refused to intrust their honour to clerical keeping; and thus the ordeal combat passed away from the control of the ecclesiastical to the secular tribunals. Most of these appeals, too, were in cases of treason, and

when, at his accession, no less than forty gauntlets were thrown upon the floor, representing as many charges of high treason, and challenges to single combat. Battles of this kind were arranged with the most scrupulous precision. After the charge had been made, and the ring or glove of challenge given and received, the day of trial was appointed by the king, and lists were paved to the extent of sixty paces in length and forty in breadth, where the combatants could bestir themselves without interruption. The accuser then entered, mounted and fully armed; he thrice called on the accused, who at the third summons rode into the lists; the charge was again read, and a denial returned; and no other resource being thus left, the oaths of battle were administered, by which, among other things, the hostile parties swore that they would fight fairly without aid from magic or witchcraft, or from herb, or stone, or any charm whatever by which they might gain the victory. The combatants then betook themselves to solemn prayer, and afterwards rose in readiness for battle. As it was a life and death conflict that followed, in which one if not both was certain to fall, the battle was waged first with spears, afterwards with swords,



SINGLE COMBAT.—From Froissart MS. British Museum.

were therefore best fitted for the decision of kings and magistrates. Challenges of this nature, which had been sufficiently frequent in England, were plentiful during the reign of Richard II., but still more so during that of his successor,

and finally in close grapple with daggers; and when one party was at last beaten down, so as to be unable to rise or defend himself, this was full proof of his guilt, in which case he was dragged by the heels from the lists, and generally hanged, whether quick or dead, upon a gibbet, as a convicted traitor. This kind of ordeal combat, like the tournaments, was only reserved for knights, or squires of stainless and ancient escutcheon who were eligible for knighthood. But the commons too—men who were not entitled to fraternize with high-born chivalry—could also be charged with treason, and would give the lie to the charge; and how in such a case was the question to be settled? They, too, behoved to have their ordeal combat, although they might not wage it in chivalrous form, and therefore they were allowed to fight it out with weapons suited to their degree. In their case, therefore, the battle was fought on foot, the combatants being defended by skull-cap and habergeon, and armed with the two-handed sword, or the pole-axe and dagger. But still there were classes not conversant even with such weapons, but who were entitled to claim their full share of justice, and make it good by fair mastery and manhood. In this case, they were allowed to enter

the lists armed with a staff and sand-bag, and to maul each other to death, or at least into a frank confession. Here the readers of Shakspeare will remember the case of the armourer and his man, mentioned in the second part of *Henry VI.*, which was a veritable incident.

With these chivalrous pastimes, combined with hunting, hawking, and gaming, the aristocracy of England found full occupation for whatever intervals they enjoyed during this eventful period. As chivalry also promoted a love of splendour, this tendency was exhibited not only in rich armour and gay changeful attire, but in nume-



KNIGHT OF THE TIME, TRAVELLING COSTUME.—Froismart
MS. British Museum.

rous throngs of attendants, and a sumptuous style of living, in which the highest endeavoured to excel their equals, and inferiors to vie with those above them. This expensive competition will serve, independently of other motives, to show why a war with France was in greater favour with the English nobility than one with Scotland. According to the chivalrous mode of warfare, while the rascal multitude were hewn down without mercy, squires, knights, and men of high degree were taken prisoners, and allowed to compound for their deliverance; and thus war was the exchequer of the brave and daring, with which they could repair their estates and maintain their expensive style of living. But while little in this way was to be got from the Scots, it was different in the case of the French, whose dukes, counts, and chevaliers were so wealthy, that "egregious ransom" was certain to be obtained from them; and in this way, one such victory as that of Poitiers, besides the glory of the action, was more profitable than half a cen-

tury of campaigning in Scotland. In this manner, therefore, the English nobility recruited their fortunes or acquired new ones, and the headlong expenditure of the day had a fearful effect upon the coffers of France.

Among the rivalries in rich living by which this era was distinguished, nothing was more natural than that the banquet should rank next in importance to the tournament itself. What, indeed, was the spoil of victory worth without enjoying it? and where could it better be enjoyed by a still unintellectual people than at the festive board? Brave men accordingly were signalized not only by their feats in arms, but their sumptuous and frequent dinners, and the crowds of noble guests who assembled to enjoy them. It is no wonder, therefore, if we find that in the middle of the thirteenth century, at the marriage feast of Richard, Earl of Cornwall, 30,000 dishes were served up at table; and that next century, a monk on being promoted to an abbacy, celebrated his installation by a banquet of 3000 dishes. In the same century, also, Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, spent the enormous sum of 22,000 pounds of silver in house-keeping in one year, while the drain of his cellar amounted to 371 pipes of wine. What was the style of cookery that prevailed at these banquets we still are unable distinctly to ascertain; but the dishes were sufficiently artificial, and so highly seasoned, that they are described as "brenning with wildfire." It was to be expected that in such a style of living Norman abstinence should at last give way, and accordingly, besides the two meals a-day, which were now protracted to an unwonted length, sundry refectations, which served as apologies for dainty eating and drinking, were served up during the course of the day.

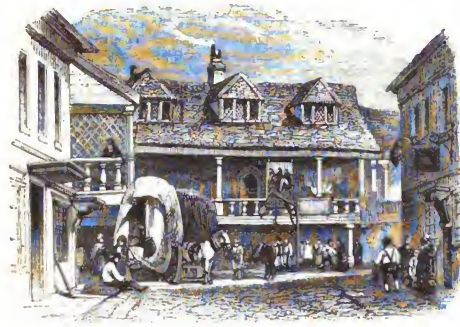
But of the manners, habits, costume, and external characteristics of the various classes of English society at this period and towards its close, no account can equal that which Chaucer has given in his "Prologue" to the *Canterbury Tales*. The scene is the Tabard inn, the date of meeting 1333, and the persons assembled twenty-nine men and women, the representatives of different classes of society, who are all bound on a pilgrimage to the tomb of Thomas à Becket. The growth of inns had already been rapid in our comfort-loving metropolis, when we find that during the time of Fitz-Stephen it had nothing better than a single cook-shop, a fact which he quotes as a striking proof of the civilization to which London had already attained. "Here," he says, "according to the season, you may find victuals of all kinds, roasted, baked, fried, and boiled; fish, large and small; and coarse viands for the poorer sort, and more delicate ones for the rich, such as venison, fowls,

and small birds. . . . No number so great, of knights or strangers, can either enter the city at any hour of day or night, or leave it, but all may be supplied with provisions; so that those have no occasion to fast too long, nor these

them to Canterbury on the morrow. But this is not all: it must be a merry pilgrimage, and therefore, to cheer the way both in the going and return every one must tell a story, while the best narrator is to be rewarded with a supper.

The proposal is so welcome, that he is at once appointed governor of the expedition, and judge of the merits of the expected tales; and that no demur about the order of commencement should be felt, he makes them "draw cuts" as to who shall begin, with the proviso that the shortest *cut* shall carry it. What wight of the present day does not here recognize the mode of solving many a school-boy difficulty upon the ticklish question of precedency?

After this worthy landlord, let us consider his guests, as they are seated round the supper table. And first in rank as in worth,



THE TABARD INN, Southwark.—From a sketch by J. W. Archer.

to depart the city without their dinner." Now, however, the Tabard inn was only one of several hosteleries in the suburb of Southwark. It was so called, from having a tabard or knight's coat, with the arms embroidered on it, painted upon the sign-board. Here the chambers and stables, the poet tells us, were wide, and all the company were accommodated with the best. The landlord was in good keeping with his inn, for he was a man of such aspect, bearing, and management, that he was fit to have been a "marshal in a hall," where his office would have been to arrange the places of lords and noble dames, and the order of their entertainment. With his imposing portly person, measured step, and judicious conversation, as one that "was wise and well ytaught," he was also a "right merry man," who could season his good cheer with lively conversation. All this was nothing more than necessary at a time when landlords of inns were not merely the attendants, but also the hosts of the company in the proper sense of the term—receiving and entertaining the guests, of whatever rank, as visitors, and presiding at the banquets they had prepared for them. In this way, he sits down with Chaucer and the twenty-nine pilgrims to the excellent supper, where there was "victual of the best," and abundance of strong wine, and takes a principal part in the conversation. So eager, too, is he to promote their happiness, that, understanding the nature of their pilgrimage, he proposes to accompany

comes the knight, "a very perfect gentle knight," as the author tells us, in whom he gives us a pleasing portraiture of the best features in the chivalry of the period. Ever since he could ride he had been a lover of the honoured order to which he belonged, and had cultivated the virtues which the knightly vow enjoined—truth and honour, freedom and courtesy. He had been faithful to the noble of whom he held in fee, and had served him in his wars; he had also seen service beyond most men both in Christendom and Heathenesse, and everywhere been honoured for his worth. When the poet proceeds to detail, we might have expected to find some mention of the knight's achievements at Crecy and Poitiers; but as these were too nigh and too recent for the purposes of poetry, Chaucer prefers telling us that he had been at the capture of Alexandria, that he had served in Prussia against the Lithuanian idolaters, that he had fought in Spain against the Moors, and that in his military capacity he had been employed both in Africa and Asia. He had been in fifteen mortal battles, and thrice in single combat in the lists, where each time he had slain his antagonist. And yet, with all these chivalrous deeds and travels in many lands, it is touchingly added, that he was "meek as a maid," and had never in speech given offence to human being. In all these we recognize him as one of the last relics of the crusading spirit, by which chivalry was matured to its full height. His equipments were

of that simple kind that best suited such a character, being a good, but not a showy horse, and a short cassock of fustian, somewhat soiled with his coat of mail, for he was just arrived from a voyage, and eager to discharge his religious

ately wound up with the following substantial qualifications:—

“Curteis he was, lowly, and servisable,
And carf before his fader at the table.”

Such was the stuff of which the master-spirits of the great events of the day were composed; and some score of years after, this youth was probably the wise in council and strong in battle, a gallant knight and a skilful leader, such as Henry V. loved to cherish. But the future who knows? and therefore he is not troubled with dreams about Azincourt: when it comes it will find him ready to a point. Meanwhile, there he goes careering upon his white horse, to tell his sins before the shrine of St. Thomas—not very heavy ones, if we may judge from his manner. As the



CANTERBURY PILGRIMS.—From Lydgate's Tale of Thebes. Royal MS. 18 D. ii.

duties on landing, by a pilgrimage to the shrine of Thomas à Becket. Most fitly, indeed, was such a character made to tell the heart-stirring, yet pure and gentle tale of “Palamon and Arcite.”

And now succeeds his young son the squire. As the father was the type of that stern and sober age which predominated under Edward III. and the Black Prince, when the wars with Scotland and France gave full occupation to the best and the worst of English society, the son is one of those gay young gallants whom the more joyous reign of Richard II., like a sunshine, had called into full life and flatter. And yet, no thoughtless profligate was he, but one worthy to call the “perfect knight” his father. In appearance, he was about twenty years old; but in his capacity of squire, he had already seen some campaigning in Flanders, Artois, and Picardy, where he had borne himself gallantly in the hope of gaining his lady's favour—for without such a motive, he would have been unworthy of the spurs which he hoped to win. He was also in love, not poetically or platonically only, but in good earnest, so that under the influence of his passion he slept no better than a nightingale. And then, too, he was well fitted by his accomplishments to win even a proud lady's favour; for independently of his military character, which had commenced so fairly, he could sit his horse firmly and ride gracefully, compose songs and sing them, write and limn almost like a clerk, and show his skill in the joust, and his nimbleness in the dance; while his happy temper was such, that he was generally singing or playing on the flute all day long. All these accomplishments are appropri-

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outward appearance and dress of such a youth were matters of the highest importance, Chaucer presents him to us as of fair shape and stature, and wonderfully nimble in movement—with his locks curled as if they had been laid in a press—his dress embroidered like a meadow with red and white flowers, while its chief article is a short gown with long and wide sleeves. In attendance upon both knight and squire, was only a single servant, but still too worthy a personage to be dismissed with hasty notice; for he was a yeoman—one of those who were now fast rising into a middle class in England, and who held their snug little farms by a tenure of military attendance or service without the degradation of bondage; and as such men took an equal share with their lords in the toils of campaigning and the dangers of battle, a reciprocity of feeling and frankness of intercourse was the natural result of such an union. He is described as having a nut-head—round, or brown, or hard as a nut, or perhaps all three—while his outer clothing consisted of a coat and hood of green. This was the characteristic costume of a forester, which, Chaucer informs us, he was; and in addition to his green hood and jerkin, he wore, as the insignia of his craft, a green baldric, a horn at his side, and on his breast a St. Christopher of silver. His weapons, too, were in full conformity, for they consisted of a sword and buckler hanging at his side, a sharp dagger, a mighty bow, and a sheaf of arrows feathered from the plumage of the peacock, which he carried in his belt; while it is shown that these perilous shafts could be directed into instant use by the bracer of

leather which he wore upon his arm. Thus fully equipped either for distant or standing fight, he is too important a person in that worshipful company to be treated as a mere underling, or compelled to follow in humble silence; and when his turn arrives, perhaps his tale of the gay greenwood will rank among the best.

After these representatives of the military profession in its higher and lower stages, we now turn to those of the church, who, as might be supposed, form a considerable part of the pilgrimage. And first comes Madame Eglantine, the gentle prioress, clothed in her wimple or neck covering "full seemly ypinched," her handsome black cloak and white tunic beneath, indicating the Benedictine order; and carrying dependant from her arm a string of coral beads, to which was attached a gold locket, having engraved upon it the simple posey, *Amor vincit omnia*. It is evident from her character that this *amor* has no reference to the earthly passion: this she forswore at the altar, and well has she kept her vow. And yet, how fitted she was to be admired and loved, from the description of her noble fair forehead, "almost a span broad," her nose long and well proportioned, her eyes gray, and "her mouth full small and thereto soft and red!" Her education had well qualified her for such high church office, for she sang the church service "entuned in her nose full sweetly," and could speak French fairly and fluently. It is noted, however, that hers was such French as was learned at Stratford-at-the-Bow, so that she did not understand such as was spoken at Paris. This Stratford school was evidently the prototype of those female modern boarding schools in or near London, where French was taught so admirably, that its pupils, on visiting the French capital, were able to discover that the Parisians could not speak their own language. She had also been taught to eat so daintily, that not a morsel should fall from her lips, or a drop of sauce from her fingers, while travelling from the dish to her mouth. Such was the finished table education of a young lady of rank when forks were unknown. In her character she was so humble, that she disliked her high rank on account of the stateliness it obliged her to assume; so tender-hearted, that she would weep if she but saw a mouse dying in a trap; and so benevolent, that she kept a family of small hounds which she fed with roast meat, milk, and wastel bread. How else could a prioress expend the affections of a heart so uncorrupted and unsonned? But the best of her good qualities remains to be noticed: her speech was so pure, that her only oath was "By Saint Loy." This was wonderful continence of tongue, when we remember for how many centuries the English were renowned over the world as a nation of hard

swearers. Their kings swore upon the throne, through the whole gamut of blasphemy, each having his favourite note, from the loud-sounding "By the splendour of God!" thundered from the deep chest of William the Conqueror, to the "Od's fish!" whistled through the lips of Charles II. Bishops, abbots, and priests swore, and that so copiously, and with such wonderful inflections and variations, that it seemed as if in many cases their theological studies had only enlarged their nomenclature of swearing. And as for the military men, "our armies in Flanders," who swore so terribly, were but the lecs and dregs of the English soldiery of Crecy and Azincourt, who marched, charged, fought, and even died swearing, insomuch that the French, whose favourite vice lay in a different direction, were astonished at this incomprehensible prodigality of wickedness, and were wont to call an Englishman a "God-damn-me," from the watch-word that was constantly on his lips. The fashion was adopted by the different classes of civil society; and through all its ranks, men and women swore so ruthlessly, that a mouth could scarcely open but out there flew an oath. These oaths, too, generally varied in form, like garments or personal ornaments, according to the fashion of the age or occupation of the swearer. It was a vile national characteristic; and being national, it was so infectious, that even the devout and virtuous fell into it as part and parcel of the current speech of the realm. Viewed in this light, Chaucer's prioress was indeed a miracle of goodness, and her "Saint Loy" was innocence itself compared with the deep-mouthed expletives of her travelling companions.

After her comes a monk, and such a monk as was well qualified to be an abbot. This, however, was not on account of his learning, but his love of riding and skill in hunting, which were certain to recommend him to the patronage of the noblest. His stable was his library, where he had many a dainty horse; his greyhounds were as swift of foot as a fowl is of flight; and all his cares were for hare-hunting, upon which he spared no cost. He was a true clerical Nimrod of the fourteenth century, and many such there appear to have been in England. Even his taste is shown in his pilgrimage, for though bound on a religious duty, his embossed bridle jingled in the wind as loud and clear as a chapel bell, as he ambled along upon his sleek berry-brown palfrey; the sleeves of his gown were edged at the cuff with fur of the richest, and his hood was fastened under his chin with a gold pin, curiously headed with a love-knot; while his face, which was in keeping with his portly figure, shone as if it had been anointed with oil. His deserts will doubtless promote him to

an abbey, where his stud and his pack will be amplified tenfold. With the monk was a friar, of different but not more commendable character and pursuits. While the former was well provided for by his monastery, and had no care for the morrow, the latter, belonging to a mendicant order of the priesthood, is dependent upon his own industry, and his acceptance with the people. But in this he is so successful that he scarcely needs to envy his more showy brother. This man is described as "a wanton and a merry," full of dalliance and fair language, and who, to make his speech all the sweeter, affected a lisp in his utterance. Moreover, he could sing well and play upon the harp and rote; and while he sang, his merry musical eyes twinkled in his head like stars in a frosty night. Then, in person, he was as strong as a champion, while his neck was as white as a fleur-de-lis. Who could resist such attractions? Not the jolly franklins to whom he was a welcome guest—not the taverns that were his favourite haunts—not the women, of whom he was the gentlest and easiest, as well as most attractive of father confessors. Accordingly, wherever he went, the daintiest cheer awaited his coming, the richest dole blessed his departure, and he was the best beggar, as well as the merriest man in all the house. His garb was in full harmony with his character, so that he was more like a pope than a cloisterer; his semi-cope was of double worsted, voluminous, and round as a bell, and his tippet was always stuffed with pins and knives, as presents to bestow upon the pretty women who were his penitents. To sum up his character, while he eschewed the society of the poor as if they had been very lazars, and stuck to the rich and opulent, he could also "devour widows' houses," so that if they had but a shoe, he would manage in his begging to extract a farthing. Such were the qualities most in vogue among the mendicant friars of the day; and such men, the poet, like the rest of his tuneful brethren who prepared the way for the Reformation, was little inclined to spare.

But a still worse character was to succeed; this was the sompnour or summoner, one of those ecclesiastical officers whose vocation was to serve citations upon offenders for trial in the church courts. The friar, whose order depended upon public charity, made himself all things to all men, though not exactly in the sense of the apostle; but the summoner, who had no such necessity, being an office-bearer dressed in a little brief authority, exhibited all the sensuality and knavery of the former, but without those jovial qualities with which they were disguised. A more disgusting personage, indeed, than this sompnour could scarcely be described, and he seems to have held, though with many aggravations, the same

odious characteristics that were attributed by distressed genius to the bum-bailiffs of a later period. And first, as to his personal appearance, he had a "fire-red cherubim's face" (a fallen one, of course), which was so scalded, welked, and belpimpled, that children fled from its presence, while no brimstone, litharge, or quicksilver, could quench the flame, or purify the foul source from which it was kept in fuel. But, indeed, his mode of feeding rather cherished it, for garlic, onions, and leeks were his favourite dainties, and strong wine as red as blood his chief drink, in which he indulged so deeply, that in his cups he would become as vociferous as a madman. To complete this loathly description, we are informed that he was as "lecherous as a sparrow"—but what else could such a face and such habits betoken!—and moreover, that he was a pimp, who not only ministered to the guilt of others, but taught them how to brave its consequences with the church, or buy its remission. With all his ugliness, he has a very comfortable opinion of his personal attractions, and endeavours to heighten them, by wearing upon his head a garland of most preposterous amplitude. He also sets up for a scholar and philosopher, upon the strength of a few Latin sentences which he has picked up in office, and which he utters like a jay without knowing their meaning, but is glad to cut the matter short whenever a better scholar than himself is disposed to enter with him into controversy. Did the church select such a summoner by way of giving the culprit a foretaste of coming punishment? Side by side with this sompnour, like abject superstition coupled in leash with brute sensuality, rides a pardoner, one of those miserable pedlars of the small wares of the church, who travelled from town to town, and from country to country, selling dispensations for sin, and exhibiting miraculous relics, by which a crowd could be advanced whole leagues heavenward for as many pence. These were the men upon whom such writers as Boccaccio, Chaucer, and Sir David Lindsay especially delighted to fasten, as the most legitimate objects of their satire, when graver personages might not be safely assailed. He has brought with him from Rome a wallet brimful of pardons, as well as a mail stuffed with miraculous treasures, such as a veil of the Virgin Mary, a fragment of St. Peter's sail, and other commodities of like wonderment, made for the nonce out of rags, stones, and other such rubbish. He has for his badge a verucle or miniature picture of Christ, copied from the miraculous impress on the handkerchief in St. Peter's Church, sewed upon the front of his cap, to show that he had actually come from Rome; and his long lanky hair, as straight and yellow as flax, streams from under it, and overspreads his shoulders.

Side by side he rides along with his fast friend, the sompnour; and letting their vocation for the time go to sleep, they cheer the dullness of the way by a lusty song in chorus, of which the burden is "Come hither, love, to me."

It was fortunate for a church so soon doomed to perish, that she had better guides than these, so that she might fall at least with dignity, if she could not survive with honour; and accordingly, besides the gentle prioress, who has passed by like one of the lambs of her own fold, we have the Oxford clerk mounted upon his lean horse, and musing deep and learned thoughts as he wends along undisturbed by the din of such uncongenial brethren. But we shall have more of him anon, when we come to treat of the men of learning, among whom he takes his proper place. But now comes the best of Chaucer's characters, in "the good man of religion," the poor parson of a country town; a sketch which Goldsmith evidently had before his eye, when he delineated his "country clergyman," and Cowper, when he sought to describe "a preacher such as Paul." It is indeed too good, too beautiful and apostolic for other handling than that of Chaucer himself, and therefore we pass it by with lingering look and a reverential bow. This portrait, however, we may mention, has an interesting pendicle attached to it, in the brief description of the ploughman, brother to the parson; and in this peasant we see the effects of such a ministry upon the humble orders of a rural population.



PLOUGHMAN AND PLOUGH.—From MS. of *Piers Plowman*.

He is a true man of toil and industry; a true son of the church, to which he pays tithe well and fairly; and a true Christian in the highest sense of the term; for—

"God loved he beste with alle his herte
At alle times, wero it gain or smerte,
And then his neighbeour right as himselfe;
He wolde throsch, and therto dike and delve,
For Cristes sake, for every poure wight,
Withoutten hire, if it lay in his might."

Having thus considered the principal personages of the church, the learned professions of law and medicine should rightly follow; and of these, the Canterbury pilgrims contain the appropriate types. And first comes the doctor of physic.

An imposing person he certainly was, for he was clothed in red Persian silk, lined with taffeta and sendal, and in all the world none could speak like him upon matters of medicine and surgery. No patient could therefore be so unreasonable as to tamper with his prescriptions, or be doubtful of a cure. And, moreover, he had read all the learned works of his profession written by its greatest masters—Dioscorides, Hali, Avicenna, Averrhoes, Galen, Serapion, and many others, whose very names could have called up health itself "from the vasty deep," though pill and potion had been set aside. But with all this vast reading, we are slyly told, that "his study was but little on the Bible;" a usual consequence of half-learning, or knowledge of a science as yet crude and imperfect: the doctor was either sceptic or materialist, or one who was indifferent to religion altogether. As a man, however, must believe in the supernatural even though he should discard all religion, and be afraid of ghosts though he should have no fear of a God, our learned physician, with all his wondrous professional knowledge, put his chief trust in the stars, and consulted them in every difficulty. With him it was not enough that the medicament should be made according to the strictest rule; there must be a propitious twinkle in the sky for the hour and mode of its application. All this devotion to the stars, however, was subservient to a less elevated feeling, for he "loved gold in special," and was the most charmed by the glitter

of his fee. And now comes the serjeant-at-law, wary and wise, and full of reverence and discretion. Men of his profession were of higher office and standing in the days of Chaucer than at present; for the most learned of their number frequently acted as judges; and that they needed to belong to the wealthy classes of society is evident, from the splendid

feast which they usually gave on their first investment. It was a great dinner "like to the feast of a king's coronation," continuing for seven days, and upon which he was to expend not less than 400 marks. He was also to present a gold ring to every one who had been at his investiture throughout the whole court, and give new liveries or suits to all the members of his household. So we are informed by Dugdale, in his *Origine Judiciale*. It is no wonder, therefore, that we are told of our serjeant:—

"Justice he was ful often in awise,
By patent, and by pleine commissioun;
For his science, and for his high renoun,
Of fees and robes had he many on."

The poet also informs us, that although no man could be so busy as he, yet he always seemed busier than he really was. Who has not recognized this superfluous activity and imposing bustle in any of our modern courts of law? It was even already a characteristic of the profession. At his fingers' ends also he had every case and judgment that had occurred since the days of William the Conqueror, and therefore no emergency in special pleading could take him by surprise, or find him without a precedent. Besides his professional coif, he wears a "homely medley coat," girt with a silken girdle that was adorned with small bars. We are told that he had often been at the parvise, which is supposed to be another name for the paradise, a place attached to the universities and schools of learning, where "sophistry" was taught to young students in training for the legal profession; and Dugdale mentions a paradise of this kind at or near St. Paul's Church, probably from its convenient neighbourhood to the Inns of Court. At these places tyros attended to perfect themselves in law and logic, and old practitioners to show their dexterity; and it was probably in the last capacity that Chaucer's learned serjeant had often frequented the metropolitan "parvise."

The time was approaching when England's merchants were to be princes, and its traffickers the honourable of the earth; and it would have been strange therefore if their representatives had not duly figured among the Canterbury pilgrims. Even already there was Michael de la Pole, who had become Earl of Suffolk, and lord-chancellor to Richard II., though only the son of a merchant; and a merchant also was the worshipful John Philpot, who, in the same reign, hired ships, mariners, and 1000 soldiers at his own proper cost, and gave battle to Mercer and the Scottish fleet, whom he completely defeated. So rapidly, too, had the profession risen in importance, that while in the reign of Edward III. the merchant tailors' company had only two earls and one bishop among its honorary members, in the following reign they had increased to four royal dukes, five bishops, ten earls, and ten barons. The merchant of Chaucer is every way worthy of such a noble fraternity, for his chief point of patriotism is the guardianship of the seas, and his principal theme of conversation the increase of his profits. But with all this communicativeness, the *per contra* side of his ledger was so prudently concealed, that

"There wiste no wight that he was in detra."

There he sits "high on horse," clothed also in "motley," or as we learn from the costume of the period, a garment of red lined with blue, and

figured with white and blue flowers; a Flanders beaver on his head, while his boots are clasped fair and handsomely upon his feet, and his peaceful forked beard is in full harmony with the thoughtfulness of his countenance and gravity of his discourse. But he is not the only representative of traffic in the company, for Chaucer has also introduced a group of tradesmen consisting of a haberdasher, carpenter, weaver, dyer, and tapestry-maker. And fully did the appearance of these men indicate how well the trades of England were already cared for, and their dignity supported. They were all clothed in the rich livery of their order; the knives they wore at their girdles were mounted with silver instead of brass, and so were also their girdles and pouches; and while each for appearance might have been a substantial burgess advanced to the dais of his guild hall, he might for wisdom have filled the office of an alderman. So also thought their wives, who by such a promotion would have been entitled "madame," and enabled to bear their mantles in queen-like style at wakes and festivals. Another son of traffic, and that, too, of high importance, figures among the pilgrims, in the person of the shipman. He is a veritable sailor of the period, who can not only navigate but fight his ship, and do a little smuggling on his own account while conveying the freight of his owners. But these were the days when a man might be merchant, sea-captain, supercargo, buccaneer, and smuggler all in one, and supplement his loss in one department by gain in another, so as never to return from a voyage empty-handed. "And certainly," says the poet notwithstanding, "he was a good fellow." The hot sun had embrowned his face, and by many a tempest had his beard been shaken; yet now, when mounted on horseback, he sits so awkwardly and rides so painfully, that it is evident he would rather be in the Bay of Biscay in a stiff gale, and wishes himself once more on board his good ship the *Magdalene*.

From the town we now turn to the country, and from mercantile to rural society and occupation. And here the franklin appears, with his sanguine complexion and "beard white as a daisy," clothed in a surcoat of red lined with blue, with bars or stripes of fringe or lace over it; an anlace or dagger at his side, and a silken purse at his girdle. In Chaucer's time, a franklin was a personage of such high importance as to be classed immediately after the nobility, holding his lands *frank* or free directly from the king, for which he paid homage but not feudal service; but after this period the multiplication or subdivision of such holdings so much lessened the consequence of these dignified vavasors, that at the time of Queen Elizabeth they seem to have been of not much higher

account than the common peasantry; and therefore the clown in the *Winter's Tale* exclaims, "Let boors and *franklins* say it, I'll swear it." Our worthy franklin, however, is wholly unconscious of the coming deterioration, and bears himself with the full dignity of one who held the high offices of sheriff and knight of the shire. In his mode of living he was the beau-ideal of a great substantial landholder; for in his habits he was "Epicurus' own son," while his reputation for hospitality made him the St. Julian of his county, the patron saint of travellers. Such was the profusion of good cheer, and the liberality with which it was bestowed, that "it snowed in his house of meat and drink," while the table, a perpetual fixture in his hall, was covered all the long day. In looking more closely at the bill of fare of such a paragon of country luxury, we find that abundance rather than quality was the chief distinction; and that the materials were such as were within the reach of every English landholder. It consisted of ale and wine, and bread and baked meats, and birds of game and stewed fish, varied according to the season; but not a word either of foreign dishes or foreign cookery. This jolly franklin, in short, appears to have been one of the earliest of those patriotic squires, who believed that the best of all the world was carefully culled and deposited within our own island, and that of all human foods, whether for luxury or sustenance, there could be nothing like the "roast beef of old England." A more particular account of the gastronomic science of this period is to be learned from Chaucer's sketch of that essential personage, the cook, who accompanied the pilgrims to Canterbury. This cook, whom they had with them to "boil the chickens and the marrow bones," appears from this circumstance not only to have been skilled in savoury stews, but in making the most of everything. What kind of stews or soups these were, we cannot ascertain; but in addition to the chickens and bones, the powder called "marchant tart," and "galingale" or sweet cypress, formed part of the seasoning. He could also make "mortrewés," which we learn from a receipt in a work on ancient cookery, consisted of pork or other meat brayed in a mortar, with milk, eggs, spices, and other additions, and coloured very deeply with saffron. He could make "blanc-manger," we are told, with the best; and from the intimation we may conjecture that this was a frequent dainty of the period. But how was this blanc-manger made? If a receipt in cookery so late as 1575 was the same as that used in the time of Chaucer, the bill on cruelty to animals should have been introduced into parliament at least four centuries ago. It thus begins: "Take a capon and cut out the braune of him alive." After this Abyssinian commencement, the

operator is directed to "parboyle the braune tyll the flesh come from the boone, and then dry him as dry as you can, in a fayre clothe; then take a payre of cardes, and card him as small as possible; and then take a pottell of milke, and a pottell of creame, and halfe a pound of rye flower, and your carded braven of the capon, and put all into a panne, and styr it altogether, and set it upon the fyre, and when it beginneth to boyle put therto halfe a pound of beaten sugar, and a saucer full of roose water, and so let it boyle tyll it be very thicke; then put it into a charger till it be colde," &c. We believe our readers have now got enough of this blanc-manger. In addition to these delicate processes, our cook could make pies, and perform every process of roasting, seething, broiling, and frying. It is added, that he well knew a "draught of London ale," an intimation of the superiority of that kind of brewage which the capital enjoyed not only then, but at a later period. We learn from the accounts of Archbishop Warham's feast, given in 1504, that the ale of London cost five shillings a barrel more than that of Kent.

Another important rural personage is the reeve or land-steward, whom Chaucer presents in strong contrast both in person and character to the jovial kind-hearted franklin. He is, in fact, such a man as the Peter Pounce of Fielding, or the Gilbert Glossin of Scott, showing how the factor or land-agent of a wealthy but indolent squire will enrich himself at the expense of his employer. In the short sketch of his history which the poet gives us, this reeve had originally been a wright and carpenter; but probably feeling that his genius lay elsewhere, or longing for more profitable occupation, he became the land-steward of a young nobleman who had not yet entered his majority. He knows the produce of every inch of the estate, every hoof in the live stock, and every feather in the barn-yard so accurately, that "none auditor could on him win" by an undue demand; but all this watchfulness is for his own sake, on account of the comfortable reversions which such circumspection yields him. It does not therefore surprise us to be told that he lent his lord the money that rightfully belonged to the latter, and got both thanks and good interest in return. Such a man must play the tyrant over all the other officials, and keep them at a distance from the principal, to secure his own exclusive possession, and therefore—

"Ther n' as bailiff, ne herde, ne othe hire,
That he ne knew his sleight and his covine;
They were adradde of him, as of the deth."

His whole appearance was so close, penurious, and money-loving, that his character could not easily be mistaken. His beard was shaven close to the chin, and his hair cropped to the ears;

his dress was gathered and tucked about him like a friar; and a rusty blade, with which he no doubt hoped to protect his winnings, dangled by his side. With all his growing wealth, too, he was choleric of countenance and attenuated in person, so that his long calfless legs were as lean as two staves. It is noticed, also, that in the array of pilgrims, he ever rode the hindmost—as if suspicion of all mankind had become his predominating principle. Already, he has a fair home upon a heath, overshadowed with trees; and who can tell how soon it may be exchanged for the mansion-house itself?

Another of the agricultural representatives is the miller, but a very different personage from the reeve, being a stout carl for the nonce, compacted of brawn and bone, and having courage commensurate to his appearance. And that this was not more than necessary is evident, when we remember with what kind of customers he had to deal, and how often he had to enforce his multures with a bold front and strong hand. Accordingly, he supports his character for prowess at the public wrestling matches, where he had often carried away the ram, the prize of the victor, from every competitor. Some of his displays of strength, too, would have been rather startling in modern gymnastics; for he could leave a strong door off its bar with his shoulder, or break it, by running a-tilt at it with his head. Such were probably the crowning exploits to which the village Samsons of the period aspired. His beard was red, and broad as a spade; his nostrils were wide and black; and as if to add to the formidable character of his aspect, a wart was upon his nose, garnished with a tuft of red hair, like the bristles of a sow's ear, while his mouth was as wide as a furnace. Such a man was not likely to go about unarmed, and therefore he carried at his side a sword and buckler; but to show withal that he was a merry good fellow, he carried a bagpipe under his arm, which he blew up on the departure of the pilgrims from the town. A white coat and blue hood constituted the chief parts of his costume. In character, he appears not merely to have been roisterous but sensual, as his physiognomy indicates; while in his trade, he



BAGPIPER.—From a sculpture in Beverley Minster.

brethren of the craft to intromit with the corn that passed through his hands, and even subject it to a triple toll. And yet, with all this, Chaucer sarcastically adds, that he had a "thumb of gold," an expression already used to designate an honest miller.

But how shall we describe the Wife of Bath, whom we have omitted to the last? Chaucer's prioress is a beautiful impersonation of all that was gentle and devout in the womanhood of England; but as for this wife of Bath, she is the very type of its forwardness, frivolity, and sensuality. And yet the poet strives hard, and not unsuccessfully, to make us admire, or at least excuse her. She was somewhat deaf; she was "gat-tothed," or as some of the MSS. read it, "cat-tothed," that is, having her fore-teeth placed in the jaws like a cat's; and she was over-bold of countenance; but on the other hand, she had a bright rosy complexion and well-proportioned ample form, while her loud and somewhat free discourse was excused by her cheerful temper and exuberant love of merriment. As dress to such a person was a matter of first importance, she had such store of apparel as, in this particular, to exceed even the gay dames of Ypres and Ghent—the two fashionable cities of the middle ages; her kerchiefs were of rich stuff, and flowing amplitude; and as it was at church on great festivals that she was wont to parade her finery, no woman of the parish might go before her in this particular without overturning her Christian charity. But besides being a frequent church-goer, she was a first-rate pilgrim; for already she had been thrice at Jerusalem, besides visiting Rome, Cologne, Spain, and France, in her devout peregrinations to holy shrines. No one, however, who knows what merry meetings and festive trips these pilgrimages were, can fail to discover how earnest a devotee they could find in such a woman as the wife of Bath. Five husbands she has already had, and it is evident that it will not be long before she has obtained a sixth. For her present pilgrimage she is well "ywimpled," with a foot-mantle girt about her waist; a pair of bright scarlet hose fairly laced, and shoes soft and new adorn her limbs and feet; upon her head she wears a hat as broad as a buckler, and upon her heels a pair of sharp spurs.

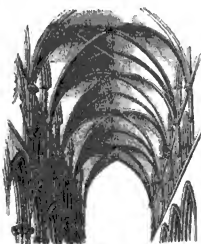
Such were the Canterbury pilgrims; and in them we see the different classes of which English society was composed, and the appearance and mode of life by which each was distinguished. In the colouring, Chaucer no doubt took that liberty which from time immemorial has been conceded to every poet. But from the air of life and truthfulness that pervades every portrait, we can be assured that an original had sat for it. He had seen them all, he had associated with

them, he had marked every particular of their character and bearing, and not only so, but of their costume to the minutest point; and having thus collected his sketches, it was natural for him to select the chief hall of his favourite inn, the Tabard, as the background of his picture.

The transition which the English mind was undergoing from Saxon barbarism to Norman refinement, marked though it was in the living aspect of the period, was still more distinctly indicated in the stately buildings with which England was now overspread, the diversified character of their structure, and the graceful style of their ornaments. Upon this important department, therefore, in the history of English progress, it is necessary to expatiate with more than ordinary length and minuteness. We must premise, however, that this architectural epoch, in point of date, does not entirely coincide with that of the civil and military narrative; so that it will be necessary to go back to the accession of Richard I. for its commencement, and to trace the progress of Gothic architecture from that time to the end of the reign of Richard II.

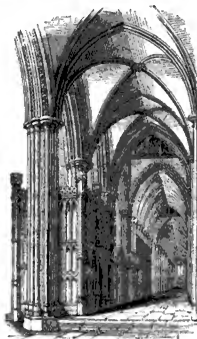
This period is marked by great changes: it included the rise and decline of two important styles—the EARLY ENGLISH and the DECORATED; it saw Gothic architecture attain its highest perfection—its culminating point—and it witnessed the commencement of its decline. During this period most of our finest buildings were erected. The cathedrals of Salisbury, Lincoln, Ely, Westminster, Beverley, Hereford, York, and Peterborough, offer fine examples of Early English; while those of Ely, York, Exeter, and Lichfield, have portions equally good of the Decorated style.

We have seen in the previous Book the origin of the pointed arch, which was destined to work such important changes in architecture. This innovation arose from necessity; and having been once given to the world, it was taken up and carried out in all directions. Its applicability was instantly seen: it set free the genius of the architect, and he attempted and executed designs which, a few years before, he could not even have conceived. The change at this period must have been truly wonderful; and even now, if we compare the



GROINED ROOF, Salisbury Cathedral.

buildings of the Norman and the Gothic periods, we are astonished that it could have been so speedily effected. The broad distinction of EARLY ENGLISH from NORMAN architecture consists in the use of the pointed instead of the semi-circular arch. This was employed not only for windows, doors, and pier-arches, but also for vaulting. And here its vast superiority is more especially shown; it gave greater elevation to the roofs, which were now carried up at an acute angle to a marvellous height, and over spaces of all dimensions. The flat ceiling entirely disap-



NORTH AISLE, Salisbury Cathedral.

peared, and with it the cumbrous round-headed arches and their massive piers. The walls were reduced in thickness, and to compensate for this, large projecting buttresses were added, to strengthen them where strength was required. The towers assumed loftier proportions, and, to complete the upward tendency of the lines, the spire was added.

In comparing a Norman with an Early English building, the eye is struck with the heavy and flat appearance of the former, and the light and graceful aspect of the latter. In the Norman the horizontal line prevails, but in the Early English the vertical. The pointed arch carries the eye to the apex, the slender vaulting shafts and groining ribs conduct it to the point of the roof, and on the exterior the buttresses, ending in pinnacles, and the high pitch of the roof itself, all tend in the same direction. Norman architecture appears like what it is—the mark of the conqueror placed on a prostrate land; while the Early English shows the revival of the national mind, and its freedom established anew.

One of the leading peculiarities in the exterior

of an Early English building is the form of the windows, which, throughout the early period of the style, are very plain, particularly in small churches. They are narrow in proportion to their height, and terminate in a pointed arch; and, from resembling the blade of a lancet, are usually known as *lancet windows*. In cathedrals and other large buildings, the windows, frequently combined two or more together, are carried to a great height, are richly and deeply moulded, and the jambs ornamented with slender shafts. Of these, the window in the transept of York Cathedral, known as the "five sisters," is one of the most beautiful examples. On the eastern and western fronts of small churches the windows are often combined in this manner, with a circular window above, and a richly moulded door below; but in large buildings there is often more than one range of windows, and the combinations are very various. Choice examples occur at Salisbury, Beverley, and York.

The doorways are in general pointed, and in rich buildings sometimes double; they are usually moulded, and enriched with the tooth-ornament.



LANCET WINDOW,
Comberton.

mere strips of masonry, serving no constructive purposes. In this style, from the greater lightness of the walls requiring something to resist



FLYING BUTTRESS,
Beverley Minster.

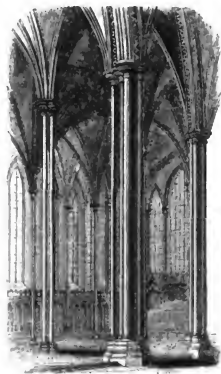
the outward pressure of the vaulting, they were much increased in projection, and were even sometimes, under the name of *flying buttresses*, carried forward to support the clear-story. Excellent examples of these may be seen at Westminster, Lincoln, &c.

In the interior we find the pillars reduced to very slender proportions, and, as if to give still greater lightness of appearance, they are frequently made up of a centre pillar, surrounded by slight detached shafts, only connected with the pillar by their capitals and bases, and bands of metal placed at intervals. These shafts are generally of Purbeck marble, the pillar itself being of stone, and, from their extreme slenderness, they appear as if quite inadequate to support the weight above them. Some of the best examples are to be seen in Salisbury Cathedral. The architects of



NORTH-WEST TRANSEPT, Beverley Minster

The buttresses form a very important feature of Gothic buildings; in the Early English they are very conspicuous, while in the Norman they are



DETACHED SHAFTS, Lady Chapel, Salisbury Cathedral.

this style carried their ideas of lightness to the utmost limits of prudence, and their successors have been afraid to imitate their example.

The capitals differ materially from those of the Norman style. The abacus, instead of being square, is circular, and is generally made up of two bold round mouldings, with a deep hollow between. The foliage is peculiar, generally very gracefully drawn, and thrown into very elegant curves; it is usually termed *stiff-leaved*, from the circumstance of its rising with a stiff stem from the neck-mould of the capital, as may be seen in the accompanying example. The trefoil is commonly imitated, and is very characteristic of the style. The presbytery of Lincoln offers a fine example of this kind of foliage, especially in the capitals; and beautiful specimens of



EARLY ENGLISH CAPITAL,
Salisbury Cathedral.

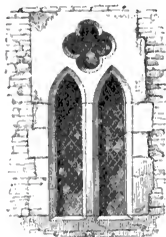
its applicability to flat surfaces occur in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey.

The mouldings of this style are very important, have great boldness, and produce a striking effect of light and shade. They consist chiefly of rounds separated by deep hollows, in which a peculiar ornament, called the *dog's-tooth*, is used, whenever ornament can be introduced. This ornament is as characteristic of the Early English as the zig-zag is of the Norman.

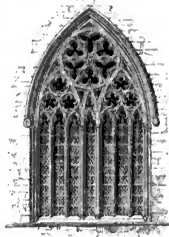


DOG'S-TOOTH ORNAMENT.

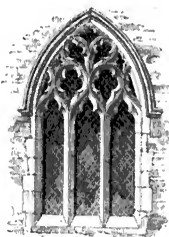
As has been already stated, a common arrangement of the windows in an Early English front, was to place two lancet windows side by side, and a circular or lozenge-shaped one over them. Though separated on the outside, these lancets



EARLY ENGLISH WINDOW, Lillingston.



GEOMETRICAL WINDOW, Ripon Minster.



DECORATED WINDOW, Garsington, Oxford.

were in the interior combined into one design by a wide splaying of the openings, thus giving the first idea of a compound window. These lights were gradually brought closer together and inclosed under one moulding. Other lancets and circles were added, and the stonework between reduced to a mere bar, which was afterwards moulded. Thus arose that tracery destined soon to work such an important change in Gothic architecture. But though tracery was now generally used, there was little variety in its form, and the architects confined themselves to the lancets and circles, which are continually repeated in various combinations. Such windows, with the plain circles in the head and the peculiar mouldings of the style, are the latest which can be called Early English. Good examples of them are found in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey. Tracery appears to have been introduced in the latter part of the reign of Henry III., but its progress was only gradual, so that it is very difficult to draw a line between the Early English and the succeed-

ing Decorated. In the beginning of the reign of Edward I., the tracery became a more decided feature, but the forms were still geometrical, though much more varied. In addition to the circle, we have lozenges, trefoils, quatrefoils, squares, &c., and from the prevalence of these regular forms, it is usually called the *GEOMETRICAL DECORATED* style, and is a transition to the more fully developed or *Flowing Decorated*. The Geometrical Decorated is perhaps the most beautiful of all the phases of Gothic architecture. It retains much of the Early English character, but is more defined and more finished in all its parts. The mouldings, though they have lost something of their boldness, have gained in decision, by small flat fillets on the rounds, which give an additional sharpness to the shadows. The conventional foliage of the Early English is laid aside; nature is sedulously copied; and we find at no period such truthful imitations of natural foliage; the vine with its grapes, the oak with its acorns, the hazel with its nuts, the maple, the water-lily, and even the sea-

weed, are all exquisitely carved. The human figure also was never more finely delineated than during this period, as is exemplified by the effigy of Queen Eleanor in Westminster Abbey, which will bear comparison with the works of any age. The monuments of this period are among the best we possess, and though the prevalence of geometrical forms gives them a certain formality, the minute accuracy with which every detail of costume, of foliage, or other ornament, is executed, renders them of the utmost value. The beautiful crosses erected by Edward I., to the memory of his queen Eleanor, belong to this period.

The transition from the GEOMETRICAL to the FLOWING DECORATED was very natural; the junction of two circles suggested the flowing line, and this once commenced, gave such facilities for filling up the large windows which now came into use, and such freedom to the imagination in designing new forms of tracery, that the varieties are innumerable.

The following summary of its rise and progress may be sufficient for our present purpose:—

First. PURE EARLY ENGLISH, in which the windows are merely simple lancets, either single or two or more combined, or included under one moulding, with or without circles or lozenges above.

Second. TRANSITION, in which the openings are brought close together, and the spaces between pierced, and an imperfect kind of tracery formed.

Third. GEOMETRICAL DECORATED, in which tracery is fully developed but geometrical forms still used. This includes also a kind of tracery called intersecting, made by carrying arches from the mullions to the window head.

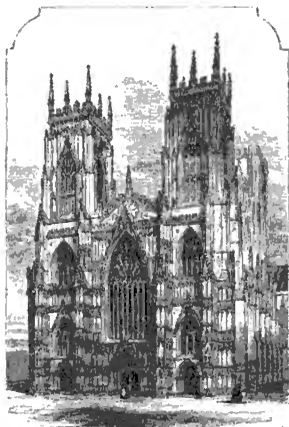
Fourth. FLOWING DECORATED. This includes an endless variety of forms, the main distinction of which is that the lines of the tracery, instead of being confined to stiff geometrical figures, flow easily one into another. In the earlier examples geometrical forms are mixed with them, but in the later or more fully developed ones they are discarded. This period is what is generally known by the term DECORATED, and nothing can exceed the rich and gorgeous effect of its large windows, especially when filled with stained glass, which was now in its highest perfection. A fine example of this is seen in the west front of York Cathedral.

Fifth. Another transition, in which straight lines, horizontal as well as perpendicular, began to be used among the tracery, and which led to the

Sixth, or PERPENDICULAR period, which was not fully introduced till after the epoch now under consideration.

In the DECORATED style the arches are not so lofty and the pillars not so slender as in the Early English, and the detached shafts are only used in

the early part of the period. The equilateral form prevails both for arches and windows, and the vaulting, and consequently the roofs, are not of so high a pitch as in the preceding style. The buttresses are large and projecting, frequently ornamented with canopied niches containing figures of saints, and usually terminated in richly crocketed pinnacles. Canopies, either straight-sided or of the ogee form, are much used over windows, doors, and porches. They often project, and are ornamented with rich and large finials and crockets. The doors and porches are deeply recessed, and very richly ornamented with mouldings and foliage, and



YORK CATHEDRAL, WEST FRONT.

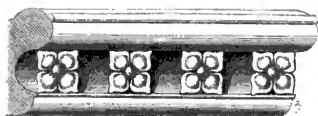
have frequently also niches containing figures of saints or subjects from the Scriptures. The doorways in the west front of York Cathedral are the finest examples we have of this kind, and the front



BALL FLOWER.

itself is considered by Rickman, to be "nearly if not quite the finest west front in the kingdom." The upper part of the towers is Perpendicular, showing the transition from one style to the other during the progress of the building. Among the ornaments used in mouldings in all situations, are two which are very characteristic of this style: these are the ball-flower, and the four-leaved flower, of which examples

are here given. The mouldings, too, have undergone a considerable modification; the deep hollows have almost disappeared, and the rounds assume a form known as the roll moulding.



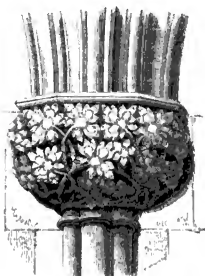
FOUR-LEAVED FLOWER, West Front, York Cathedral.

One of the most characteristic features of the Decorated style is the foliage, in which, as has been said before, natural forms were very generally imitated, were drawn with the greatest freedom and elegance, and used in all places. The capitals differ in several important features from those of the Early English. In the latter, the foliage generally rises from the neck moulding, on stiff stems, and curls over under the bell of the capital; but in the Decorated, it is generally carried round in the form of a wreath, making a complete ball of leaves, as in the example from Selby.

Such was the Decorated style in its purity—the perfection of ecclesiastical architecture—and such it continued until the latter part of the reign of Edward III., when, for greater strength and facility of construction, the straight line was introduced into the tracery of the window heads, and the mullions carried through the whole length of the window; the flowing lines of the tracery were gradually laid aside, and were superseded by rectangular forms, which also pervaded every part of the design. The prevalence of upright lines naturally suggested to Rickman the name of Perpendicular for the style, and by which it is appropriately known. But though it originated in the reign of Edward III., and that of Richard II. was a period of transition, it was not fully established until the succeeding reign, and it will therefore fall to be discussed under the next period of the history.

The castles erected during the period of which we are treating exhibit a remarkable union of picturesque beauty with solidity and strength. The masonry is of the most careful and finished description, but the buildings are not overloaded with ornament, the architects trusting more to the outline of their masses than to lesser decorations. Of this the round tower of Windsor Castle is a well-known example. It is quite plain in its details, but its immense size and its bold outline gives a character to the mass of discordant materials, ancient and modern, of which the castle is composed, and at a distance

unites them into one picturesque whole. Without the round tower of William of Wykeham, Windsor Castle would be a meaningless collection of unconnected objects. The same boldness of ideas



DECORATED CAPITAL, Selby, Yorkshire.

prevailed throughout; and military as well as ecclesiastical architecture seems to have attained its greatest perfection at this time.

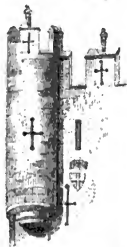
The Edwardian castles differ from the Norman in many important particulars; the solid keep becomes developed into an open quadrangle, defended at the sides and angles by gatehouses and towers, and containing the hall and state apartments ranged along one side of the court. The term keep is no longer applicable, and around this inner ward or bailey, two or three lines of defence are disposed concentrically. Such castles frequently inclose many acres, and present an imposing appearance. The parts of a perfect Edwardian castle are—the *inner bailey*; the *walls of the enceinte*, single, double, or triple; the *middle* and *outer baileys*, contained between the walls; the *gatehouses* and *posterns*, or small doors in the wall; and the *ditch*, which was usually filled with water. The *inner bailey* contained the hall, often of great size, the chapel, the better class of apartments, and an open court. The offices usually were placed in the *middle bailey*, on the outside of the wall of the hall. The *outer bailey* contained stabling, sometimes a mill, &c., and often a mound of earth, or *cavalier*, to carry a large engine. The walls were strengthened by towers, either circular, square, oblong, or multangular, projecting both outwards and inwards. Such towers were all capable of being defended independently of the castle, and usually opened into the court and upon the walls by portals, regularly defended by gates and a portcullis. The gatehouses are distinct works, covering the en-

¹ See an article by G. T. Clarke, *Archæological Journal*, vol. i., from which much of the information in this notice is extracted.

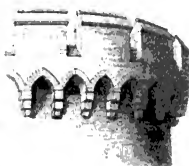
trance; they contain gates, one or two portcullises, holes for stockades of timber, and loops raking the passage. Overhanging the arch at either end, are funnels for pouring down boiling liquids upon assailants, and above are ovens and flues for heating them; and from the front of these gate-houses, the drawbridge was lowered over the ditch. These gateways had frequently a barbican attached. This was a passage between high walls, in advance of the main gate, and having an outer gate of entrance, which was defended by towers and the parapet, connected with the main gateway. The gates or bars of York have had barbicans, but they are all destroyed except Walingate.

There is a very perfect specimen at Alnwick, and another at Warwick, where the portcullis is still in use. The top of the wall was defended by a battlemented parapet, the opening of which sometimes bears stone figures, as on the bars of York, and as at Alnwick, and Chepstow. These battlements are frequently pierced by cruciform loops or *balistraria*. In many cases a bold corbel table is thrown out from the wall, and the parapet placed upon it, so as to leave an open space between the back of the parapet and the face of the wall. The space is divided by the corbels into holes called *machicolations*, which overlook the outside of the walls. If the parapet be not advanced by more than its own thickness, of course no hole is formed; this is called a *false machicolation*: it is used to give breadth to the top of the wall, and is common to all periods. One of the finest examples of a tower of this period is Guy's Tower at Warwick. It is in an almost perfect state, from the dungeon in the rock to the top of the parapet. Its plan is composed of three segments of circles on the outer, and a flat face on the inner side; its different stories are vaulted, and retain their original arrangement, and its machicolations are bold and perfect. Clifford's Tower, York, is another fine example, and offers a beautiful specimen of the masonry of the time.

Another peculiar form of tower also occurs at this period; it is one in which a circular tower



BALISTRARIA.
Micklethorpe Bar, York.



MACHICOLATIONS,
Herstmonceux Castle, Sussex.

is set upon a square base, which dies gradually into the circle, producing a very singular effect. Examples occur at Kidwelly and Chepstow. At Caernarvon the towers are octagonal, while at Conway they are circular. Among the castles erected or enlarged during this period in Wales, are Caernarvon, Conway, Pembroke, Kidwelly, Caerphilly, Harlech, Flint, Morlais, &c.; and in England, Windsor, Warwick, Raby, Alnwick, Bolton, Queenborough, Lancaster, &c.¹

The Norman and Edwardian, the solid and concentric, may be regarded as the two great types of English castles, of which other military buildings are only modifications.

The progress of society in science and literature now remains to be noticed. The strong English mind, already conscious of its strength, was groping in quest of those subjects that were most congenial to its character, and upon which it afterwards laboured with such happy effect. Fortunately, too, instead of expending its first efforts upon the more attractive departments of literature, and thus allowing itself to be allured into a less useful track, it directed its whole ardour towards the substantialities of intellect, and toiled in the quarry of thought. Metaphysical investigation, directed by the rules of Aristotle, was now the chief task of every scholar; and although the direct results were of little worth, the indirect effects were of the highest consequence. It was of much importance not only that men should ascertain at the outset what things cannot be known and what things are not worth knowing, but that the mind should be sharpened and invigorated by such a process for the acquirement of what is really worth having; and considering how effectually this was attained at last, we can forgive the otherwise trivial investigations of the choicest intellects of England during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In this incessant pursuit of shadows the physical sciences had little chance. Law and medicine, indeed, could not be dispensed with, and had therefore a competent proportion of students; but astronomy, which was connected with the revelation of future events, and geometry, which was confounded with the legerdemain of figure-casting, were either imperfectly studied, or pursued only with a reference to the miraculous powers with which they were supposed to be connected. In this way, ordinary scholars who ventured upon the study of Euclid at this period seldom got further, we are told, than the "ass's bridge"—that is, the fifth proposition of the first book. In the same manner, the study of chemistry, as yet in its infancy, was used merely in the form of alchemy, for the discovery of the *elixir*

¹ For illustrations of castles of this period, see the cuts on pages 410, 429, and 434 of this vol.

vita, and the transmutation of metals. These were active preliminary trials, and earnest interested experiments; but a considerable time was still to elapse before the quack-salver became a physician, the star-gazer an astronomer, the gold-seeker a chemist, and the mere pedant or pretender a man of true science. Latin still continued to be the common language of the learned; but in England it was no longer cultivated with that especial care which had formerly been bestowed upon it as the first and greatest essential of scholarship. Instead of this, it was merely a vehicle of communication, and as such, was used without reference to elegance or even common grammatical rule. The necessity already existed, and the period was at hand, when England, no longer dependent upon a barbarized Latin, was to create a language of her own sufficient for every intellectual purpose.

Amidst this new impulse, as may easily be imagined, the great English schools of learning rapidly rose into existence; and the universities of Bologna and Paris, the oldest in Europe, were followed at no long interval by those of Cambridge and Oxford. In a former chapter we have had occasion to mention the origin of the university of Cambridge. Its large barn, that was so speedily filled to overflowing, was the infallible promise of a better state of things, and accordingly, between A.D. 1256 and 1351, or less than a century, nine colleges had been erected and endowed. Oxford at the same time went on with nearly equal rapidity, so that between 1249 and 1379, seven colleges were included within its university. It cannot, however, be maintained, that either the stately decorum, the learning, the plenty, or the *otium cum dignitate* with which these solemn halls are now so fruitful, were to be found in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. An idea, indeed, of their general scholarship, as well as modes of teaching, may be surmised from what has been already stated about the learning of the day; while the inferior grade of their students can be equally conjectured from the different pursuits in which the aristocracy were still employed. Each university is supposed to have had 30,000 scholars; and in a national population of little more than 3,000,000, we wonder that the love of learning could at any time have congregated such a huge proportion of worshippers. But house-room and bread were to be obtained as well as books at these colleges; and, therefore, while the studious repaired to them in tens, the idle thronged to them in hundreds. So says Anthony à Wood, who informs us, moreover, that they were habitually guilty of thieving and other enormities; that they had neither tutors nor observance of discipline; and that they thrust themselves into the

privileges of students merely that they might be exempt from civic jurisdiction. Even already, therefore, there were town-and-gown riots in the streets of Cambridge and Oxford between the citizens and the collegians, while weapons more formidable than fist or stick were often used in the *mêlée*. These riots also were sometimes diversified with internal broils, in which the hungry students, on account of the leanness of their commons, broke out against their superiors, and attempted to carry the larders by storm. The early records of these time-honoured universities abound with strange tales of riot and mutiny. Sufficiently lowly and homely also must have been the occasional duties of the "poor scholars," when we find two of them, in the "reeve's tale" of Chaucer, sent to the mill, to have the college corn ground during the sickness of the maniple. But even to a much later period, the sizarships of the universities were equally humbling. Two sketches of Chaucer give us a distinct idea of the better classes of students at the close of this period, both as to their character and pursuits. The one is the gentle clerk of Oxford, in the prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*:—

"As Iene was his hors as is a rake,
And he was not right fat, I undertake;
But loked holwe, and thereto soberly;
Full thredbare was his overost courtierp,
For he hadde gotten him yet no benefice,
Ne was nougth worldly to have an office.
For him was lever han at his beddes hed
A twenty bokes, clothed in black or red,
Of Aristotle, and his philosophie,
Than robes riche, or fidel, or sautrie.
But all be that he was a philosophre,
Yet hadde he but litel gold in cofre,
But all that he might of his frendes hente,
On bokes and on lornig he it spente,
And besily gan for the soules preie
Of hem, that yave him wherwith to scolae.
Of studie toke he moste cure and hede.
Not a word spake he more than was nedé;
And that was said in forme and reverence,
And short and quike, and ful of high sentence
Souning in moral vertue was his speche,
And gladly wolde he lerne, and gladly teche."

Such was the grave student retired from college and waiting for a benefice, but without murmur or impatience. It will be noticed, too, that although a philosopher, he did not, like his brethren, make a trade of his knowledge, by reading the stars, casting nativities, or selling the delusive promises of alchemy. The other sketch introduces us to a different, and yet, in some points, a similar personage:—

"A poure scooler
Had lerned art, but all his fantasie
Was turned for to lerne astrologie.
And coude a certain of conclusions,
To demon by interrogacions.
If that men asked him in certain hours,
When that men shulde have drought or elles shoures;
Or if men asked him what shulde falle
Of every thing, I may not reken alle."

This student's attention, however, to the stars was mixed up with more terrestrial pursuits; and the following description of his usual routine presents us with a curious medley of play and study adapted to the fashions of the age:—

"This clerk was cleped hendi Nicholas;
Of cer is love he coude and of solas;
And therto he was alle and ful prive,
And like a maiden meke for to se.
A chambre had he in that hostelrye
Alone withouten any compaignie,
Ful festlyl ydight with herbes sote,
And he himself was swete as is the rote
Of licoris, or any setewale.
His almageste, and bokes grete and smale,
His astrolabre, longing to his art
His augrim stones, laven faire apart,
On shelveis couched at his bolden heed,
His presse ycovered with a falding red.
And all about there lay a gay sautrie,
On which he made on nightes melodie,
So sweetely, that all the chambre rong:
And *Angelus ad virginem* he song.
And after that, he song the kinges note;
Ful often blessed was his mery throte.
And thus this swete clerk his time spent
After his frendes finding and his rent."

Amidst such ample means of study, and acquirement of literary distinction, it is natural that we should expect a plentiful harvest of illustrious names. But still the list is scanty enough, and especially in those departments of learning that were the most diligently cultivated. Thus, in metaphysics, we have only Alexander de Hales, the Irrefragable Doctor, who died at Paris in the middle of the thirteenth century; and William Occum, the Invincible Doctor, who died at Munich in the middle of the fourteenth. Occum, who was the pupil of the celebrated Duns Scotus, became afterwards his antagonist, and in controversy evinced a keenness of intellect scarcely inferior to that of his renowned preceptor. It speaks little, however, for the fostering care of England at this early period, that such men, and even Scotus himself, were fain to accept of charges in foreign universities; but it may be, that the Scotch, and afterwards the French wars, absorbed too much of the wealth and patronage of England, to allow the claims of such persons a full and fair recognition. In mathematical science, one of the most distinguished was Robert Grosstete, or Greathead, so called, says the quaint Fuller, from his large stowage of brain. This distinguished prelate, who flourished during the first half of the thirteenth century, was not only esteemed in his own day for his scientific attainments, and patronage of learned men, but subsequently won a still higher reputation in the ecclesiastical history of England, as a harbinger of Wyckliffe and the Reformation. Such, indeed, was his independence and hostility to Papal usurpation, that when the rescripts of Rome were sent to him to be published and enforced, instead

of obeying, he was wont to throw them into the fire, if he found them in any way opposed to the liberties of his country or the rights of the English church. Of alchemists, three or four are mentioned as being of note in England during this period, but their names may well pass away with the science they cultivated. In medicine, the earliest writer was Gilbert Anglicus, who lived in the thirteenth century; and in surgery, John Ardern, who lived in the fourteenth. But with regard to the former science, it was as yet too closely connected with charms and conjurations to be of much avail; while in surgery, the practitioners were still nearly as helpless as their brethren who stood round the bed of the Archduke of Austria (*Cœur de Lion's* enemy) and knew not how to amputate his gangrened leg, until the cook decided the difficulty by one downright trenchant blow of his cleaver.

During this stirring period, there was abundance of subjects as well of inspiration for the historians, and therefore, from the beginning of the thirteenth to the close of the fourteenth century, the writers of this kind were sufficiently numerous, whose collected works form a valuable cyclopaedia of English history. This, however, is merely to be understood in reference to historical fulness and accuracy, as these authors were merely chroniclers, while the Latin in which they wrote was sufficiently dry and unclassical. An exception, however, must be made in behalf of Matthew Paris. This author, who, like the

Officia omnia hanc litteram habent impressa: a dco



MATTHEW PARIS, from the Cambridge MS.—Supposed to have been drawn by himself.

others of that class, was an ecclesiastic, belonged to the Benedictine order of monks in the monastery of St. Alban's, and had been much employed in the affairs of government by Henry III. His mind was no doubt thus freed from the narrowness of the convent, and his views enlarged as well as his knowledge increased and rectified upon the great leading events of English history. His chief work, entitled *Historia Major*, is a history of the country from the Norman conquest

to 1249, the year in which he died; and while his style is bold, free, and eloquent beyond all his contemporaries, he manifests a generous sympathy for the losing party, and describes with deep feeling the sufferings of the oppressed Saxons, as well as indignantly exposes the crimes and the tyranny of those kings and rulers under whose oppression they were afflicted. But he evinces a still nobler intrepidity in his exposures of the arrogance and duplicity of the court of Rome in its transactions with England, and lays open its iniquities without scruple. This, indeed, was much for a monk, especially as he stood alone in his integrity; for the other chroniclers could see no failing in their sovereign pontiff, or mutability in their infallible church. Hence the disfavour into which his history has fallen among Roman Catholics in general, and the attempts that have been made to overturn his authority; and while some have sought to effect it by contradicting his statements, others have endeavoured to prove that no such writer as Matthew Paris ever existed, and that the work which goes under his name is nothing more than an historical romance and the forgery of a later period.

But of all the scientific men of the period, none is for a moment to be compared to Roger Bacon. He stands alone and unapproached, and in the varied range of ancient languages, grammar, and theology, of geometry, geography, astronomy, and chronology, of chemistry, optics, and mechanics, he carried his investigations in each to the utmost limits of which the age was capable, and mastered all that could be known or acquired; after which, his earnestness in imparting that knowledge to the world was fully equal to his diligence in acquiring it. It was not wonderful, however, that with such a vast amount of acquirements, he should have been considered not merely a great scholar but a mighty magician, and that his studies should have been supposed to have had a more ambitious aim than the mere acquirement of knowledge. To this, indeed, his researches in alchemy and astrology gave some occasion; for as these were still enrolled among the regular sciences, they formed a part of his studies, and appear to have secured a considerable share of his belief. Roger Bacon was born at Ilchester, near A.D. 1214. He was first educated at Oxford, and afterwards at Paris; and as Aristotle's philosophy was less in vogue at the university of the last-mentioned city, when Bacon resided thither, than it afterwards became, he thus, in a great measure, escaped those artificial trammels by which his researches in science might have been retarded, or even positively arrested. On returning home with a doctor's degree, he entered the order of Franciscan friars, and from this period (1240) to the close of his

life in 1292, he wholly devoted himself to study, in which he was so well aided by munificent patrons, that in twenty years he spent 2000 livres in the purchase of books and philosophical instruments. Such a sum at that period was equivalent to many thousand pounds of the present day. But while his labours were so justly appreciated by the discerning few, it was otherwise with his brethren of the cloister, who hated him for his superiority, and maligned him as a cultivator of the forbidden arts of magic. Perhaps his censures of the ignorance and immorality of the clergy, and his expressed opinions of the necessity of a reformation in the church, lay at the bottom of all this rancour. He was also the devoted friend of Grossetête, who, though a bishop, had begun to suspect that the pope was no other than Antichrist. On account of these alleged offences, Roger Bacon was forbid to lecture to the students of the university, and afterwards almost wholly debarred from intercourse with his friends, so that he sometimes was in want of the necessaries of life. Fortunately, he at length found a powerful patron in the Cardinal-bishop of Salina, who, on his accession to the papedom under the title of Clement IV., effectually interested himself in freeing the philosophic monk from all further persecution during his pontificate. But during that of Nicholas IV., the hostility of the priesthood broke out afresh with double vigour, and Bacon, after ten years of close confinement, died, as has been supposed, in prison. So formidable was his reputation as a master of the black art, that even after death, his unpublished manuscripts were secured under lock and key, as infernal spells and conjurations, until, as we are told, they were utterly consumed by insects. Such was the brief history of a man so far in advance of his age, that it was as unfit to understand as it was unworthy to possess him.

The writings of Bacon, as enumerated by their modern editor Dr. Jebb, consisted of five works on grammar, six on pure mathematics, seventeen on mechanics and general physics, ten on optics, six on geography, seven on astronomy, one on chronology, nine on chemistry and alchemy, five on magic, eight on logic and metaphysics, nine on medicine, six on theology, twelve miscellaneous—101 in all. This list may serve to indicate the variety of his literary and scientific acquirements. The chief of these works was his *Opus Majus*, which he drew up at the desire of Clement IV. Of his many wonderful discoveries, they were rather daring guesses and surmises of what might be accomplished, than immediate or positive results. And yet, what valuable suggestions these guesses were, and how fully they were wrought out and verified in after ages! Take the following examples:—"A vessel may be so con-

structed, and oars therein so disposed, as to make more way with one man in her, than another vessel fully manned." "It is possible to make a chariot which, without any assistance of animals, shall move with that irresistible force which is ascribed to those scythed chariots in which the ancients fought." Here we have prophetic anticipations of steam-travelling both by land and water. The next instance is still more remarkable:—"It is possible," he writes, "to make instruments for flying, so that a man sitting in the middle thereof, and steering with a kind of rudder, may manage what is contrived to answer the end of wings so as to divide and pass through the air." Is not this the balloon, invented five centuries afterwards, as well as the attempts still in progress to direct its course? All this and more, he declared, might be done without the help of magic, for the attainment of objects which magic could never accomplish. With the composition of gunpowder he certainly was acquainted, without knowing that the Chinese had previously made the discovery; and as for the telescope, although he does not appear to have made one, he assuredly gave directions for its formation in the following remarkable words:—"We can so shape transparent substances, and so arrange them with respect to our sight and objects, that rays can be broken and bent as we please, so that objects may be seen far off or near, under whatever angle we please; and thus from an incredible distance we may read the smallest letters, and number the grains of dust and sand, on account of the greatness of the angle under which we see them; and we may manage so as hardly to see bodies when near to us, on account of the smallness of the angle under which we cause them to be seen; for vision of this sort is not a consequence of distance, except as that affects the magnitude of the angle. And thus a boy may seem a giant, and a man a mountain." To this account of Bacon it is only necessary to add, that his process of philosophizing was according to that inductive system which his illustrious namesake afterwards so successfully established by his *Novum Organum*.

Amidst this cultivation of literature and the sciences, the progress of poetry comes now to be considered. We have already seen that in England, as in every country of Europe, the first poetical efforts were in Latin, as yet the only language in which cultivated thought was embodied. But while other nations threw off this bondage, and fitted their own speech for the purposes of an exclusively national literature, the case was different in England, where two languages contended for the mastery, while those who used them were of rival races, and hostile interests. In this case, the troubadour sang his

lays in the Langue d'oc and the Langue d'oïl of France, and the gleeman his ballads in the rude uncultivated Saxon of Germany, while each had but a half auditory to understand and applaud. For the purposes of poetry one language must finally prevail to the exclusion of the other, and after a protracted struggle, the predominance was finally obtained not by that of the court but the people. It is interesting, too, to mark the struggle which the muse of England experienced after she had thrown off the language of the Conquest, but before she had acquired a definite form of speech. The first attempt of the kind with which we are acquainted, is Layamon's translation of Wace's *Metrical Chronicle*, about the middle of the twelfth century; but this attempt is so characteristic of a transition period from one language to another, that it is still impossible to decide whether it should be considered a Saxon version or an English one. This was followed in the thirteenth century by translations or imitations of the French romances, and in the fourteenth by the histories of England, written by Robert of Gloucester and Robert de Brunne in verse. A better poet still was Laurence Minot, who took for his theme the victories of Edward III. in France, upon which he produced several ballads that were rewarded with high popular acceptance. These, indeed, were rude attempts; but at each struggle the language of England was expanding, as well as assuming a definite form and character. A still better poet than those we have mentioned was Robert Longland, Langelande, or, as he is commonly called, Langland, with whom the history of English poetry properly commences. He was a secular priest, born at Mortimer's Clebury in Shropshire, and lived during the reigns of Edward III. and Richard II. It is also said that he was one of the earliest followers of Wyckliffe, a fact that seems to be fully borne out by the character of his writings, in which he boldly inveighs against the abuses of religion and the dissolute lives of the clergy. His poem entitled *The Visions of Piers Plowman*, is an allegory consisting of twenty passus (pauses or breaks), exhibiting a series of dreams supposed to have visited him on the Malvern Hills, Worcestershire. This Piers, his hero, who is intended to impersonate the Christian life, receives from Grace four strong oxen, called Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, to plough up the gospel field; but as if these were not enough, four stout bullocks are added to harrow it, whose names are Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory, and Jerone. Artificial and uncouth though his allegory was, yet it abounds in vigorous delineations; but a still greater fault than its allegorical character consisted in his following the old Saxon model of poetry, by constructing

his lines upon the principle not of rhyme but alliteration. It was well that such a plan was superseded at the outset by his contemporary and immediate successor, Geoffrey Chaucer.

As Chaucer lived during a troubled period, and was connected with many of its public



GEOFFREY CHAUCER.—From Houbraeken.

events, his biography is that of a politician as well as poet. He was born in London, as is supposed, in 1328, was educated at Cambridge and Oxford universities, and after having travelled in France, Holland, and other countries, he studied municipal law in the Inner Temple. He commenced his career as a courtier, first as page, and afterwards as gentleman of the privy chamber and shield-bearer to Edward III.; and when that monarch invaded France in 1359, Chaucer attended his royal master as a soldier, and was made prisoner by the enemy near the town of Retters. How long he remained in captivity is unknown; but in 1367 we find him again in England, and in receipt of a handsome pension from the king; and in 1373 he was sent on an embassy to Genoa, a mission which introduced him to the acquaintanceship of Petrarch. Another embassy on which he was sent to France in 1377, to negotiate a marriage between Richard, Prince of Wales, and Mary, daughter of the French king, fully shows the account in which he was held at the English court, and the confidence his royal master reposed in him. This, however, was but an uncongenial element for such a poet, and from 1384 to 1389 he appears at one time as an exile, and at another a prisoner in the Tower, in consequence of his connection with certain public events in which he was upon the losing side. Hitherto his productions as a poet had been confined to the *Parliament of Birds*, which he wrote on the occasion of the marriage of his patron, John of Gaunt, in 1358, to Blanche of Lancaster; the *Book of the Duchess*, in consequence of the death of Blanche in 1369; and the

poems entitled the *Black Knight*, the *Legend of Good Women*, and the *Flower and the Leaf*, after the accession of Richard II. After efforts so few and far between, it was fortunate for his future renown as well as present peace, that he abandoned the throng of courts and the intrigues of politics for his own proper vocation. The last ten years of his life were spent in studious retirement, during which he produced his immortal work of the *Canterbury Tales*, and in it, the solid foundation upon which the majestic structure of English poetry was afterwards erected. It was, indeed, fit that such a production should be the established poetical standard to all future ages in England; for who of our poets has since surpassed, or even equalled him? As yet, only one Shakspeare has been given to the world and one Chaucer, and in these we are tempted to feel as if they were of themselves enough—as if their reduplications would be superfluous.

Contemporary with the great author of the *Canterbury Tales*, was his friend John Gower—the “moral Gower,” as Chaucer has affectionately called him, and which has since continued to be his honourable and established designation. Gower, had he stood alone, would undoubtedly have been a poet of high distinction; but as it is, his mild lustre has been almost extinguished in the far superior brightness of the other. His principal work, the *Confessio Amantis*, had its origin in a singular incident which he mentions in the poem. Already favourably known as a verse-maker, he had taken boat one day upon the Thames, when the royal barge passed by, having Richard II. on board. The king saw and recognized the poet, who adds:—

“He bade me come into his barge:
And when I was with him at large,
Among other things said
He hath this charge upon me laid,
And bade me do my business,
That to his high worthiness
Some new thinge I should book,
That he himself it might look.”

Proud to be so commissioned as poets have seldom been, Gower obeyed the royal behest, and the *Confessio Amantis*, although written in such a profligate age, possesses, independently of its poetical merits, a moral tone and purity that well justifies the title with which his name has descended to posterity.

The condition of Scotland is now necessarily connected with that of England, in consequence of the relation which the two countries bore to each other—a relation which, though so hostile in its immediate character, was finally to end in union and incorporation. From the reign of Malcolm Canmore to that of Alexander III. inclusively, Scotland had been distinguished by a line of energetic sovereigns, under whose administration

the country, originally so sterile, and its people, so barbarous and of so many hostile races, were rapidly rising in civilization and political importance. We have mentioned in a former Book the introduction of the Flemings into Scotland, and the impulse which they gave to the commencement of its manufactures and commerce. Malcolm Canmore and his queen also encouraged the arrival of foreign merchants into Scotland; and such rich foreign produce was soon imported into the country, that Alexander I. presented to the church of St. Andrews an Arabian horse on which he was wont to ride, with its rich accoutrements, a silver lance and shield, a splendid horse-cloth, and Turkish armour of various kinds. David I. was also distinguished for his attention to foreign commerce; and his burgh laws for the regulation of trade show not only his solicitude on this subject, but the important fact, that the dyeing and manufacture of woollen cloth had been already introduced into Scotland. So plentiful, also, was the trade in fish, already a source of national wealth, that during the same reign, as we learn from a MS. in the Cottonian library, the Frith of Forth was often covered with boats manned by Scottish, English, and Belgian fishermen. Berwick was now the great Scottish port for foreign commerce, while Perth was properly as yet the capital of the kingdom, and a town distinguished for its wealth. Leith, Stirling, and Aberdeen are also mentioned as places possessing some trade and shipping. It was much, indeed, that such a country at the commencement of the reign of Richard I. of England, could repurchase its independence for the then very large sum of 10,000 marks, and that in the succeeding reign of John, it could pay 15,000 by the treaty of Berwick. Ship-building, too, seems to have been one of the departments of Scottish commercial enterprise, and Matthew Paris tells us that one of the large vessels which accompanied the fleet of St. Louis on his first crusade in 1236, had been built at Inverness for continental service. Nor, amidst this new stir of commerce and manufacture by which the country was enriched, were those arts neglected by which its manners were refined and softened. Even at this early period music was a favourite study of the Scotch, while their musical instruments were the harp, the pib-corn, and the bagpipe. We are also informed by Giraldus Cambrensis, that the music of the Irish, who played only upon the harp with brass strings and the timbrel, was inferior to that of Scotland, for which reason they were wont to repair thither "as to the fountain-head of perfection in that art." In this way the progress of Scotland went onward from reign to reign, and all seemed to promise that her only contention with her power-

ful rival would be that which now so happily prevails—the contest of industry, and intelligence, and moral worth. But by one fatal accident all this was arrested and thrown back; and the first utterance of the Scottish muse in her own native tongue, was a touching lamentation over the disaster:—

"Quhen Alyсандyr, our Kyng, wes dede,
That Scotland led in luive and Le,
Away wes sons of Ale and Brode,
Of Wyne and Wax, of Gamyn and Gle;
Oure gold was changyd into lede.
Cryst, born into virginyte,
Succour Scotland and remed
That stad is in perplexyte!"

This was the death-wail of which Berwick was the funeral-pile. So great and prosperous had that town grown at the death of Alexander III., and so numerous were its inhabitants, that in the chronicle of Lanercost it is termed a second Alexandria. The sea, it added, is its wealth, the waters were its walls, and its rich citizens were very liberal in their donations to religious houses. But after its capture by Edward I. in 1296, and the indiscriminate massacre that followed, Berwick never recovered its consequence, but became a mere debatable town and place of strife between the English and the Scots. Then followed those long wars in which Scotland fought not merely for independence but existence, and in which every art and occupation were thrown aside except those of self-defence and plunder; and a dreary interval had to elapse before her deeds were fitted for any other record than that of mere military achievement.

It is not, however, to be supposed that amidst the prevalent ignorance and barbarism which this death-struggle entailed upon the country for years, Scotland was merely illustrious by the deeds of Wallace, Bruce, and the Douglasses. On the contrary, the bright intellects whom she produced in her darkest hour, gave a fair pre-sage of what might be expected when happier days succeeded. One of these eminent men was Sir Michael Scott of Balwearie, the contemporary of Roger Bacon, and, like him, not only distinguished by his scientific attainments, but also by the character of a magician and necromancer. Sir Michael, who is supposed to have been born at Balwearie in 1180 about the year 1214, after exhausting the limited knowledge which his country at that time possessed, went to Oxford, where he studied the sciences of astronomy, chemistry, and geometry, and the Latin and Arabic tongues. Still reckoning these attainments insufficient, he subsequently repaired to the university of Paris, where his theological attainments procured him the title of doctor in divinity, and his scientific knowledge that of Michael the Mathematician. He afterwards travelled through

France, Spain, Italy, and Germany, everywhere adding to his acquirements, and establishing, on account of his devotedness to astrology, a high reputation in magic and knowledge of the future. After years of travel, during which he wrote essays on astrology, translated the greater part of the works of Aristotle from the Arabic, and produced several treatises upon the sciences then most in vogue, he returned to Scotland soon after the death of Alexander III., and was sent as one of the ambassadors to Norway, to bring home the young queen Margaret, in consequence of her being espoused to the son of Edward I. In the troubles that followed, his name disappears from history, and all that can be guessed is, that he withdrew himself as much as possible from the din, and gave himself wholly up to his favourite researches until his death, which occurred in 1292, the same year in which Bacon also deceased. Notwithstanding his exclusive renown among his own countrymen as seer, wizard, and necromancer, the works of Michael Scott, of which several have been printed, and the testimony of his learned contemporaries, prove him to have been one of the most acute intellects, as well as one of the most learned and universal scholars of his day.

Another eminent northern genius of this period was John Duns Scotus, a man whom England and Ireland have been eager to claim for a native, and of whom any country might well be proud. It seems certain, however, that Scotland was his native country, as the name (Scotus) had long ceased to be applied to Ireland, and that the town of Dunse in Berwickshire was either his birth-place or residence. He was born in the latter part of the thirteenth century, but at what precise date cannot be ascertained. Having been instructed in the elements of learning by the Franciscan friars, who were struck with the early signs of acuteness which he exhibited, he was carried off a prisoner to England along with his preceptors, in one of those destructive irruptions of the war of Edward I., in which neither priest nor layman was spared. After his liberation, John of Dunse repaired to Merton Hall, Oxford, and made such proficiency in the studies of logic, mathematics, and theology, that in 1301 he was appointed professor of divinity, and became so renowned as a lecturer on the sentences of Peter Lombard, that Oxford was crowded with students, of whom 30,000 attended his prelections. From Oxford he was sent to Paris by the Franciscans, to defend the doctrine of the immaculate conception, which he did with such logical acuteness, that the impugners were confuted, or at least confounded and silenced, and the honorary title of Subtle Doctor was conferred upon the successful champion. He had also a keen con-

troversy on the subject of Divine grace with Thomas Aquinas, in opposition to whose followers, called the Thomists, he founded a sect in theological science called the Scotists, who were soon diffused throughout all the churches and schools of Christendom. Immense as were his writings and literary labours, Duns Scotus died at Cologne in 1308, while founding a university, being at that time not more than forty-four, or as others declare only thirty-four years old. His written works alone, which were collected and published in 1639, filled twelve folio volumes! It would be difficult, indeed, either to describe the almost religious adoration with which his authority was received, or the influence it exercised over the intellect of Europe in this period of struggle and transition: it was said of him, that he could have been the inventor of philosophy if it had not previously existed—that his knowledge of all the mysteries of religion was so profound and perfect, that it was rather intuitive certainty than belief—and that he wrote so many books, that one man is hardly able to read them, and no one man is able to understand them. Even, however, when the supremacy of Aristotle was passing away, and solid intellectual realities taking the place of idle sophisms, the writings of Duns Scotus held a high place, and were quoted with respect by the master spirits of the revolution. And such the feeling still continues to be, even in the present scrupulous age, among those who examine his mountainous tomes, and are able to appreciate them. To them it appears nothing wonderful that such a man should have reigned as an infallible pope until the popery itself of science and literature was overthrown.

Very different from the pursuits of the preceding persons were those of John de Fordun. This worthy priest, a native of Fordun in Kincardineshire, and born about the middle of the fourteenth century, seems from his earliest days to have had a heart glowing with patriotism, as well as a mind directed to the writing of history. These feelings naturally suggested the great task of his life, which was to recover, if it were possible, the history of his native country—that history which Edward I. had so mercilessly endeavoured to destroy. This, indeed, was a labour such as few national historians have encountered; and he set about it with a diligence and in a manner such as the task fully required. To find his materials he was obliged to traverse Britain and Ireland, pursuing his investigations from town to town, and from castle to castle, gathering whatever document, relic, story, or tradition, was to be found about his native country, and securing them in his pilgrim's wallet for future consideration and arrangement. After his quest was ended he sat down in Aberdeen, of the church of

which he was a canon, and there, during the years between 1387 and 1399, employed himself in his important work, entitled the *Scotichronicon*, in five books, the last three being a history of Scotland from 1056 to 1153. Being arrested in his labour of love by the infirmity of old age, he handed over the rest of his materials to Walter Bower, who continued the *Scotichronicon* to the year 1436. A history undertaken under such singular disadvantages, as well as at such a credulous period, might be expected to abound in more than the ordinary share of fable; but still the full value of the work it is not easy to estimate. It secured those perishable national records which otherwise might have been irretrievably lost, and thereby became the ground-work of future Scottish histories. Judged also by its own intrinsic merits, the *Scotichronicon*, both in matter and style, will bear a fair comparison with those numerous English chronicles of the period which were written under happier auspices.

In turning from philosophy and history to poetry, we find that there the fervour of Scottish genius was not wanting. We have not the same means of ascertaining its early history in the northern as in the southern division of the island, but from the origin and character of the Scottish Lowlanders, we are warranted in concluding that they, too, had their gleemen and troubadours, and that every district had its favourite lay or romance. It is still more interesting to find that the emancipation of the poetry of Britain from the old Saxon and Norman tongues into that which was finally to become the standard English language, commenced, not in England but in Scotland. The specimen we have already quoted as the oldest of the kind, possesses a regularity of measure, and harmony of language, which the versification of England did not attain until more than a century afterwards. But we have not merely the small specimen alluded to for our warrant in the assertion, that Scotland was properly the birthplace of English poetry. At the time when the lament on the death of Alexander III. was written, there was a poet of high eminence in Scotland, whose chief work, after having disappeared for centuries, was discovered and published in our own day. We allude to the poetical romance of *Sir Tristram*, and its author, Thomas Rymer.

Over the history of this early poet much of that mythic obscurity is to be found, which so much aggrandized the names of Ossian and Homer. He is sometimes called Thomas the Rhymer from his poetical character, and Thomas of Ercildoune from the name of the village, now called Earlston, in Berwickshire, his place of residence. From early notices it may be inferred that he was born as early as 1219, and composed his

poem about 1250, and that his life extended over a great part of that century, as we find him still alive at the period of the death of Alexander III. in 1286. When we remember the original twofold application of the title *vates*, we need not be surprised if Thomas the Rhymer, in such a rude period, was reckoned a prophet as well as poet, and that from the natural love of the marvellous the former predominated over the latter character. His predictions were preserved, while his *Sir Tristram* was allowed to sink into forgetfulness; and while subsequent authors continued to speak of him as a prophet, his predictions in rhyme were cherished like household treasures in most of our Scottish cottages even till a very recent period. It was only perhaps the publication of his works by Sir Walter Scott, which showed that "true Thomas" was a poet, and nothing more. With regard to the merits of *Sir Tristram*, it is generally allowed that as it was the first, it was also the best of our early poetical romances.

But the muse of Scotland soon found a more stirring as well as important occupation than the writing of chivalrous fictions. The terrible struggles that ensued on the death of Alexander III., and the long war of independence which Scotland waged against England, produced whole Iliads of warlike adventure, and veritable knights as gallant as those of the Round Table, while a spirit had been already evoked, and a language created every way fitted to express them. And when this war had ended, and ended so successfully for Scotland it would have been strange if the country had produced no poet to raise the hymn of liberty, and record the deeds by which it had been achieved. That poet was John Barbour, archdeacon of Aberdeen. He is supposed to have been born in or near A.D. 1332, and was one of the commissioners appointed to treat with England about the ransom of David II. During his boyhood, therefore, many of the old veterans of the Bruce's wars must still have been alive, while the deeds of the hero himself, now fully appreciated by the deliverance they had wrought, must have been the theme of general conversation and eulogium. In a happy hour, accordingly, for Scotland and its history, he chose the deeds of the "good King Robert" for his theme; and the result was his poem of *The Bruce*, which he finished in 1375, when Scotland was under the peaceful reign of Robert II., and the English fully occupied with their conquests in France. Besides its being a record of "soothfastness," as he assures us, and which he well might do from the recentness of the events, the life of Bruce abounded in adventures sufficiently brilliant and wonderful for the purposes of poetry, so that while the worthy archdeacon produced a true

history, his work was also a complete epic. Of the poetical merits of *The Bruce*, it would now be needless to speak: these are so well attested, that Barbour is now universally classed in the highest rank of epic poets. Alas! that the language should now be becoming obsolete and unintelligible in which he described the battle of Bannockburn and the blessings of liberty! It is gratifying to find, that poor though his country was, and illiterate though the people were reckoned, his patriotic task was not unrequited, for a yearly pension was assigned to him from the exchequer during life. It would have been well if richer and happier countries had followed such an example!

In this manner was laid the broad and deep foundation of British intellect—the base upon which such a goodly superstructure was to be erected. The process indeed was slow, and carried on amidst much groping and uncertainty; much was done imperfectly, as well as much that might well have been omitted; but the great and final result has been such as to justify the toil, and palliate the mistakes of a commencement. The origin of our national science and literature was not to be the work of a few years, even as its benefits were not to be limited to a few centuries or confined to a single country; and therefore several generations had to pass away before a foundation could be laid that was adequate to such a stupendous edifice. And yet, even already, in those men we have enumerated as the intellectual workmen of

the present period, we read the promise of their illustrious successors—of the master architects by whom the walls were raised and the ornaments constructed—the Bacon, the Shakspeare, the Milton, the Newton, the Watt of future ages.

In this commencement also of British literature and science, by which their subsequent course and character were to be so mainly influenced, an important fact is involved, which we should do well to take into account. It is—that not one, but two national communities were employed in this common work. A wide and multifarious range was to be embraced, for which the qualities of a single national intellect might have been insufficient, and therefore England and Scotland brought simultaneously their respective energies and resources to the effort—and this, too, in a mood, and under circumstances the most unlikely for any common concert and co-operation! Even while they were employed in a contest which, from their mutual affinity, was embittered with all the rancour of a civil war, they were yet at one in this important object—and all the more effectually, perhaps, at such a stage of the process, on account of their separation from each other, and their proud contentious rivalry. It was an intellectual accordance which the sword could not divide, nor mutual injuries weaken. It was a pleasing type of that future political union of the two nations, for which such unintentional co-operation was one of the best preparatives, as well as most substantial recompences.

BOOK V.

PERIOD FROM THE ACCESSION OF HENRY IV. TO THE END OF THE REIGN OF RICHARD III.—86 YEARS.

FROM A.D. 1399—1485.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

England.		Germany.	
1399 HENRY IV.	1437 JAMES II.	1400 RUPERT.	1409 ALEXANDER V., and GREGORY XII., and BENEDICT XIII.
1413 HENRY V.	1460 JAMES III.	1411 SIGISMUND.	1410 JOHN XXIII., GREGORY XII., and BENEDICT XIII.
1422 HENRY VI.	France.	1438 ALBERT II.	
1461 EDWARD IV.	1422 CHARLES VII.	1440 FREDERICK IV.	1417 MARTIN V.
1470 HENRY VI. (restored).	1461 LOUIS XI.		1431 EUGENE IV.
1471 EDWARD IV. (restored).	1483 CHARLES VIII.	Popes.	1447 NICHOLAS V.
1483 EDWARD V.	Castile and Leon.	1404 INNOCENT VII. and BENEDICT XIII.	1455 CALIXTUS III.
1483 RICHARD III.	1406 JOHN II.	1406 GREGORY XII. and BENEDICT XIII.	1458 PIUS II.
	1450 HENRY IV.		1464 PAUL II.
Scotland.	1474 ISABELLA and FERDINAND.		1471 SIXTUS IV.
1403 JAMES I.			1484 INNOCENT VIII.

CHAPTER I.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.

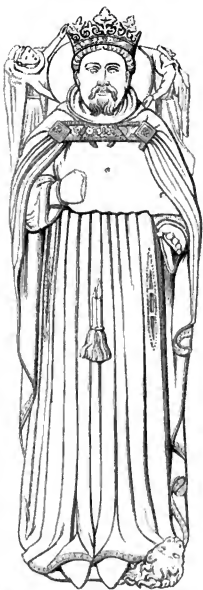
HENRY IV., SURNAMED BOLINGBROKE.—ACCESSION, A.D. 1399—DEATH, A.D. 1413.

Henry IV. commences his reign—His politic measures—Troubles at the commencement of his reign—Disposal of Richard II.—Royal claims of the House of March—Henry defeats a conspiracy of the nobles—Mysterious death of Richard II.—Its consequences among the French rulers—Troubled state of France—Henry unsuccessfully invades Scotland—Insurrection in Wales—Account of Owen Glendower, its leader—His successful resistance to the English—The Scots invade England—They are defeated at Nesbit Moor—Their signal defeat at Homildon Hill—Henry challenged to combat by the Duke of Orleans—His contemptuous reply—Discontent of the Percies against Henry—Their plots to dethrone him—Their proclamation at Shrewsbury—Battle of Shrewsbury, and defeat of the Percies—The Earl of Northumberland pardoned—Reports of Richard II. being still alive—Disturbances in consequence—Henry's unsuccessful attempts to raise supplies—Rebellion against him in favour of the house of March—It is defeated—Services of Prince Henry against the Welsh—Heroic resistance of Owen Glendower—Disturbed condition of Scotland—Henry captures its young prince, James—The Earl of Northumberland again rebels—Is defeated and slain—Quarrels of the court factions in France—The plots and assassinations that accompanied them—The parties apply to England—The English invade France under the Duke of Clarence—Henry's troubles at the close of his reign—Account of his eldest son, Prince Henry—Last illness and death of Henry IV.

HAVING been seated on the throne of England by the archbishop, on Tuesday, the feast of St. Jerome the Doctor, the 30th of September, 1399, Henry immediately proceeded to exercise the royal authority, and to fill those offices which had become vacant by the removal of Richard. By that event the power of the justices, sheriffs, and other officers, ceased, "and, therefore," in the language of parliament, 'lest justice might be delayed, to the grievance of the people, the present king named and appointed his principal officers and justices, who took the usual oaths.' But the authority of the parliament itself, which had been summoned in the name of King Richard, also expired with his deposition; and at this critical moment it was alike indispensable for Henry that he should have a parliament assembled, and that it should be composed of his friends. He therefore contrived that the present members should be retained, by not allowing sufficient time for the election and return of fresh members. He forthwith directed writs to be issued returnable in six

days, and proclamation to be made at the same time for the parliament to meet for business on the sixth day; assigning as a plausible reason for the shortness of this summons, that it was only for "the profit of the kingdom, and especially to spare the fatigues and expenses of his lieges, and in order that the grievances of the people might have the more speedy remedy."¹

The king then rose from his throne, and "beholding the people with a cheerful countenance," he departed, and on the same day he gave a splendid banquet in the Whitehall to the nobles and the clergy, who attended in great numbers. On the following day, the 1st of October, a deputation waited upon Richard, late king, in the Tower, and there William Thyrning, justiciary, for himself and fellow-procurators, in the name of the states and all the people, notified to Richard the acceptance of his resignation, and the cause and form of his deposition, and then renounced all homage and fealty to him. The parliament met on Monday, the 6th; and the representatives of the commons seem to have been to a man the same individuals that had been summoned six weeks before in the name of Richard. On the Monday following, October the 13th, the feast of St. Edmund the Confessor, and the anniversary of the day on which he had gone into exile, Henry was crowned with the usual ceremonies² in Westminster Abbey.³



HENRY IV.—From his tomb in Canterbury Cathedral.

The parliament was in the best of humours, and the commons more especially went hand in hand with the new king. Many of the obnoxious acts of the late reign were instantly repealed. In the lords the most violent altercations soon ensued. The peers who had appealed the Duke of Gloucester of treason were called to account; but these chivalrous lords were not ashamed to take up the same plea which had been used by the judges in the preceding reign: they said they acted through fear, and sealed that deed under compulsion of Richard. They added, that they were not more guilty in prosecuting Gloucester than the rest of the house was in condemning him on their appeal. There was scarcely a lord present but had been involved in the inexplicable intrigues of the last twelve years. There was plenty of ground for recrimination, and the opportunity was not lost; the terms liar and traitor resounded from every corner of the house; forty gauntlets were thrown upon the floor, as the pledges of battles in the lists. A timid or an unreflecting king would have been lost in this perilous storm, which the firm and crafty Henry managed to subdue. The appellants were let off with the forfeiture of the titles and estates they had received from Richard as a reward for their services against his uncle Gloucester. Several excellent statutes were enacted in this first parliament; treason was again reduced to the limits prescribed

¹ Rot. Parl.

² Ibid.; Rymer.

³ "In this revolution of 1399, there was as remarkable an attention shown to the formalities of the constitution—allowance made for the men and the times—as in that of 1688. The parliament was not opened by commission; no one took the office of president; the commons did not adjourn to their own chamber; they chose no speaker; the name of parliament was not taken, but that only of estates of the realm. But as it would have been a violation of constitutional principles to assume a parliamentary character without the king's commission, though summoned by his writ, so it was still more essential to limit their exercise of power to the necessity of circumstances. Upon the cession of the king, as upon his death, the parliament was no more; its existence, as the council of the sovereign, being dependent on his will. The actual convention summoned by the writs of Richard could not legally become the parliament of Henry; and the validity of a statute declaring it to be such, would probably have been questionable in that age, when the power of statutes to alter the original principles of the common law was by no means so thoroughly recognized as at the Resto-

ration and Revolution. Yet Henry was too well pleased with his friends to part with them so readily; and he had much to effect before the fervour of their spirits should abate. Hence an expedient was devised, of issuing writs, returnable in six days. These neither were nor could be complied with; but the same members as had deposed Richard sat in the new parliament, which was regularly opened by Henry's commissioner, as if they had been duly elected. In this contrivance, more than in all the rest, we may trace the hand of lawyers."—*Hallam*.

In following out his investigations upon this period, the same author goes on to remark, that in the twenty-two years from the accession of Richard II., the constitutional authority of the House of Commons had made surprising progress. "Of the three capital points in contest while Edward III. reigned—that money could not be levied, or laws enacted, without the commons' consent, and that the administration of government was subject to their inspection and control—the first was absolutely decided in their favour, the second was at least perfectly admitted in principle, and the last was confirmed by frequent exercise."

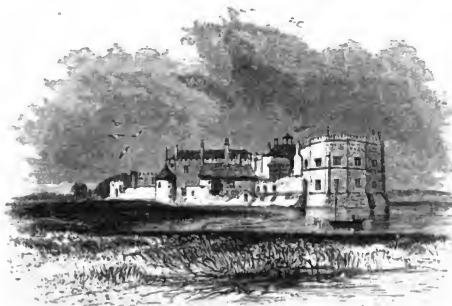
under Edward III.; appeals of treason in parliament, of which such an abuse had been made, were abolished. Another great measure was the establishing a law, that the power of parliament should in no case be delegated to a standing commission.

On the 23d day of October, the Earl of Northumberland presented himself in the lords, to deliver a royal message, and then the Archbishop of Canterbury rose, and charged the lords spiritual and temporal to keep whatever resolution they should adopt on this present message a profound and solemn secret. After this Northumberland spoke: he requested their advice as to the mode in which Richard should be treated in time to come; for his master Henry, he said, was resolved that, happen what might, the life of the deposed sovereign should be preserved—and we believe that he here expressed Henry's real wish. The lords answered unanimously that Richard ought to be carried *secretly* to some castle; there to be placed in custody of trusty officers, who should prevent his holding any communication with his former friends and servants. This was the sanction Henry required; and his cousin was privately removed from the Tower accordingly. In the first instance he was conveyed to Leeds Castle, in Kent; but it appears that he was subse-

Guienne, Lancaster, and Cornwall, and Earl of Chester; and he was declared heir-apparent to the throne of England. From the important consequences which arose out of Henry's claim of right to the crown by descent, we must sketch the genealogy of an otherwise quiet and unimportant personage. The young Earl of March, whom Richard had declared his lawful heir, was sprung from the Duke of Clarence, the elder brother of John of Gaunt, Henry's father. Lionel, the said Duke of Clarence, died without issue male, and his possessions and pretensions fell to his daughter Philippa, who married Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, the representative of the paramour of Isabella of France, and the murderer of Edward II., the great-grandfather of this Philippa. Many years after the execution and attainder of the notorious Mortimer, his honours and estates were restored to his son by Edward III., and from that period they had remained in the family. From the marriage of Philippa of Clarence proceeded another Roger Mortimer, who was lord-lieutenant of Ireland during a part of Richard's reign, and who had been killed in that country. This last Roger left two sons, of whom Edmund, the elder of the two, was indisputably heir to the crown by right descent at the time of the deposition of Richard. But this

Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, &c., was only eight or nine years of age: the persons most attached to legitimacy would pause in those times, and in the circumstances of the country, ere they declared for such a child, escorted and surrounded by the horrors of a long minority. In fact, his right was scarcely allowed the weight of a feather: not only was it not discussed, but the very existence of the boy was passed over in silence by lords, commons, priests, and lawyers; and if it occurred to any of the people at that

time, the fact is not mentioned. Henry had got possession both of Edmund Mortimer and his younger brother, and he lodged them in Windsor Castle. Some years later the name of Edmund was for the first time brought forward by the insurgents in the north. In other hands the lives of these two captives might have been in danger; but Henry treated them both with great kindness, although they remained in honourable prison till the day of his death. When the claim of the Mortimers is again revived, it is as trans-



LEEDS CASTLE, Kent. 1.—Grose's Antiquities.

quently removed by night from one castle to another, as had been practised with his great-grandfather Edward II.²

In the course of this same parliament Henry's eldest son was created Prince of Wales, Duke of

¹ Leeds Castle is a magnificent pile of stone buildings, notwithstanding its having been built at several times, and of different architecture. It is situated in the midst of a beautiful park, and is encircled by a large moat of running water, supplied by a stream which rises at Lenham, and flows thence into the Medway.

² Rot. Parl.

mitted by Anne, the sister of this Edmund, who, by espousing Richard, Earl of Cambridge, the second son of Edmund, Duke of York, gave rise to the claims of the house of York, and was the innocent cause of the dreadful wars of the Roses.

Henry, on ascending the throne, was the idol of the people, but he soon found that he had desperate enemies among the nobility. The lords appellants, as they are called, who had been but slightly punished in parliament (one of them, the Earl of Salisbury, was not punished at all) resolved to take a fearful vengeance. During the sitting of parliament they held secret meetings in the apartments of the abbot of Westminster, and there, it appears, they formed a plot for restoring Richard and murdering Henry. About a month after the dissolution, they proclaimed a tournament to be held at Oxford on the 3d day of January, and the Earl of Huntingdon, brother-in-law to Henry, invited the king to attend. The invitation was accepted, and then a band of desperate men were leagued to make a rush on the king, and kill him and his sons during the jousts. The king had kept his Christmas in Windsor Castle; the conspirators were at Oxford: no suspicion was excited—the blow seemed certain; but on the appointed day one of their number, the Earl of Rutland, eldest son of the Duke of York and first cousin to Henry, who had had the principal hand in the plot, was missing. The day of the tournament wore away, and, as neither Rutland nor the king appeared, they were forced to conclude that they had been betrayed. At this juncture, however, they yet hoped to retrieve themselves by a bold and rapid movement. They knew that Henry had been living at Windsor with only a feeble guard, and that very evening they set out from Oxford, with 500 horse, to surprise him in the castle. The castle, indeed, they surprised early the next morning, but Henry was not there; receiving timely warning, he had gone to London, where he had already issued writs for their apprehension as traitors, and was at that moment collecting troops to crush them. Stupified by their double disappointment, the conspirators lingered about Windsor doing nothing; but the next day the approach of Henry at the head of an immense force, chiefly composed of volunteers from the city of London, roused them from their lethargy, and then they

fled to arm their several retainers. The Earl of Huntingdon rode for Essex and the Fens, but the other chiefs retired towards the west, proclaiming King Richard in all the towns through which they passed. But the popular feeling was everywhere against them, and they were destroyed



REMAINS OF PONTEFRACT CASTLE.¹—Transactions of the Yorkshire Architectural Society.

to a man by the armed citizens who rose against them, without any co-operation of the king or the forces he had raised. In this manner the spontaneous rage of the people relieved Henry from the trouble and from the odium which generally attend state trials when they are at all prolonged. He, however, ordered that a few prisoners of inferior rank should be tried by the common courts. Ferriby and Maudelein, two monks or priests, who had been chaplains to Richard, were executed in London; and two knights, Thomas Blount and Bennet Sely, were executed at Oxford. Here Henry stopped the red hand of the law and of private vengeance; for he declared that man a traitor that should put another to death in this quarrel.

But the greatest of the victims sacrificed by this furious attempt of the lords appellants, was the ex-king himself. About three weeks after that day on which it had been arranged that Henry should be murdered at Oxford, it was known that Richard had died at Pontefract.

¹ Pontefract Castle was founded by Libert de Lacy, who received a grant of the site in the tenth year of William the Conqueror; and the name is said to have been given by him to the borough, which had previously been called Kirkby, on account of some resemblance to Pontfretre in Normandy, his birth-place. The site of the edifice is an elevated rock. The dungeons were of the most formidable kind constructed in Norman castles. The area inclosed by this extensive castle was about seven acres. During the wars between Charles I. and the parliament, Pontefract was frequently besieged in turn by either party. It surrendered, 1649, to General Lambert, after the garrison had been reduced from 600 men to 100. Shortly after it was dismantled by order of the parliament.

Even more than the usual mystery is heaped upon this horrid transaction; and, after all that has been said and written upon the subject, little positive information can be added to what is said by the attached dependent and friend of his family—old Froissart. "How Richard died, and by what means, I could not tell when I wrote this chronicle." The least horrible supposition is, that by order of Henry and those who acted with him—that is to say, the greatest nobles and prelates in the land—he was despatched by assassins; the most horrible, and which, we grieve to say, is the more probable, is, that he was starved to death.

The details were repeated to King Charles of France, and they so deeply affected him, that they brought on a fit of insanity—the worst of all maladies, to which he had been liable at intervals for more than six years. This king's greatest anxiety was for his young daughter Isabella—dethroned and left defenceless in a foreign country, in the eleventh year of her age; but his uncles, who, owing to his frequent maladies, had much more power than he, and his ministers and courtiers generally, seemed to have rejoiced at the opportunity afforded of falling upon the English possessions. The Duke of Burgundy thought that, at all events, the French ought to attempt to derive some profit out of what had happened; and without any announcement to the *de facto* government of England—which it suited the project in hand to consider as an usurpation—he fell upon that fragment of Guienne where the English flag still floated; and the Duke of Bourbon at the same time marched with an army as far as Agen, whence he issued manifestoes promising the most favourable conditions to such of the "good towns" as would voluntarily unite with the kingdom of France. None of these towns were so important as Bordeaux, the birthplace of Richard; and there, at first, a sympathy for the unfortunate sovereign seemed likely to second the views of the French. In a spirit of exaggeration, natural to their warm susceptibilities, the people of Bordeaux swore by the Lord, that Richard was the best man in his kingdom, and that the Londoners had traitorously wrought his ruin. But their ardour cooled when they came to consider the propositions of the Duke of Bourbon; and their interests made them prefer the government of the destroyer of Richard to that of the beggared and rapacious King of France, with his merciless uncles. The great enterprise of the Duke of Burgundy, and the march of the Duke of Bourbon, failed completely.¹ France was not in a condition to declare war: she had been drained of her money; the king's council was nothing but

a scene of discord; and Charles, who had recovered his senses for a season, would not permit hostilities while his daughter was yet in England. The new King of England, on his side, was anxious to avoid a war until he should be more firmly seated on his throne: he sent an embassy to France soon after his coronation, and he gave the most flattering reception to the Bishop of Meaux, the Sire de Hugueville, and Masle Blanchet, who came over as ambassadors from Charles, to request the restoration of his daughter, together with all her jewels, and the sum of 200,000 francs of gold, which had been remitted to Richard, in part payment of her dower. Henry attempted to remove all demands and difficulties, by proposing a marriage between Isabella and his eldest son; but Charles rejected this alliance. The great difficulty on this side did not so much regard the young lady as the money: Henry was poor, and did not like to risk his necessary popularity by demanding grants from parliament, and he consulted the universities, to know whether, by law, the personal obligations of Richard were binding on his successor. The reply of the learned was not such as he expected; but still with the 200,000 francs of gold he could not or would not part, and the French ambassadors returned with the assurance, that the existing truce should be respected, and that Madame Isabella should be restored, but without either the money or the jewels. These negotiations lasted many months. Charles, eager to get back his daughter, consented to receive her with only her jewels (if the French are correct, Henry kept part of these), and to reserve the question of the money for some future discussion. Isabella was carried over to Calais and delivered with great formality to the Duke of Burgundy. As soon as she was safe at Paris, the Duke of Orleans, forgetting the embarrassed state of the government, would have declared war to avenge her wrongs; but the Duke of Burgundy, who was then the more powerful of the two, would not consent to this dangerous measure. Hence there arose a furious quarrel between the rival dukes, and a fearful tragedy, which soon followed in France, was probably in part owing to this altercation.

Henry well knew that the unpopularity of Richard had chiefly arisen from the conviction of a warlike people, that he dreaded the dangers and hated the fatigues of the field. The conquest of Scotland was still a popular idea, and the king determined to illustrate the beginning of his reign by an expedition into that country. He was, no doubt, greatly encouraged by the distracted state of affairs at the Scottish court. King Robert was old and weak; his eldest son David, Earl of Rothesay, though brave, and

¹ A. Thierry, *Hist. de Guyenne*; Barante, *Hist. Ducs de Bourgogne*; Froissart.

not without abilities, was dissipated, imprudent, and reckless; he had offended some of the greatest of the nobles, and the Duke of Albany, his uncle, who acted as regent during the king's sickness, aspired to the crown, and was known to be a desperate and remorseless man. Henry's great difficulty, however, was again about money. Popular as the war might be, he dreaded imposing new taxes for its expenses. He preferred having recourse to the old system of feudal service, which, though long out of use, had never been formally abolished. With the consent of a great council, composed exclusively of the lords, spiritual and temporal, it was resolved that the great churchmen should contribute a tenth of their incomes, and that the lay lords should march with their retainers, and serve at their own charges. Henry next summoned all persons enjoying fees or pensions granted by Edward III., by his son the Black Prince, by Richard II., or by his own father the Duke of Lancaster, to meet him in arms at York, under the penalty of forfeiture. He began his warlike proceedings with a high tone, despatching heralds to command King Robert and the great barons of Scotland to meet him at Edinburgh, and there do him homage for that crown as well as for the estates they held in England. The Duke of Rothesay went to Edinburgh, but it was to fight, not to make submission; and Henry was completely

foiled in his attempt to take the castle. He soon found that his unpaid army was badly supplied with provisions; and, in the end, he was forced by famine to make a rapid retreat from the neighbourhood of Edinburgh to the Borders.¹

During his absence in the north a most formidable insurrection—one which was never wholly subdued during his vigorous reign—broke out in the west, under the guidance of the famous Owen Glendower, the most remarkable man of that age. Owen had been an esquire in the household of Richard II., and he retained an affectionate recollection of his old master. After the revolution, he retired to his native district of Glendourdy, and there his loyalty was quickened by an attack made on his property by the great Lord Grey de Ruthlyn. He petitioned parliament for redress, and induced an influential member of the House of Lords to take up his cause. But when his just and peaceful petition was rudely rejected, he resolved to take the law into his own hands, and, casting aside the pen, he grasped the sword. He pretended to be lineally descended from the last of the native Princes of Wales; and none of the Welsh disputed his claim to an honour which gave him a wonderful degree of influence. To this ascendancy was added another influence probably quite as powerful on the minds of the superstitious mountaineers. Before becoming a courtly squire, Owen



SEAL OF OWEN GLENDOWER, half size of the original.—From the *Archæologia*.

had studied in the English universities, and had afterwards lived in the Inns of Court as an "apprentice of the law." With the extent of his literary and scientific acquirements we are not acquainted; it was probably not inconsiderable for those times; it was certainly quite enough to make a great impression among the Welsh: nor was it very extraordinary, at a period when

great book-learning was pretty generally associated with ideas of magic, that those poor peasants should set down Owen Glendower as a magician, or as one having intercourse with the invisible world of spirits. Availing himself of the opportunity afforded by the king's absence in

¹ *Rymer; Fordun.*

Scotland, Owen collected a brave band, drove the intruders from his property, and took some of Lord Grey de Ruthyn's people prisoners. When Henry returned, he declared Owen an outlaw; and then Owen, speaking no longer about a few acres of land, boldly declared himself the lawful sovereign of all Wales. Without criticizing his genealogy or right, nearly every Welshman in England, whether in the capital or in the provinces, threw up his business and occupation, and returned to his native mountains. Henry, who was never wanting in decision and activity, marched with an army into Wales, confidently hoping to crush the insurrection at once; but the clerk and esquire displayed the abilities of a general: he avoided an action, led the English by long marches through the most difficult and most desolate parts of the country; and when Henry was obliged to retire (again, as it appears, from want of provisions), Glendower's fame and the confidence of the people were greatly heightened. The king returned in a few months, but with no better success; and a third campaign, which he made in the following year, was a complete failure.¹

A.D. 1402. Henry's mind, however, was at this time irritated by many insults proceeding from very different quarters; and his attention was distracted by plots and rumours in England, and hostile demonstrations in Scotland and in France.

Walleran of Luxemburg, Count of Ligny and St. Pol, who had married a sister or half-sister of the deposed Richard, was not strong enough to be very formidable; but he pursued a course well calculated to vex and even to degrade King Henry. Pretending that it was his especial duty to avenge the death of his brother-in-law, he sent his heralds into England with a strange defiance and declaration of war.² This curious document—the defiance of a petty prince, who assumed the double character of vassal of France and independent prince of the empire—was dated the 10th of February, 1402; but his limited means prevented for some time his acting upon his threat, and when he took the sea, his operations resembled those of a pirate.

In England reports were industriously circulated that Richard was still alive, and that, having escaped into Scotland, he was about to return at the head of an army to assert his rights. Associations were formed in various parts of the kingdom to welcome his return, and to co-operate in his restoration. When a notion of this sort once gains ground, it is proof even against ocular demonstration. We are of opinion that few or none of the leaders were ever deceived, but it

appears certain that many of the people really believed that Richard was alive. Henry issued several successive proclamations against the fabricators of false reports; and in the spring of 1402, Sir Roger Clarendon, a natural son of the Black Prince, nine Franciscan friars, and several other persons, were executed as traitors, for asserting that the late king was living. In the month of June, the Scottish army, indeed, crossed the Borders; but there was no Richard with it, nor did the Scots pretend that he was coming. After doing considerable mischief, this army was defeated at Nesbit Moor. The victorious commander on this occasion was not an Englishman, but a disaffected Scot. The imprudent Duke of Rothesay, heir-apparent to the Scottish throne, had been contracted in marriage to Elizabeth, the daughter of George of Dunbar, the great Earl of March, whose estates and commands lay near the Borders: in spite of his solemn engagement, the prince not only refused the damsel, but married Mariell, the daughter of the Earl of Douglas, the hereditary enemy of the Earls of March. The Earl of March withdrew to his almost impregnable castle of Dunbar, gave up his fealty, did homage to the King of England, and joined in the closest confederacy with the Percies of Northumberland. By his means the road to Edinburgh had been laid open to Henry in 1400, and now after having assisted the Percies in several inroads or forays they had made into Scotland, he defeated the Scottish force at Nesbit Moor. Earl Douglas, who had got a grant of the estates of the Earl of March, immediately prepared to drive him to his ruin, and to revenge this defeat. Ten thousand warriors followed the banner of the Douglas, which flew like a meteor from the Lothians to the Tweed, from the Tweed to the Tyne. Having carried terror and devastation as far as the walls of Newcastle, without finding any force to oppose him, he turned back loaded with plunder, and marched in a careless manner towards the Tweed. During his advance to the south, the Earl of Northumberland and his son the Hotspur Percy, with his deadly enemy the Earl of March, gathered a numerous army in his rear. Douglas, hampered by his spoils, came suddenly upon this force, which was posted near Milfield, in the northern part of Northumberland. He perceived a strong position between the two armies called Homildon Hill, and he had the good sense to seize it. The English, with the people of the Earl of March, occupied the ridges of a neighbouring hill, but they left it to advance to the assault; and Harry Percy (or Hotspur) was about to charge up the hill of Homildon, when March caught his bride, and advised him to stay where he was, and begin the fight with his

¹ *Walsingham; Rymer.*² *Monstrelet.*

archers. The advice was taken; the English bowmen advanced to the roots of the hill, and shot upwards with wonderful force. Instead of charging at first, as Bruce did the English archers at Bannockburn, Douglas did nothing, but left his people drawn up in ranks on the face of the hill, where they presented one general mark to the enemy. Scarcely an English arrow flew in vain; the Scots fell in heaps without fighting. At last Douglas made up his mind to charge down the hill. As he descended the English bowmen retired a little, but they pulled their bowstrings as they withdrew, and, presently halting again, they sent a flight of arrows so "sharp and strong," that no armour could withstand it; and as he was spurring forward, the Douglas himself was wounded in five different places. He fell from his horse—was made prisoner—and then a complete rout of the Scots ensued. Eight hundred of them remained on the field, and 500, it is said, were drowned in the Tweed. Besides Douglas, whose principal wound deprived him of an eye, Murdach, the son of the Duke of Albany, the Earls of Moray and Angus, two barons, eighty knights (among whom were some Frenchmen), and many other persons of rank, were made prisoners by the Percies. Livingston of Calendar, Ramsay of Dalhousie, Walter Sinclair, Roger Gordon, and Walter Scott, were in the number of the more illustrious slain. The whole affair, as in many similar cases, was decided by the English archers alone.

Such was the famous battle of Homildon Hill, which was fought on Holyrood Day, the 14th September, 1402.¹ While it was fighting Henry himself was engaged much less successfully in Wales, where Owen Glendower had recently gained two splendid victories. In the end of September the king advanced from Shrewsbury; but though he divided his forces into three separate armies, which poured into Wales from three different points, he could never find his active and cunning enemy; while his troops were everywhere encountered and baffled by rains and tempest. Henry at last withdrew, convinced, it is said, that Owen Glendower was a mighty necromancer. On his retreat, Owen marched in triumph through the country, where all true Welshmen now acknowledged him as their legitimate sovereign.²

Nor was this failure the only annoyance which Henry was now suffering. In the month of August of this same year he received a challenge from the Duke of Orleans, the brother of the French king, and uncle of the Lady Isabella. This prince had formerly been the bosom friend and sworn brother of Henry of Bolingbroke; and during his exile in France, encouraged Henry to

dethrone Richard, the husband of his niece. But the Duke of Orleans then acted rather out of spite and jealousy of his uncle the Duke of Burgundy, the *de facto* regent of France, than from any steady affection for Henry; and he was a man accustomed to change principles and systems almost as often as his clothes. His first challenge did not state any grievance whatever: he merely said that he deplored the state of inactivity and neglect of the use of arms, to which he and other princes of France were condemned—that he was anxious to gain honour and good renown—and that, therefore, he wanted to fight, with a hundred French knights armed with lance, battle-axe, sword, and dagger, but without any bodkins, hooks, points, bearded darts, razors, needles, or poisoned darts, against King Henry and a hundred English knights.³ The King of England received the heralds in what was considered a very scurvy manner; and, contrary to the noble usages of chivalry, he made no presents. His answer, which was not returned till the 1st of January, 1403, expressed astonishment at the receipt of such a challenge during a time of truce, and from a sworn brother: he told the duke that he annulled his letters of alliance and brotherhood; and reminded him that he, as a king, was not bound to answer any such challenge except from kings. "As to the idleness of which you complain," said Henry, with a tone of solemnity which looks, however, very like mockery, "it is true that we are less employed in arms and in seeking honour than our noble ancestors: but God is great; and, when it pleases him, we shall follow their footsteps." At the end of his answer he said that he should go to the Continent when he pleased, or when the affairs of his people required; and that he should take with him such knights as he pleased, and that *then*, if he chose, his adversary might come and meet him; he, on his part, hoping, by the "aid of God, our Lady, and my lord St. George," not to let him depart without a sufficient answer. Stung to the quick by the whole tone of this letter, the Duke of Orleans made a most intemperate reply, in which he taxed Henry with the high crimes of rebellion, usurpation, and murder; and he now stated what he chose to consider his personal grievance. "How could you suffer my much redoubted lady, madame the Queen of England, to return to our country desolate by the loss of her lord, despoiled of her dower, and of all the property she carried hence on her marriage? He who seeks to gain honour must support her cause. Are not noble knights bound in all circumstances to defend the rights of widows and virgins of a virtuous life, such as my niece was known to lead? And as I

¹ *Ibid.* Part.; Rymer; Fordun. Otterb.² *Walsing.* Otterb.³ *Monstrelet.*

am so nearly related to her, acquitting myself towards God and towards her as a relation, I reply that, to spare the effusion of human blood, I will gladly meet you in single combat, or with any number you may please. This curious letter was dated in March, 1403; and Henry, though occupied by much more critical affairs, was provoked to return an answer almost immediately. After expressing an anxiety for his own honour, he accused the duke of taking a frivolous turn—of wishing for a war of words, a contest worthy of minstrels. "In regard to the dignity we hold," wrote Henry, "it appears that you do not approve of the manner in which we have obtained it. Certes, we are greatly astonished at this, for we made you fully acquainted with our designs before we departed out of France; at which time you approved of our voyage, and promised us your assistance, if we required it, against our very dear lord and cousin, the King Richard, whom God absolve! We wanted not your assistance; and we hold your approbation or disapprobation in no account, since God and our people, the free inhabitants of this kingdom, have approved of our right: this is a sufficient reply to such as would question our right." The charge of murder he repelled with the most indignant language. "With regard to that passage in your letter where you speak of the death of our very dear cousin and lord, whom God absolve! saying 'God knows how it happened, and *by whom* that death was done,' we know not with what intent such words are used; but if you mean to say that his death was caused by our order, or with our consent, we say that you lie, and will lie foully as often as you shall say so; as the true God knows, whom we call to witness: offering, as a royal prince ought, our body against yours in single combat, if you will or dare to prove it." The quarrel rested here: the King of England and the Duke of Orleans never met; and the latter appears to have been completely defeated in this war of words.¹

But while the Duke of Orleans had been gaoled in France, the Percies of Northumberland, who, more than other men, had contributed to place him on the throne, raised their banner against Henry, and did their best to dethrone him. For services such as the Earl of Northumberland had rendered, a high price is always expected, and that chieftain seems to have set no limit to his demands. Henry, on the other side, was far too wary and politic to give any great increase of power to a warlike family which was already but too powerful. His rewards, however, had neither been few nor inconsiderable, and he seems to have counted on the gratitude and fidelity of the Percies. The greatest of our poets, and

the historians he followed, err in attributing the insurrection to their resentment at the king's order forbidding them to set at liberty or put to ransom the prisoners taken in the battle of Homildon Hill. Henry reserved to the captors all the rights of ransom; and, as a reward for his services at Homildon Hill, granted to the Earl of Northumberland several broad manors, together with most of the lands in England which had belonged to his captive the Earl of Douglas.² The Percies, however, really felt themselves aggrieved, not because they were not allowed to dispose of the captives they had in their own hands, but because they were not permitted to ransom a friend who was in the hands of one who was, at least for the time, an enemy. Sir Edmund Mortimer, who had been taken by Owen Glendower, was uncle to the young Earl of March, who, as far as the right of birth went, was lawful King of England. Henry, who kept the nephew in close custody, was supposed to bear no good-will to the uncle; and when Mortimer's relations requested permission to ransom him by the payment of a sum of money to Glendower, he refused, although he had previously permitted the friends of the Lord Grey of Ruthyn, who had been taken in battle in Wales, to redeem him by paying the Welshman 10,000 marks. Henry Percy showed great irritation at the king's harsh refusal, for the sister of Sir Edmund Mortimer was *his* wife; and his father the Earl of Northumberland, and his uncle the Earl of Worcester, took up his quarrel on this head. Scrop, the Archbishop of York (a brother of the favourite minister of Richard II.), advised these disaffected nobles to treat the king as an usurper, and to draw their swords for the rightful heir—that is, for the boy, the Earl of March. A formidable conspiracy ensued; and the conspirators did not scruple to call in the assistance of the enemies of their country. They formed a close league with Owen Glendower, who thereupon gave his daughter in marriage to his prisoner Mortimer, and promised to co-operate with 12,000 Welsh: they liberated Earl Douglas without ransom, on condition of his joining them with all his vassals: they sent ambassadors to the Kings of France and Scotland, to solicit their aid.

Douglas, true to his engagement, crossed the Borders with a considerable force. The Earl of Northumberland being "sore sick," Hotspur took the command of the army, and marched towards North Wales to join Glendower. On his road, his uncle, the Earl of Worcester, joined him, with a great body of archers from Cheshire. Expecting the insurgents would make the country near the borders the scene of the war, Henry

¹ *Monstrelot: Monk of St Denis, Rymer.*

² *Rymer.*

marched to the north as far as Burton-upon-Trent; but there he learned the direction Hotspur was taking, and, striking off to the west, he so pressed his march, that he reached Shrewsbury, and threw himself between the Welsh and the men of the north. Glendower did not appear; but the king was scarcely in the town, when his scouts informed him that the earls, with banners displayed, were close to Shrewsbury, and that their light horse were already skirmishing with part of his forces. Enraged, but not disheartened, at finding the Welsh had not come up, Hotspur halted not far from the king's army, which issued out and encamped beyond the eastern gate of the town.¹ By this time night was approaching, and it was resolved to defer the battle till the morrow. In the course of the night the confederates sent the king their defiance. This instrument ran in the names of the Percies and of none others: and it was very long, logical, circumstantial, and insolent, charging Henry with perjury, usurpation, murder, tyranny, &c., &c. "For which causes," they concluded, "we do mortally defy thee, thy fautors and accomplices, as common traitors and destroyers of the realm, and invaders, oppressors, and confounders of the very true and right heir to the crown of England and France; and we intend to prove it this day by force of arms, Almighty God blessing us."²

The king could use his pen almost as well as his sword; but he did not think the present a proper time for argument and refutation. Before matters had come to this crisis, he had offered the Percies a safe-conduct to meet him at his court, where he was ready to discuss all questions with them; but this offer they had treated with contempt; and he now told them that he had no time to lose in writing, but that he would "by dint of sword and fierce battle," prove that their quarrel was false and feigned; and he added, that he doubted not that God would give him the victory over false and forsworn traitors. At an early hour on the following day—which was the vigil of St. Mary Magdalene, the 21st of July—Hotspur drew up his men in front of the king. The two armies were nearly equal, consisting each of about 14,000 men. Many years had passed since England had seen her sons thus arrayed against each other; and there was now a short pause, as if the combatants felt this. Henry even sent the abbot of Shrewsbury to propose an amicable arrangement; but his opponents

rejected these offers. Then suddenly he bade the trumpets blow: those on the king's side cried, "St. George for us!" their adversaries cried, "Esperance, Percy!" and the armies joined battle. The first charge was led by Hotspur and Douglas, two old rivals for military glory, and esteemed two of the best lances in Christendom. This charge was irresistible; a part of the king's guards were dispersed; the Earl of Stafford, Sir Walter Blount, and two other knights, who wore the royal arms to deceive the enemy, were slain; the royal standard was cast down, and Henry of Monmouth, the young Prince of Wales, was sorely wounded in the face—notwithstanding which he never ceased to fight where the battle was strongest, or to encourage his men when their hearts were faintest. The charge of the Percy and the Douglas was not well supported; they could nowhere find the king, who fought in plain armour: the royal lines, through which they had broken, formed again, and closed in their rear; and when they turned to cut through them they found them immoveable as a wall, and were assailed on all sides by murderous flights of arrows. Hotspur, after fighting against fearful odds, was struck by a random arrow, which pierced his brain, and when his death was known, his followers lost heart and fled on all sides. Henry raised the cry of "Victory and St. George!" Douglas, in his flight, fell over a precipice, and being much hurt, was made prisoner. There were also taken Hotspur's uncle the Earl of Worcester, the Baron of Kinderton, Sir Richard Vernon, and many others of inferior consequence. Douglas was treated as a foreign knight, and kindly entertained; but Worcester, Kinderton, and Vernon were considered as rebels, and their heads were struck off on the field of battle. The numbers that fell in actual combat were said to have exceeded 10,000 men. A three hours' conflict, and the stubborn valour of the combatants, are enough to account for so great a slaughter.³

Old Percy, the Earl of Northumberland, who had recovered from his sickness, was marching with a considerable force to join the insurgent army, when the sad tidings were brought him of the death of his son Hotspur, and his brother Worcester; upon which he turned back in despair, dismissed his retainers, and shut himself up in the castle of Warkworth. He was obliged, however, to surrender himself into the king's hands; and this he did, meanly asserting that his son had acted all along contrary to his wishes and to his express commands. Henry was only cruel on certain great occasions; he acted mildly with Northumberland, who, after presenting a petition to parliament, was pardoned and dismissed, without any fines or penalties.⁴

¹ *Walsing.* *Ottob.*: *Rymer*.

² This defiance is given at length by Hall, who, however, has confounded Sir Edmund Mortimer with the Earl of March, in which mistake he has been followed by Shakespeare, and even by some modern historians; for example, by Bishop Kennet, in his *Complete History*. The most correct copy of the document is that given in Sir H. Ellis edition of *Hardyng's Chronicle*, from the Harleian MS. 42.

³ *Ottob.*; *Hall*: *Rymer*.

⁴ *Rot. Parl.*

Soon after the battle of Shrewsbury, Prince Henry was sent into Wales against Owen Glendower, whom he defeated in one or two skirmishes. During this season of difficulties, the conduct of the French was at once paltry and dishonourable: they not only attacked Guienne, but made frequent descents on our coast, and plundered every English ship they could surprise at sea. They captured a whole fleet of merchantmen; they took the isles of Jersey and Guernsey, and they made a descent near Plymouth, at the critical moment when Henry was occupied by the Percies. On learning the result of the battle of Shrewsbury, they retired to their ships, but not before burning the town of Plymouth, and plundering the whole neighbourhood. In this expedition three princes of the house of Bourbon took part; but all this while no war was declared, and the French court pretended that everything of the sort was against their will and orders. Reprisals were made on the French coast; the English sailors associated as they had done in the time of Edward I., and without any direct commission, carried on war on their own account, capturing ships on the high seas, burning the towns on the coast, and not infrequently penetrating far into the interior of France.¹ These buccaneering expeditions were soon followed by a regular naval warfare between the two countries, which was generally in favour of the English.

A.D. 1404. "It is most strange," says an old historian, "that King Richard was not suffered to be dead after he had so long a time been buried."² One Serlo, or Serle, who had been a gentleman of the bed-chamber to King Richard, and who, according to some, had been engaged in the mysterious murder of the Duke of Gloucester, was tempted over from France by a report that his old master had escaped, and was living in Scotland. Instead of Richard, it appears that he found the court-fool—a certain Ward—who bore some resemblance to the unfortunate king, and that he (Serle) persuaded the poor buffoon to personate Richard. Serle's next performance was to counterfeit Richard's privy seal, and to despatch letters to many of the late king's friends in England, assuring them that he was indeed alive, and shortly would come to show himself openly to the world. These "forged inventions" produced the desired effect on many. The old Countess of Oxford, the mother of Robert de Vere, the unfortunate Duke of Ireland, either credited the story or was a party to the imposition; she caused certain of her servants to publish and bruit abroad, through all parts of Essex, that King Richard was coming; and she distributed a great number of hearts, made of gold and silver, such as King

Richard was accustomed to give to his knights and household to wear as cognizances. The story gained ground, and many simple people firmly believed that the late king was about to cross the Borders with a great power of French and Scots. The vigilant Henry soon learned these reports, and he succeeded in arresting Serle's secret messenger, who gave up the names of the parties with whom he had communicated. A number of monks were immediately arrested; the old countess was shut up in close prison; and her secretary, who had gone about the country affirming that he had *spoken* with King Richard, was drawn and hanged. Shortly after Serle himself was secured, and carried to the king at Pontefract Castle. It is said that he not only revealed everything connected with the ridiculous masquerade, but also confessed that he had had a guilty hand in the murder of the Duke of Gloucester, at Calais; he was drawn on a sledge through every good town between Pontefract and London, where he was executed as a traitor.³

Henry had been exceedingly cautious in demanding grants and aids from his parliament. He was now greatly in want of money to meet the charge of the war in Wales. He endeavoured, however, to escape from the necessity of applying for an aid by a proposition in which he was eagerly seconded by the commons, that he should be allowed to resume all the former grants—that he should be prohibited from alienating the ancient inheritance of the crown without consent of parliament—and that he should *forthwith* appropriate to himself certain portions of the property of the church, so that the commons might be eased of taxes and the king live upon his own.⁴ If this blow had taken effect, probably half of the property of the members of the upper house would have been in jeopardy. The clergy took fire, and the Archbishop of Canterbury taxed the commons with irreligion, and the impious desire of removing the burden from their own shoulders by plundering their betters. Henry ceded at once; and, to conciliate the churchmen, he assured the archbishop that it was his intention and wish to leave the church in a better state than that in which he had found it. The demonstration, however, made a bad impression, and many persons were irritated by the suppression of certain pensions granted by Edward III. and the late king—a measure which was carried during the session.

A.D. 1405. In the beginning of this year the widow of the Lord Spenser, one of Richard's favourites who had suffered at Bristol, ingeniously contrived to liberate the young Earl of March and his brother from Windsor Castle.

¹ *Monstrelet; Hall.*
Vol. I.

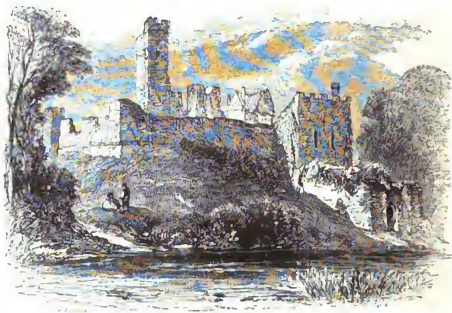
² *Speed.*

³ *Walsing.; Otterb.; Holinshed; Rot. Parl.* ⁴ *Rot. Parl.*

The intention was to convey these boys to Wales, and to proclaim the elder King of England; but they were immediately retaken, and then the lady accused her own brother, the ill-famed Earl of Rutland, now Duke of York, of being privy to this attempt, as also to conspiracies against Henry's life. York was immediately seized, and his estates were sequestered to the king's use without any trial; but as that of a traitor to all parties, his fate excited no interest. After lingering three or four years in prison, he was released in mercy or in contempt. The king called two great councils of the nobility and clergy at London and St. Alban's; but such was their ill-humour towards him, that they refused to satisfy any of his requests; and more than one of the barons went straight from St. Alban's to the north, where a fresh and formidable insurrection was organizing under the guidance of old Percy, Earl of Northumberland, the Earl of Nottingham, Scroop the Archbishop of York, Sir John Falconberg, and others. The archbishop, who had given his advice on a former occasion, took up arms on this. Sir John Falconberg and three other knights, who were the first to appear in the field, were beaten and dispersed by the young Prince John, Henry's third son, and the Earl of Westmoreland. A few weeks later the archbishop took the field with the Earl of Nottingham, and posted himself at Shipton-on-the-Moor, at the head of 8000 men. Prince John, with the Earl of Westmoreland, came suddenly upon them. The archbishop did not fight, but, by some means, both he and the earl, his companion, were carried prisoners to the king at Pontefract Castle. Henry intimated to the chief-justice Gascoigne that he must pass sentence upon them as rebels and traitors taken in arms; but that upright judge refused, because the prelate's life was exempt from the jurisdiction of lay courts, and because both he and the earl had a right to a trial by their peers. One Fulthorp, a knight, and probably a lawyer, was less scrupulous, and without any form of trial he condemned both prelate and earl to be beheaded. Scroop died like a brave man, protesting to the last that he had merely wanted a redress of grievances, and that he had never intended evil "against the person of King Henry."

Having punished the city of York with fines

and the temporary suspension of its charters, Henry marched northward with an army of 37,000 men. The Earl of Northumberland fled to Berwick, and implored the assistance of the Regent of Scotland. At Durham Henry caused the Lord Hastings, the Lord Falconbridge, and two knights, to be tried for treason, and, on their conviction, to be beheaded. On the king's approach to Berwick old Percy gave up the town to some Scots, and fled with the Lord Bardolf to Edinburgh. When the English came before Berwick, the Scots set fire to the town and fled. The castle, however, was garrisoned, and the governor refused to surrender; upon this Henry brought up an enormous cannon: the first shot took such effect that it knocked down part of a tower, upon which the garrison, in a panic, threw open the gates. Henry put to death the governor, with four or five of his principal officers. He did not continue his march into Scotland, but turned back into Northumberland, and soon took Alnwick, Prudhoe, Cockermouth, and all the castles belonging to the great earl. Then, from



PRUDHOE CASTLE.—Scott's Border Antiquities.

the north, he flew to Wales, where his gallant son, after achieving several victories, was hard pressed by a superior force. Prince Henry had been almost constantly engaged ever since the battle of Shrewsbury against Owen Glendower. In the month of March of this same year (1405) he had defeated the Welsh in a great battle at Gros-mont, in Monmouthshire, and taken prisoner Griffith, the son of Glendower; and soon after he reduced the strong castle of Lampeter, in Car-

¹ Prudhoe Castle, which derives its name from standing on a proud eminence, is situated on the south side of the Tyne, between Newcastle and Hexham. The barony of Prudhoe was bestowed by the Conqueror on Robert de Unframville. The castle is conjectured to occupy the site of the Roman station of the first band of the Batavians, called Prohlaeta.

diganshire. But now his career was checked by the successful issue of Glendower's foreign negotiations. In the preceding year the clerk, necromancer, or devil, applied for assistance to the French. Properly speaking, there was no government in France—the king was still alternating between the two conditions of idiocy and frenzy—his uncle Philip, the great Duke of Burgundy, was dead, and such authority as the court possessed was monopolized by one of the king's brothers and the queen, who were living together openly in an incestuous adultery. This precious brother was the Duke of Orleans, Henry's bitter enemy and challenger. Still without any declaration of war, it was resolved to equip a great fleet at Brest, and to send over to Wales 8000 men-at-arms, under the command of James of Bourbon, Count of La Marche. The fleet and most of the knights assembled at Brest, but the young Bourbon prince was so well amused by the fêtes of the court, that he kept the expedition waiting, so that many of the knights, having spent all their money, returned to their homes. At last the count went to Brest, but it was in the stormy month of November: most of the ships refused to put to sea, and the expedition ended, for that year, in a petty attack on the poor people near Falmouth. Another expedition was prepared in the course of the following spring. After some fresh delays, 12,000 men in 120 ships (we believe that the chronicler exaggerates numbers) appeared in Milford Haven, under the command of Montmorency, marshal of Rieux, and the Sire de Hugueville, grand-master of the Arbalisters. This force landed in safety; but most of their horses had perished during the voyage, and the troops had scarcely left the ships ere the fleet of the Cinque ports sailed into Milford Haven and burned fifteen of them. Soon after, the same fleet captured fourteen French ships that were bringing over ammunition and stores for the expedition, and it continued to do its duty so well that the invaders could never receive supplies. The French marched upon Haverford-West, where they burned the town, but were repulsed with loss in an attempt to take the castle. Burning and destroying, they marched to Caermarthen, which they took, and being joined in that neighbourhood by Owen Glendower, with 10,000 combatants, they penetrated almost to the gates of Worcester, obliging Prince Henry to keep aloof. But at Worcester the king came up to the assistance of his son, and the French and Welsh retreated a little, and took possession of a high hill. The king followed them, and for eight days encamped his forces on a height opposite. Neither army would quit its position to risk a general battle; but there were many skirmishes, in which, among others, a brother of the French marshal

and two other great lords were slain. At last hunger compelled the allies to fall back upon Wales. The king followed them in their retreat; but it should appear that, engaging somewhat rashly among the defiles, the woods, and marshes, he suffered a severe check at the hands of the Welsh. By this time, however, the French, heartily sick of the poor entertainment they found in Wales, and dreading the approach of a fresh English army, got back to their ships and sailed away for France.¹

Prince Henry remained to carry on the war: as a mere boy, he had shown great constancy and confidence in his own resources; and among the mountains and morasses of Wales, and from dealing with an active enemy, he improved himself in that destructive art which a few years later was so fatal to France. He subdued the whole of South Wales, and made gradual advances in the north; but for a while he scarcely gained a rood of ground without fighting for it; and even to the end, Owen Glendower kept him on the alert, prolonging a struggle for independence with a spirit and an ability which have rarely been surpassed. Some three or four years after the departure of his French allies, Owen, finding himself gradually forsaken by the people and pinched in his supplies, sent a part of his army to ravage Shropshire. The Welsh were cut to pieces in this expedition, and their leaders were taken and executed as rebels. From this time Glendower's history is involved in doubt: that he was fain to go up and down, disguised in a shepherd's habit, to his daughters' and other friends' houses for a time is very probable, but it is still more certain that his unconquerable spirit was not subdued by misfortune—that he again took up arms—and that he died at last a free man among his native mountains, several years after the accession of Henry V. These facts are proved by official documents which have been preserved by Rymer and in the rolls of the English parliament. Owen Glendower's countrymen were ungrateful to the fame of their greatest hero, or, it may be, that their records were destroyed in the horrors which followed subsequent insurrections. It is neither clear where or when he died, nor where he was buried. One tradition says that he was interred at Mornington, in Herefordshire, the seat of one of his sons-in-law; another tradition states, with still less probability, that he was buried in the cathedral of Bangor, where a grave, under the great window in the south aisle wall, is still shown to strangers as the place of his interment.²

Every obstacle seemed to yield to the bravery, address, and good fortune of King Henry, who,

¹ *Walsing.: Montrelet; Barante.*

² *Coxo's Monmouthshire.*

in the same year (1405) in which he expelled the French from Wales and drove the Earl of Northumberland into Scotland, got possession (by no very honourable means) of the person of the heir-apparent to the Scottish throne.

The milder vices were comparatively absent, but in other crimes—in cruelty, political intrigue, and an infernal treachery—the Scottish court almost afforded a parallel to that of France. The poor, weak, old King Robert, after being driven from one abbey to another, took refuge from persecution in the Isle of Bute; his eldest son, the brave but imprudent Duke of Rothesay, was thrown into the castle of Falkland (March, 1402), and there, it was rumoured, starved to death by orders of his uncle the regent, Duke of Albany. After this fearful tragedy, the king, trembling for the life of his second son James, sent him on board a ship, which immediately sailed for France. As the vessel was coasting to get into the Channel, she was taken off Flamborough Head (30th of March, 1405) by some English cruisers, and in spite of a truce, carried as a fair prize into an English port. Henry, overjoyed at this lucky accident, shut the prince up in Pevensy Castle. The news of his captivity broke the heart of King Robert, who died about a year after (4th of April, 1406); and Albany retained his power by doing the will of the English king, who could always bring him to abject submission by threatening to liberate his nephew. James, who was only twelve years old when he was captured, remained nineteen years a prisoner in England; but, notwithstanding his captive condition, these were probably by far the happiest years of his life. He was treated with much kindness; his love of study was encouraged; he was allowed masters and books, and occasionally the society of the most refined people in England. His favourite study was poetry; and forming himself on the model of the immortal Chaucer, he became the best poet of his age.

Ambitious, powerful, adroit, and not very scrupulous as was Henry, he continued generally to respect the wishes of his parliament, and the cause of constitutional liberty made great strides during his reign. At the end of 1407, however, the debates took rather a stormy character, and many discontents were awakened by the demand of subsidies.¹ The Earl of Northumberland vainly hoped that these circumstances would favour his great enterprise, of not only recovering his estates and honours, but of dethroning the king. Ever since his expulsion he had been wandering about the world, and labouring like another Hannibal to raise up enemies against Henry. Finding that the Duke of Albany was averse to his

project, the old Percy went into Wales to concert measures with Owen Glendower; he afterwards crossed over to France, and from France he passed to Flanders. His principal refuge and support were found, however, among some nobles on the Scottish border, who opposed the schemes, and were strong enough to despise the authority of the Duke of Albany. With a force consisting chiefly of Scots, he and his friend Bardolf appeared suddenly in Northumberland at the beginning of the year 1408, and surprised several castles. The hardy warrior penetrated as far south as Knaresborough, where he was joined by a few friends of the late Archbishop of York; but on the 28th of February he was defeated by Sir Thomas Rokeby, at Branham Moor, near Tadcaster. The old man was fortunate enough to die in the battle; his friend Bardolf was taken, but he, too, expired of his wounds.²

With the exception of occasional A.D. 1409. troubles in the Welsh marches, England now enjoyed perfect tranquillity for some years; but a fierce warfare was carried on, irregularly, at sea, in which the French were for some time assisted by the galleys of Castile. The French also attacked the English possessions on the Continent, nor could Henry ever obtain money enough from his parliament to equip any great expedition for their defence. By the beginning of the year 1406 the Count of Armagnac and the Constable of France had taken sixty fortresses and castles in Guienne and Saintonge. The English expected reinforcements, but none arrived, and they were almost reduced to despair. At this crisis it was resolved that the Duke of Orleans should take the command in those parts; but the duke, like the English reinforcements, did not appear, and the Counts of Clermont and D'Alençon left the army that they might join in his amusements at Paris. After this Orleans set out for Guienne; but the season was far advanced—his unpaid troops suffered cruelly from want of provisions and from the inclemency of the weather; and after gambling away all the money which had been destined for the pay of the soldiers, and doing absolutely nothing else, he rode away to Paris, followed by the curses of the miserable remnant of his army.³ At the same time, his cousin and rival, John Sans-peur, or the Fearless, the present Duke of Burgundy, was sent to drive the English out of Calais. Wonders were expected from the emulation of these two princes; but Burgundy's failure was as complete as that of Orleans'. When he had spent all the money which he had obtained by taxing his own vassals, he returned to Paris, and laid the blame of his miscarriage on the prefer-

¹ Rot. Parl.

² Rymer.

³ Monstrelet; Monk of St. Denis.

ence shown to the Duke of Orleans, who had emptied the coffers of the state, to carry money into Guienne; and he claimed from the treasurer, who had nothing, immediate payment of his own expenses, and of an enormous debt owing to his father.¹ The French people, of two evils, rather preferred the Duke of Burgundy; but the queen and her paramour Orleans retained their power, and John Sans-peur retired to his states in Flanders, breathing vengeance against his cousin.

The Duke of Berri, uncle to both the rivals, endeavoured, with some good men, to reconcile the Dukes of Orleans and Burgundy; for it was seen that their enmity was ruining the country. The latter returned to Paris, to all seeming in a heavenly disposition. He visited his cousin Orleans, who was suffering from a temporary indisposition, and testified a truly fraternal affection. The well-intentioned Duke of Berri was overjoyed at the success of his mediation; and when the Duke of Orleans recovered, he took both his nephews to hear mass in the church of the Augustines. After mass, the two rivals, the better to attest their holy reconciliation, took the sacrament together. All this passed on Sunday, the 20th of November, 1407; and on the Wednesday following, the Duke of Orleans was massacred in the streets of Paris, by eighteen or twenty men employed by his loving cousin the Duke of Burgundy, who openly avowed the fact a few days later. According to a report current at the time, particularly in Flanders, John Sans-peur only anticipated his cousin, who had engaged assassins to murder him. The wretched king, who had a glimpse of reason at the time, wept for the loss of his only brother, and he promised the Duchess of Orleans that he would have justice done. But Charles was powerless, and Burgundy very powerful. Accompanied by his vassals and friends, and 1000 men-at-arms, the duke, who withdrew for a short time, returned to Paris, where there was nothing to oppose him, and where the people received him with shouts of "Long live the Duke of Burgundy!" He had held out hopes that he would reform the government, and reduce the frightful amount of taxes and arbitrary imposts; and on such conditions the suffering Parisians were but too glad to forget his crime. But soon after, both lawyers and priests publicly justified the deed of the duke, who, it was alleged, in killing Orleans, had only rid France of a tyrant, traitor, and monster, who aimed at the crown, and who had practised on his brother the king's reason and life, by sorcery and other atrocious means. In a word, the Duke of Burgundy became absolute master of the government, and began to do everything as he pleased.²

The queen, whose grief for Orleans was greater than that usually shown for the loss of a brother-in-law, retired from Paris to Melun, where she remained brooding over her revenge.³ In the month of June, 1408, the Duke of Burgundy was obliged, by the revolt of his subjects, to go into Flanders; and then the queen, hoping to profit by his absence, returned to Paris, took the reins of government into her own hands, and, acting in the name of her son, the Dauphin Louis, who was not twelve years old, and being supported by some of the princes of the blood, she declared the Duke of Burgundy an enemy of the state, and ordered that troops should be employed on all sides to fall upon him. But Burgundy having gained a famous victory over his vassals at Hasbain, prepared to return at the head of a formidable army, upon which the faction of the Orleanists dispersed, and the queen fled to Tours, carrying with her her helpless husband. On the 28th of November the duke entered with 6000 men into Paris, where he was again received with acclamations. Yielding to necessity, the queen and her party spoke of a reconciliation, upon which the widow of Orleans died of spite and vexation. An apparent reconciliation, however, took place, and the children of Orleans were obliged to embrace the murderer of their father. All this was done in the month of March, 1409, in the good town of Chartres, where the princes and the other great lords swore as usual upon the cross and the evangelists. The thoughtless people of Paris were overjoyed at this family peace, which lasted about four months. Then the Orleanists took up arms to drive the Duke of Burgundy from power, and, if possible, to death. Isabella, the ex-queen of England, widow of Richard II., and now wife of the present Duke of Orleans, died in childbirth, and the young duke took for his second wife Bona of Armagnac, daughter of Bernard, Count of Armagnac, and grand-daughter of the Duke of Berri. The Count of Armagnac was a man of great power, courage, and activity; and hence, from the youth and inexperience of his son-in-law, he became the real as well as nominal chief of the Orleanists, who were thence called the Armagnacs—a name memorable in French history. The Duke of Berri, the Duke of Brittany, and the Count d'Alençon, took up arms, and joined the Count of Armagnac, with all the

² "Siamondi inclines to speak more favourably of this queen than most have done: 'Dans les temps postérieurs on s'est plu à faire un monstre de Isabeau de Bavière.' He discredits the suspicion of a criminal intercourse with the Duke of Orleans, and represents her as merely an indolent woman, fond of good cheer. Yet he owns that the king was so neglected as to suffer from an excessive want of cleanliness, sometimes even from hunger (xii. 218, 225). Was this no imputation on his wife? See, too, *Nichols*, vi. 42."—*Hallam's Supplemental Notes*, p. 63.

¹ *Barancie*. ² *Mon.*; *Juv. des Ursins*. *P. de Feuill.*; *Barante*.

nobles of the Orleans faction. The Duke of Burgundy was obliged to conclude a convention, and to retire from Paris; and then the young Duke of Orleans, with a naked sword in his hand, demanded justice for the death of his father. At this crisis the Duke of Burgundy applied for assistance to the King of England, and Henry immediately sent over 800 lances and 1000 of his best bowmen. This force, small as it was, enabled the Bourguignons, or Burgundians, to drive the Armagnacs from Paris; and in the month of October, 1411, John Sans-peur again entered the capital, where he was received as the deliverer of France. In fleeing from Paris, the Orleanists had made free with a treasure which the queen had deposited in the abbey of St. Denis; and from this moment Isabella cooled in her zeal for the party. Though expelled from the capital, the Armagnacs made head in the provinces on the Upper Loire. The Duke of Burgundy, taking with him the poor king and the dauphin, marched against them; and after a short campaign, laid siege to Bourges. John Sans-peur had not been very grateful for the opportune aid he had received from England; and it was, besides, no part of Henry's plan that one party should crush the other, or, at least, not until he had reaped his harvest out of their mad discord. The late Duke of Orleans had, indeed, been his personal enemy; but that weak man had gone to his account, and the cool-headed Bolingbroke seldom permitted any of his passions to interfere with his deep-laid schemes. The Armagnacs, who had decried that measure in the opposite faction as the extremity of baseness, now, in their turn, applied to England for assistance; and Henry listened with a ready ear to their proposals. As their condition was desperate, he drove a good bargain. In the month of May, 1412, the contracting parties—the Dukes of Berri, Orleans, and Bourbon, with the Count of Alençon (the Count of Armagnac did not appear by name), agreed to acknowledge Henry as lawful Duke of Aquitaine, to assist him to recover all the rights and appurtenances of that duchy, to hold of him by homage all the lands they possessed within its limits, and to give security that the counties of Poitou and Angoulême should be restored to him on the deaths of the present possessors. Henry, on his part, agreed to assist them, as his faithful vassals, in every just quarrel; to enter into no treaty whatever with the Duke of Burgundy or any of his family without their consent, and to send to their assistance 1000 men-at-arms and 3000 archers to serve for three months, they paying the proper wages.¹ Both among the Armagnacs and the Burgundians there were still many individuals not devoid of patriotism—

wise men, who saw the inevitable consequence of introducing an English army into the heart of France. Consultations were held, and at last a conference was agreed upon. The Duke of Burgundy met his uncle, the Duke of Berri, at a place secured by barricades outside the walls of Bourges: great precautions had been taken on either side to prevent surprise and assassination; and so the uncle and nephew embraced each other tenderly over a barrier. After a long conference the Duke of Berri agreed that the Armagnacs would submit to the royal authority: Burgundy, in the name of the king, engaged that the past should be forgotten. It was mutually agreed that the party names of Armagnacs and Bourguignons should never again be pronounced; and that, without any distinction, all Frenchmen should enjoy their liberties and their property in the peace which God had sent them. The young Duke of Orleans was absent; but he soon after attended a family meeting, and swore, with the rest of the princes, to be true to the peace of Bourges. It was further agreed that the Duke of Burgundy should give one of his daughters in marriage to the Count of Vertus, a younger son of the man he had murdered. To show their perfect reconciliation and brotherly intimacy, the two Dukes of Burgundy and Orleans rode together mounted on the same horse.²

Matters were at this point when news arrived that an English army, under the command of the Duke of Clarence, Henry's second son, had landed in Normandy, where the Count of Alençon and some other nobles had joined it. The first condition of the recent peace was, that the Armagnacs or Orleanists should break off all league and confederacy with the English. This they were ready enough to do; and they forthwith sent a deputation to inform the Duke of Clarence that they had made their peace, and that he might return home, as they no longer wanted his assistance. The young duke demanded payment of the expenses of the expedition; and his troops, finding no proper provision made for them, began to plunder the country. An attempt was made, by promises of payments, to gain time in order to collect an army; but, in fact, the money was the least of the objects of the young duke's consideration; and he marched on through Normandy into Maine, while another English division, issuing from Calais, occupied a great part of Artois. There was a sounding of trumpets through the whole kingdom, and every warrior in France was summoned to join the royal standard at Chartres; but the summons was not well attended to, and it was thought better to pay the English the money they demanded. The exchequer had no means, and the

¹ Rymer.² Monstrelet.

Burgundians said that the English ought to be paid by those who had invited them. This was a good argument, but it certainly would not have been acted upon had it not been for this little circumstance:—from Maine the Duke of Clarence had marched through Anjou, and was now threatening to overrun the whole of the duchy of Orleans. Seeing this, the Duke of Orleans hastened to the head-quarters of the English, carrying with him all the money he could raise. The Duke of Clarence received him very courteously; and it was arranged that the French prince should take upon himself the payment of the whole cost of the expedition, and place his young brother, the Duke of Angoulême, in the hands of the English as security. When this was done, it was expected that Clarence would return; but this prince had no such intentions: he marched on for Guicenne, and being joined on the road by a few old friends of the English, he traversed the whole of France with an army which did not exceed 8000 men, and got safely to Bordeaux.¹ Such were the last foreign operations of this reign, which was now drawing rapidly to its close.

Although Henry had overcome every obstacle except the wholesome opposition of his parliament, and had humbled or destroyed all his enemies, his last years were far from being the happiest of his life. His able but remorseless career—his successes even more than his misfortunes—had proved to him the insecurity and hollowness of men's hearts: whatever relying faith he had in earlier life was all gone, and he felt that worst species of unhappiness which arises from a confirmed doubt as to the existence of human worth and disinterested affection. In his busy years, when surrounded with actual dangers of all kinds, he was cheerful and communicative, and fond of talking and mixing with the people; but in his later days he became gloomy, solitary, and suspicious. It is very probable that he felt some pangs of remorse, but bad health may have been the disposing cause; for, as long as he was well, he considered that he had only done what was best for his country, and that his constant success was a proof that he had acted under the favour and inspiration of Heaven. Both body and mind had been overworked: he became prematurely old, was afflicted by a cutaneous disorder which some called the leprosy, and was subject to epileptic fits. His devotion assumed a gloomy cast. Before his accession he was suspected of being no friend to the church, and of leaning towards the doctrines of Wyckliffe, as his father, John of Gaunt, had done before him. It was essentially necessary to his success that he should remove this suspicion; and hence, proba-

bly, for a mere reason of state, he passed in the first year of his reign, with the hearty concurrence of both lords and commons, the detestable statute for the burning of heretics; and caused penal fires for matters of religion to be lighted for the first time in England. But it seems to have been from a more inward conviction that, in the tenth year of his reign, he pronounced the severest sentences against all Wyckliffe's writings; and that in the following year he rejected a petition for the revocation or qualification of his statute against heretics or Lollards, and told the commons that the punishment should be made more rigorous and sharp.² It appears pretty evident that, in his latter years, he entertained a jealousy of the popularity of his own son and heir. It is also generally stated that the wild and dissolute conduct of the Prince of Wales was the cause of much uneasiness; but the many virtues of that prince were almost invidiously eulogized, in the latter part of this reign, by the very parliaments that treated his father most harshly; and it has been concluded by an excellent writer, that these records of parliament ought to be taken as a strong presumption that some early petulance or riot has been much exaggerated by the old chroniclers whom Shakspeare has followed with such dramatic effect.³ Allowing, however, the proper weight to this reflection, we should bear in mind the difference of the worship paid to the rising and the setting sun; we should remember that it has been a not unusual practice with popular bodies to contrast the untried heir-apparent with the old king, concealing the vices and making an idol of the former; and we shall be much mistaken if we allow too much to the simplicity and honesty of the age that produced Henry of Bolingbroke. Men were as capable of pitting the son against the father at the beginning of the fifteenth as they were at the end of the eighteenth century. But still, with every allowance for policy and party feeling, Prince Henry may, in the words of another judicious writer,⁴ have been "in the number of those aspiring youths that had mixed pleasure with ambition;" and the popular tales of his youthful freaks may not be wholly without foundation. The stories usually inserted in our histories do not rest on any contemporary authority, but seem, for the most part, to have been first told by Hall and Stow, who wrote in the time of Elizabeth and James I., and who probably took up their accounts from popular traditions that had multiplied and grown during the course of two centuries.

One of these statements, however, of young Henry's outbreaks is too well established by credibility of appearance, as well as importance of moral character, to be thrown aside with the

¹ *Monstrelet; Jurn. des Ursins; P. de Févin; Villars; Barante.*

² *Rot. Parl.*

³ *Hallam, Middle Ages.*

⁴ *Macintosh.*

rest It is the well-known case of his violation of the law, and his subsequent submission and atonement. One of his favourites, who is said also to have been one of his personal servants, was arraigned before Sir William Gascoigne, the chief-justice, on a charge of felony. The prince, hoping to overawe the judge, attended the trial; but on the criminal being condemned, he was so transported with passion, that he struck the judge on the face. This was an insult to the law, which is higher than princes; and as such the magistrate felt it: he forthwith commanded the prince to be arrested, and conveyed like a malefactor to prison. And stranger still than this fearless vindication of the majesty of the law, was the dutiful submission of the prince, who silenced his angry attendants, and allowed

himself to be led to the prison of the King's Bench without a murmur. The favour with which the prince, when he became king, continued to regard the chief-justice, showed that the severe rebuke so justly merited had also been rightly received, and turned to the best account.

King Henry was praying before the shrine of St. Edward in Westminster Abbey, when he was seized with his last fit. They carried him into the apartment of the abbot, and there he lay down to die in the Jerusalem Chamber; the name of which is said to have recalled an old prophecy, with the notion he had once entertained of making a crusade for the recovery of the Holy City.¹ He expired on the 20th of March, 1413, in the forty-seventh year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign.²

CHAPTER II.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.

HENRY V., SURNAMED OF MONMOUTH.—ACCESSION, A.D. 1413.—DEATH, A.D. 1422.

Succession of Henry V.—Popular commencement of his reign—Insurrection of the Lollards—Sir John Oldcastle, leader of the Lollards—Henry V. revives the English pretensions to the throne of France—Troubled state of France at this period—Factions into which the French were divided—Their atrocities—Henry's demands upon the French court rejected—He prepares to invade France—Suppresses a conspiracy—Henry besieges and captures Harfleur—He marches into France—His retreat—He halts at Azincourt—Battle of Azincourt—Mad conduct of the French leaders—Their total defeat—Gallant conduct of Henry—Loss of the French at Azincourt—Henry returns to England—The French attempt to recover Harfleur, and are defeated—Henry again invades France—Continued atrocities of its factions—Henry's successes in France—He besieges Rouen—The French factions continue their feuds—Massacres in Paris—Henry takes Rouen—His treaties with the factions—He advances upon Paris—The Duke of Burgundy assassinated by the party of the dauphin—Alliance of Burgundy with England—Henry marries the French princess Catherine—He is proclaimed Regent of France, and heir to the French crown—He returns to England—Misfortunes to his cause in France during his absence—He returns to France, accompanied by James, Prince of Scotland—His victorious progress—He hangs the Bastard of Vaurus—His triumphant court in Paris—Last illness of Henry V.—His exhortations to the English nobles—His death and solemn funeral.



F Henry of Bolingbroke had died unregretted, his successor was welcomed with enthusiastic joy. Henry V. was born at Monmouth, A.D. 1388, and was therefore twenty-five years old when he ascended the throne of England. From the place of his birth, he has obtained in early English history the appellation

of Henry of Monmouth. It is worthy of notice that before he became king, he was thus Prince of Wales by nativity as well as hereditary title; and it is still more remarkable, that his first practice in arms was against those people whom his birth-place had made his countrymen. There was as little promise, however, at his birth, that he should become Prince of Wales as King of

¹ The prophecy was that he should die in Jerusalem. It is probable that the visit paid to him, in the early part of his reign, by Manuel Palæologus, Emperor of Constantinople, who came to implore the aid of the English and the other nations of the West, against Bajazet and the Turks, may have had the effect of occasionally turning the active mind of Henry towards the then almost forgotten East.

² Few candidates for power have united more wariness and watchfulness with daring strokes of policy. He shrank from nothing necessary to his ambitious purposes, and probably was not willing to do what was not absolutely necessary to their success. Men were then, however, very indulgent to such deeds. The measure of state necessity in the fifteenth century was

larger than it is ever avowed or often deemed to be in the nineteenth. His title being exclusively founded on a revolution, he was compelled to adopt popular principles, and to magnify the parliamentary authority from which his own was derived. His most arbitrary measures were proposed under colour of a necessity which prevented them from growing into precedents subversive of the constitution. The princes of his house, by patronizing principles favourable to their own title, promoted the subsequent progress of liberty; although their measures of government, considered in their motives and in their immediate effects, are entitled to no more commendation than those of most other monarchs of their age.—Sir James Mackintosh, *Hist. of England*, vol. i. p. 351.

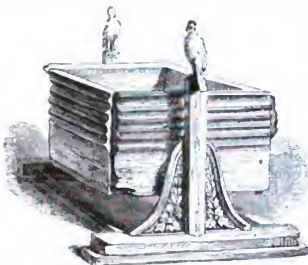
England or even of France, for his father at the time was nothing more than the son of John of Gaunt, and Earl of Derby. Not a breath was

made. He immediately ordered that the body of Richard II. should be removed from its obscure tomb in the Friars' Church at Langley, and brought



MONMOUTH CASTLE.—J. S. PROUT, from his sketch on the spot.

raised in favour of Edmund Mortimer, the Earl of March, who had now grown up to man's estate, nor against the right of Henry, whose peace was pro-



CRADLE OF HENRY V.—Antiquarian Repertory.

claimed the day after his father's death, and who was crowned on the 9th of April following.¹ His magnanimous conduct deepened the favourable impressions his character had previously



FUNERAL OF RICHARD II.—FROEMANT MS., British Museum.

with funeral pomp to London, there to be interred among the Kings of England. This was done; and after solemn obsequies, the remains of Richard were buried in Westminster Abbey, close by those of his first wife, the "Good Queen Anne," as he himself in his life had desired. A dead king could do no mischief; but it might have been otherwise with a living prince, whose right to the crown had been formerly proclaimed by a powerful party in the state; yet Henry released the Earl of March from the captivity in which he had been kept by his cautious predecessor, and allowed him to enjoy the estates of his father. Not long after, he recalled the son of the gallant Hotspur from his long exile in Scotland, and restored to him the hereditary honours and lands of the Percies. He pursued the same generous course with other individuals, and the effect was seen in the devoted affection of men who had hitherto been most inimical to the house of Lancaster.²

The first year of the new reign was, however, disturbed by a popular commotion in London. During the sitting of Henry's first parliament, placards were stuck up by night on the church doors of London, stating that there were 100,000

¹ Sir Harris Nicolas, *Chronology of History*.

² Walsingham. Henry attended as chief mourner in the funeral procession of Richard.

men ready to assert their rights by force of arms if needful. This announcement was attributed to the religious innovators called Lollards. Their leader, or he on whose strength and talent they most relied, was Sir John Oldcastle, commonly called, in right of his wife, the Lord Cobham. He was "a strong man, and a metely good man of war," and he had been the intimate associate and friend of Henry when Prince of Wales. Arundel, the Archbishop of Canterbury, accused Oldcastle to the king, at the moment, it appears, when he was incensed at the threats of the Lollards. Henry, however, was not in a mind to deliver up a man he esteemed to the tender mercies of an inquisition; he told the archbishop that he himself would talk with Oldcastle and try to bring him to the right way. As Henry had studied at Oxford, he was probably not unacquainted with the divinity of the schools; but his arguments failed to convince his old associate, and then Henry, like other controversialists, grew angry. He began to threaten and to enforce his arguments by references to the statute de *heretico comburendo*, upon which Sir John withdrew from Windsor to his castle of Cowling, in Kent. Upon this, Henry gave up his old friend to Archbishop Arundel, and issued a severe proclamation against the whole body of the sectarians, listeners as well as preachers, and the archbishop cited Oldcastle to appear in his court. Sir John would not suffer any man to serve the summons upon him, and he derided the authority of the church. Pressed by the clergy, Henry sent out an armed force, to which Oldcastle surrendered. He was carried a prisoner to the Tower, but neither captivity nor the formidable front of his accusers and judges could damp his ardour in the cause of religious reform. Alone and unsupported, he pleaded two whole days in the synod of prelates and abbots, who, however, convicted him of incorrigible heresy. He was delivered over to the secular arm, or, in other words, sentenced to the flames; but the king granted a respite for fifty days, and, before that term elapsed, Sir John contrived, or was permitted to escape from the Tower. It is quite certain, after the lengths to which they had gone against him, that the clergy would never have permitted him to live in peace; and Oldcastle may have relied on the co-operation of those who had embraced the same opinions, and may have hoped to obtain security for property and life by force of arms. It is said that he collected a great host of enthusiasts, and made an attempt to surprise the king at Eltham Palace, and that, failing in this enterprise, he ordered the Lollards from various quarters to march towards London, and assemble suddenly in St. Giles' Fields, "above Holborn," on the day after the Epiphany or Twelfth Day. The king was

warned of the plot, and during the preceding day, the mayor of London arrested several suspicious persons in the city. Every alderman was ordered to keep great watch in his ward; and a little after midnight, on the 7th January, 1414, Henry went out of London with a great force, commanding all the gates of the city to be closed and well guarded, in order to prevent the Lollards within the walls from joining those without. In the pastoral meadows of St. Giles, where it was rumoured that 25,000 insurgents were to meet under the orders of Sir John Oldcastle, he found only some fourscore men; but these, it is said, had arms upon them, and, it is added, that some of the number who were caught confessed that they had come thither to meet Sir John Oldcastle. Henry then sent detachments along several roads; but the only assemblage of any consequence surprised was one at Harengay Park, near Hornsey, where certain lords took many Lollards. Oldcastle himself was nowhere seen, and though the king, by proclamation, offered immense rewards for his apprehension, such was the fidelity of his humble followers, that there was not a man found that would betray him. Little mercy was shown to the poor Lollards who were captured, and no great pains could have been taken with their trial, for, on the 13th of January, thirty of them were executed in St. Giles' Fields, being drawn and hanged as traitors, and then burned, gallows and all, as heretics. No great reliance can be placed on confessions extorted from these unhappy men, but the parliament, as well as the king, seem to have believed that the state had been in danger. The commons, in their address, stated that the Lollards had sought to destroy religion, the king, the lords, the bishops, the whole body of the clergy, and all manner of good law; and Henry echoed these sounding charges in his proclamation, wherein, moreover, it was stated that the insurgents had meant to divide England into federal republics, and to appoint Sir John Oldcastle their president. Persecution did not stop short at the wholesale execution in St. Giles'. Sir Roger Acton, a friend of Oldcastle, was taken, drawn, and hanged on the 10th of February. Arundel, the Archbishop of Canterbury, died on the 28th of that same month; but his successor, Chicheley, was not a whit more tolerant. It was enacted in parliament that all judges and magistrates should have power to arrest any individual suspected of Lollardism; that, besides suffering capital punishment, every individual convicted of that atrocious crime should forfeit his lands, goods, and chattels to the king, as in cases of felony; and that the chancellor, treasurer, justices of the two benches, sheriffs, justices of the peace, and all the chief magistrates, should

bind themselves by oath to do their utmost for the rooting up of heresy.¹

When he had been little more than twelve months on the throne of England, Henry suddenly demanded the crown of France, as the representative of Isabella, the wife of the second Edward, in whose right Edward III. had founded his absurd pretensions.² But the claims of Henry V. exceeded *his* in absurdity; for, according to the only admissible construction of that hereditary right on which he rested his claim, the crown of France belonged, not to him, but to Edward Mortimer, the Earl of March. No one, however, acquainted with Henry's love of war, with the spirit of the English people, and with the wretched condition of France, could be much surprised at the project of conquest.

The solemn reconciliation between the Dukes of Burgundy and Orleans lasted but a very few months. The father-in-law of the latter prince, the Count of Armagnac, never laid down his arms; and the Duke of Orleans kept away from Paris, where his cousin of Burgundy, who had formed a suitable alliance with the fraternity of butchers in that capital, misgoverned the state.

The Dauphin Louis, who was now approaching the age of manhood, quarrelled with the Duke of Burgundy, and increased the general confusion by intrigues of his own, in which neither his unhappy father nor his mother was respected. The origin of the unnatural feeling probably dated from an earlier period, but from this moment the queen-mother betrayed a deadly hatred of her own son. From instruments and subordinate agents, the butchers of Paris soon became masters: they massacred many individuals; they assumed the "white hood," as a revolutionary distinction; they allied themselves with the turbulent men of Ghent; they sent deputies to all the good towns of France, to induce the people to adopt their device; they forced white hoods on the heads of the Dukes of Burgundy and Berri—on the dauphin—on the king himself—and compelled them all to wear them in sign of their love for the people and the good city of Paris. In all these transactions, the ludicrous

was mixed up largely with the horrible. They murdered, in prison, the Sire de la Rivière, one of the most accomplished and learned men in France; and every atrocity they committed they said was "for the good of France." The more respectable burghers were soon disgusted with the domination of these butchers, or "Cabochiens," as they were called after one of their chiefs; and their resistance was roused when the Duke of Berri employed the master butchers to levy a tax by force for the expenses of a war against the English and the Armagnacs.³ The latter faction were committing much greater crimes than those of the butchers in some of the provinces: they had made an alliance with some English adventurers; and the Count of Armagnac publicly wore the red cross of England over his armour. The Parisians had hitherto been warm Bourguignons, but now they opened communications with the Armagnacs: some priests of the university took courage to preach publicly against the butchers; but it was the rival fraternity of carpenters that humbled their pride. "We will soon see," said Guillaume Cirasse, "whether there be not as many carpenters as butchers in Paris, and as good men." On the 1st of July, 1413, the butchers beheaded the provost of Paris. This was the last act of their authority: after assembling in the Place de Grève—the scene of more deplorable tragedies in a later revolution—and making a vain show of resistance, they were driven out of Paris. The power of the Duke of Burgundy fell with that of the butchers: in the month of August he quitted Paris and withdrew in haste to his states of Flanders. On his departure, the Duke of Orleans became master of the government; all the officers, ministers, and magistrates were changed, and, notwithstanding solemn promises to the contrary, the Bourguignons were persecuted, imprisoned, or driven into exile. The white hoods and the colours of the Duke of Burgundy disappeared as if by magic, and all Paris, even to the images of the saints, wore the white scarf, the device of the Duke of Orleans. If the queen and her son had agreed in anything, they might have checked

¹ Elmham, *Vit. Hen. V.*: *Rymer; Stow.*

² See vol. I. p. 458.

³ Amidst this chaotic state of the politics of France, Thierry thus explains how the Orleans party came to be known as the Armagnacs:—"In the early part of the fifteenth century, the Count of Armagnac, who had for some time placed himself at the head of a league formed by all the nobles of Gascony, with a view to maintain their common independence by leaning, as occasion required, upon the support of France or of England, made alliance with one of the two aristocratic factions of Orleans and Burgundy, which were then contending the government of France. He thus engaged in a foreign quarrel, and drew into it his confederates—not so much perhaps from political motives as from private interest; for one of his daughters had married the Duke of Orleans, who headed the party of

that name. Once launched in the disputes that divided the French nation, the Gascons, as might be expected from the impetuosity of their southern temperament, became such active partisans in these disputes, that the name of Orleans soon passed into that of Armagnac; and nothing then came to be talked of in France but the *Bourguignons* and the *Armagnacs*. Notwithstanding the generality of this distinction, there were no true Armagnacs but those of the south; and these, identifying themselves with a faction more numerous than themselves, forgot, whilst hurried along by its impulses, the cause which had first brought them into this league—the independence of their mother country. That country's interest, which was their sole true policy, they altogether abandoned; they were now no longer free to change their patron or their allies, but blindly adopted all the influences and motives of a foreign faction."

the tyranny of the Armagnacs; but they were engaged in constant quarrels. As early as the month of December, the dauphin, who before had intrigued with the Armagnacs, wrote an imploring letter to his father-in-law the Duke of Burgundy, telling him that he was little better than a prisoner in Paris, and imploring him to come in force to his deliverance. Early in the following year (1414), the duke marched from Flanders with a great army of Flemings, Burgundians, and Picards: he met no resistance until he came before the walls of Paris; but he found that capital well defended by the Count of Armagnac. Jean Sans-peur was obliged to retreat into Flanders, and after this failure no consideration was shown to him. The Armagnacs made the king sign a proclamation in which he was charged with the "damnable murder" of the Duke of Orleans, and with other crimes and treasons: the forfeiture of all his states was pronounced, and the ban and arrier-ban were summoned to execute the sentence. The Armagnacs took the field, and carried the king with them, to give weight to their proceedings. They captured the duke's town of Compeigne, and then proceeded to lay siege to Soissons. Here the valiant De Bournouville made a firm resistance: he had with him a body of English archers, who defended one of the gates so well that none of the assailants would approach it; but the Armagnacs also had some English, or men of Bordeaux, in their army, and these fellow-subjects opened a friendly communication with each other, the result of which was that the English gate was left open to the besiegers, who entered with the fury of wild beasts. Men, women, and children were massacred; the churches were broken open, the ornaments of the altar pillaged, and the relics of saints, nay, even the consecrated wafers, were trodden under foot. The day after the assault they struck off the head of the brave De Bournouville; and his execution was followed by that of five other knights and some of the principal citizens. About 200 English archers were hanged on the walls; twenty-five gentlemen of the place were sent to Paris, where most of them were hanged or beheaded. From Soissons the Armagnacs marched to Arras, and laid siege to that city. But Arras was a strong place, and Jean Sans-peur, though reduced to great distress, was enabled to furnish it with plenty of provisions and an excellent garrison.

At this moment intelligence was received of the mighty preparations making in England for the invasion of France, and a new treaty of peace and reconciliation was concluded between the Bourguignons and the Armagnacs. Before the latter withdrew from Arras, either by accident or design, the house where the king lodged was

set on fire, and he narrowly escaped being burned to death. On his return to Paris he was again declared to be mad; and the dauphin, who was nominally placed at the head of affairs, concerted a plot to render himself really master of the capital, by expelling both Bourguignons and Armagnacs, together with his own mother. At a given hour the tocsin was to sound from the church of St. Eustace, and the rabble of Paris were to rise in the prince's name, and slay all that opposed him. The plot, however, was discovered; and then the dauphin fled to Bourges, leaving Paris to the power of the Armagnacs, who made a new proscription of the Bourguignons, and drove the wives and children of the exiles out of the city. Soon after, however (in the month of April, 1415), the dauphin, by some cunning manoeuvres, made himself master of the capital. His first operation was to seize all the money which his mother had deposited for safety in some of the churches. He then promised the people a speedy redress of the grievances under which they had so long laboured. But the dauphin soon showed that he was as rapacious, prodigal, and dissipated as the worst of those he denounced, and even in Paris which had long been accustomed to an immoral court, his vulgar dissoluteness excited disgust. Not satisfied with publicly entertaining a servant of the palace as his mistress, he shut up his young and beautiful wife in a château at St. Germain-en-Laye. This was a fresh injury to the Duke of Burgundy, who was father of the dauphiness, and it was instantly resented: the states of Flanders, taking up the quarrel of the duke, told the insensate young man that, unless he immediately redressed this and other injuries, the duke would not ratify the treaty of Arras; and that neither he nor his vassals, or any of his subjects, would take up arms to defend the dauphin or France from the attack of the English. Before this the duke had gone from Flanders into his states of Burgundy, where he assembled Caboché, Legoix, and the other chiefs of the Parisian fraternity of butchers. The Count of Armagnac at the same time was carrying on a private war in the south; the Count of St. Pol was doing the same in the north, and peace and good order existed nowhere.

Such was the hapless condition of France when Henry proposed to conquer it.¹

Before arming, the King of England negotiated at some length. To the peremptory demand of the crown of France no answer was returned.² About a month later (in August, 1414) Henry intimated that he would be satisfied with the fulfilment of Edward III.'s treaty of Breigny, and the addition of Normandy, Anjou, and Maine,

¹ Juvenal; St. Denis; Monstrelet; Barante; Fillard.

and some territory in Provence, together with the hand of Charles' daughter Catherine, with a marriage portion of 2,000,000 crowns. It was replied for Charles, that he would restore the whole of the ancient duchy of Aquitaine, and give his daughter with a portion of 600,000 crowns. Henry rejected these proposals with disdain, and recalled his ambassadors. In the month of November he asked aids from a willing parliament, who immediately voted a supply of two tenths and two-fifteenths; not, however, expressly for the purposes for which the money was asked, but "for the defence of the kingdom of England and the safety of the seas." In the beginning of the following year Henry condescended to renew his negotiations, and even lowered his demands so far as to give up his claim to Normandy, Anjou, and Maine; but, though alarmed, the French adhered to their former conditions.¹

On the 16th of April a council of fifteen spiritual and twenty-eight temporal peers met at Westminster, and to them Henry announced his purpose of making a voyage in his own proper person, by the grace of God, to recover his inheritance.

Both bishops and lay lords enthusiastically applauded this resolution, and assured him of their sincere co-operation. He appointed the Duke of Bedford, one of his brothers, to be regent during his absence; and having raised the sum of 500,000 nobles, he set out to embark at Southampton in the month of July. At Winchester he was met by the Archbishop of Bourges, who had been despatched by the Duke of Berry in the vain hope that the storm might yet be diverted. Henry told this prelate that the crown of France was his right, and that he would win it by the sword. He continued his road to Southampton.² His fleet rode at anchor in the bay; his knights and soldiers were encamped round the shore; and he had begun to superintend the embarkation, when

he was checked by the intelligence of a conspiracy against his life. This bold plot included Sir Thomas Grey of Heton, the Lord Seroop of Masham—a person who enjoyed Henry's most perfect confidence, and who always slept with the king: but the leader was the king's own cousin Richard, brother to the infamous Rutland (now

Duke of York), and recently created Earl of Cambridge. An inquest of twelve jurors of the county found that the Earl of Cambridge and Sir Thomas Grey had treasonably conspired to proclaim the Earl of March, and to call in a Scottish army; and that the Lord Seroop was guilty of misprision of treason. Grey was beheaded: Cambridge and Seroop claimed the privilege of being tried by their peers; this was granted, and all the lords in the army condemned them to the block.³

At last Henry embarked, and set sail from Southampton: his fleet, which consisted in part of ships he had hired from Ireland, Holland, and Friesland, amounted to 1200 or 1400 sail of vessels, from 20 to 300 tons burden; his army to 6500 horse, and about 24,000 foot of all kinds.⁴

He anchored in the mouth of the river Seine, three miles from Harfleur, on the 13th of August. On the following day he began to land his troops and stores—an operation which occupied three whole days. A proclamation was issued, forbidding, under pain of death, all excesses against the peaceful inhabitants; and it is noted by many contemporary historians, French as well as English, that Henry, with honourable perseverance, enforced the uniform good treatment of the people through whose districts he afterwards passed. On the 17th he laid siege to Harfleur, a very strong



HENRY V.—From the Arundel MS. No. 33.

¹ The best account of this conspiracy is given in Sir Harris Nicolas' *History of the Battle of Agincourt, and of the Expedition of Henry V. into France*. It is said that the conspirators were bribed by the French.

² Included in this number was a strong body of gunners, miners, masons, carpenters, saddlers, bowyers, smiths, and other artisans and labourers.

³ Rymer. He gives the whole negotiation at length.

⁴ Moutretout; Walsingham; Elmham.

fortress, with a numerous garrison, situated on the left bank of the river. The conduct of the siege was according to the rules laid down by "Master Giles," the principal military authority of that period.¹ The loss sustained by the besieging army was great, not so much from the sword and the awkward artillery of those times, as from a frightful dysentery, brought on by the damp, unwholesome nature of the place. The men perished by hundreds, and many of the most eminent captains died of the disease. Seeing, however, no prospect of being relieved, and suffering from the same dysentery, the garrison capitulated, and the town was surrendered on the 22d of September, after a siege of thirty-six days. Henry then shipped his sick and wounded (among whom was Mortimer, Earl of March) for England, and remained a few days at Harfleur.² While here he sent a chivalrous challenge to the dauphin, offering to decide the contest in personal combat. The dauphin, who was fonder of fiddling than of fighting, returned no answer.

With the insignificant force the English king now had, it seemed madness to undertake any great enterprise. The sea was open to him, but he scorned the notion of returning to England with no honour gained save the capture of a single town; and it is exceedingly probable that had he so returned, he would have suffered a dangerous loss of popularity. It is said, however, that a council of war recommended that he should re-embark; but if this opinion were really entertained by the chiefs of the army, they seem to have given it up without demur. "No," said Henry; "we must first see, by God's help, a little more of this good land of France, which is all our own." The forces were drawn out, and prepared to march through the hostile provinces of Normandy, Picardy, and Artois, to Calais. With the reductions made by the casualties of the siege, by sickness, and by leaving a garrison in Harfleur, they did not exceed 9000 men.³ The march began on the 6th of October, when a great force, with the king and dauphin at their head, lay at Rouen, and another, under the Constable of France, in front of the English in Picardy, whither troops were pouring in all directions. In his passage through Normandy,⁴ Henry met with no great resistance; but detachments more numerous than his whole force watched his movements, and cut off stragglers; the country was laid waste before his approach; the people in the

towns and villages furnished him with little or no provisions—they were half starving themselves; sickness was reproduced by want of proper food and the fatigues of the march. At the passage of the river Bresle, beyond Dieppe, the garrison of Eu made a sortie, and fell upon his rear; but the leader of the French was killed, and the rest fled back to the covering of their ramparts. On the 12th of October, he reached the memorable ford of Blanche-Taque, where he hoped to pass like Edward III.; but the French resolved to defend the line of the Somme: and, taught by experience, they had fortified both banks, had driven strong palisades across the ford, and placed troops of archers behind them. Henry retreated to Airaines, the little town where Edward III. had slept two nights before the battle of Blanche-Taque, and there the English army spent this night of the 12th. He had now to seek for a passage up the river, as his great-grand-father had sought for one in descending it. He marched along the left bank to Bailleul, where he slept on the 13th. The Constable of France had fixed his head-quarters at Abbeville, on the opposite side of the river. Every bridge was broken down, every ford was fortified, and columns of horse and foot manœuvred along the right bank, keeping in line with Henry as he proceeded up the left. Many of his people lost heart at being thus foiled in all attempts to cross the Somme, and at seeing that their march was leading them far from the sea-shore. "I who write," says a chaplain of the army, "and many others, looked bitterly up to heaven, and implored the Divine mercy and the protection of the Virgin, and of England's saint St. George, to save us from the imminent perils by which we were surrounded, and enable us to reach Calais in safety."⁵ On the 14th, Henry made an attempt to pass at Pont St. Rémy, and was repulsed, as Edward had been at the same place. On the 15th he tried to force a passage at Ponteau de Mer, but he met with no better success. Still continuing to ascend the river, he tried several other passages in the course of the 16th and 17th; but every where insurmountable obstacles presented themselves. On the night of the 18th, having got above Amiens, he halted at Bainvillers. His troops were suffering every possible discomfort, and were disheartened by their repeated disappointments; but on the morning of the 19th, he was so fortunate as to find a ford between Betencourt and Voyenne,

¹ A beautiful manuscript copy of his work—*De Regimine Principum*—is preserved in the Harleian Collection in the British Museum.

² *Monstrelet: Waluing: Nicolas' Battle of Arinoeur*, &c.

³ Sir H. Nicolas says, after an impartial consideration, that not more than 9000 fighting men could have left Harfleur; and there is "a strong probability" that the force did not much exceed 6000 men.

⁴ The line of march he chose was by Fécamp and along the sea coast, till he came to the river Somme. From Blanche-Taque he was obliged to strike inland.

⁵ This anonymous writer, whom Sir H. Nicolas styles "Chronicle A," was first introduced to the notice of modern readers by this learned and industrious investigator. His accounts, which have never been published, exist in MS., in the Cottonian and Sloane collections, in the library of the British Museum.

which had not been staked by the people of St. Quentin. The English made a dash across this ford; the vanguard established themselves on the right bank, which they had so long yearned to reach, and the whole army with its baggage got safely across.¹ Having lost this line of defence, the constable fell back from the Somme, and marched along the Calais road as far as St. Pol, in Artois. Henry quietly followed by the same road; but while his small force was every hour farther reduced by sickness, that of the constable was continually strengthened; and in a few days the whole of the royal army of France was in Artois. On the 20th of October, three heralds arrived from the constable and the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, to acquaint the king of their resolution to give him battle before he reached Calais. Henry replied that the will of God would be done—that he did not seek them—but fear of them should never induce him to move out of his way, or to go either slower or faster than he in-

Ruisseauville and Azincourt, and there (having received nearly all the reinforcements he expected) he determined to make his stand. On the 24th, Henry crossed the deep and rapid river of Ternoise at Blangi; and soon after he came in sight of some of the enemy's columns. Expecting an attack, he formed in order of battle; but the columns he saw withdrew to Azincourt, and towards evening he marched on to Maisonnelles, a large village, only a few bow-shots from the enemy's outposts. Some provisions were brought in, and the men refreshed themselves, and took some rest. As soon as the moon arose, officers were sent out to survey the position, and ascertain the nature of the ground occupied by the French. During the whole night the English played on their trumpets and other martial instruments, so that the neighbourhood resounded with their music. Notwithstanding fatigue, cold, and hunger, they kept up a cheerful spirit; but many of them confessed their sins, took the sacrament, and made their wills. These hours of suspense were the most trying of all, but not a man among them spoke of surrender—retreat or flight was impossible.²

On the side of the French there was no want of confidence, but an evident absence of order and discipline. The constable struck the royal banner into the ground on the Calais road, a little in advance of the village of Ruisseauville; and the Admiral of France, the master of the crossbows, the princes, barons, and knights, planted their banners round it, with loud acclamations of joy. The night was cold and rainy, but they lighted great fires all along their line, and the soldiers, while they warmed themselves, passed round the wine-cup, and calculated the proper man-



tended: his march was before him, straight on by the road to Calais, and if the French attempted to stop him, it would be at their peril. True to his word, the King of England marched on with the greatest calmness and regularity. From St. Pol, the constable fell back to the villages of

soms for the king and the great barons of England, whom they made sure of taking on the morrow. The pages and valets of the army rode about looking for hay and straw to lay on the damp ground; horses went and came, slipping and floundering in the clayey soil; there was a continual movement and noise; the horsemen were heard afar

¹ The weighty baggage and waggons had been left behind at Harfleur. On starting from that place, the soldiers had only provisions for eight days.

² Monstrelet; Barante; Nicolas.

off shouting to one another: but by some chance, they had scarcely any musical instruments to cheer their hearts; and it was remarked, with astonishment, that very few of their horses neighed during the night—which, adds the chronicler, was considered by many as a very bad omen.¹ Among the leaders of this army were some old officers, not quite so sure of the result. The Duke of Berri, who had fought at the battle of Poitiers sixty years ago, remembered that on that occasion the French had felt confident of victory, and yet his father, King John, had been taken prisoner, and the army destroyed.

At early dawn King Henry heard matins and mass with his men, and then led them to their positions. He formed them, as usual, into three divisions and two wings; but the divisions stood so closely together, that they appeared as one. The archers were placed in advance of the men-at-arms in form of a wedge. In addition to his bow and arrows, his bill-hook, hatchet, or hammer, every archer carried a long stake sharpened at both ends, which he was to fix obliquely before him in the ground, so as to serve as a firm pike against the charge of the enemy's cavalry. These stakes formed together an excellent rampart, and they could be moved and fixed again if a change of position should be deemed necessary. The upper end of the stakes, which projected against the foe, were tipped with iron: this was a new precaution never before used in a war by Christians. The baggage, the priests, the tents, and horses—for this fight, like that of Poitiers and Crecy, was to be fought chiefly on foot—were placed in the rear, near to the village of Maisoncelles, under guard of some men-at-arms and a small body of archers. When these dispositions were made, Henry mounted a small gray horse, and rode along the lines of each division. He wore a helmet of polished steel, surmounted with a crown of gold, set with sparkling gems, and the arms of England and of France were embroidered in gold on his surcoat. But what struck the English more than gold and gems, was the bright lively blue eye of the hero, whose countenance, like that of the great Edward on the like occasion, was serenely cheerful. As he rode from rank to rank he said a few words to each; he recalled to their memories the glorious victories gained by their ancestors with an equal disparity of numbers. He told them that he had made up his own mind to conquer or die there—that England should never have to pay a ransom for him. He assured the archers that the French had sworn to cut off the three fingers of their right hand, to unfit them for their craft; and he reminded them

of the atrocities committed on their countrymen taken at Soissons, where 200 English archers, prisoners of war, had been mercilessly hanged. "We have not come," said he, "into our kingdom of France like mortal enemies; we have not burned towns and villages; we have not outraged women and maidens, like our adversaries at Soissons. They are full of sin, and have no fear of God." As the king passed one of the divisions, he heard a brave officer, Walter Hungerford, expressing a wish that some of the gallant knights and stout archers who were living in idleness in merry England could be present on this field. "No!" exclaimed Henry, "I would not have a single man more. If God gives us the victory, the fewer we are the more honour; and if we lose, the less will be the loss to our country. But we will not lose; fight as you were wont to do, and before night the pride of our numberless enemies shall be humbled to the dust." The disparity of numbers was, indeed, appalling, the French being, at the most moderate calculation, as six to one;² but they had learned little from experience; their chiefs seemed to be suffering under a moral vertigo—they had crowded their immense host in fields between two woods, where there was not room for them to deploy or to manœuvre with any facility. From the Seine to the Somme—from the Somme to the spot where they were now crowded and heaped upon one another—there was scarcely a worse position; and the rain, which had fallen in torrents, rendered some of the fields almost impassable to horses bearing the weight of men in heavy armour.

A close parallel has been drawn between the fights of Crecy and Azincourt, but in some respects they differed. The French, tutored, it may be, by the old Duke of Berri, did not begin the action, but waited to be attacked, sitting down on the ground every man near to his own banner. Henry had calculated on the confusion sure to arise at the first movement of such a force in such close and difficult ground, and for some hours he patiently waited their attack. During this time he distributed food and a little wine among his men, who sat down to their breakfast quietly on the ground, even as their forefathers had done at Crecy. While the compact force of Henry was governed by one master-will, the loose multitude of the French was distracted by the conflicting opinions of many presumptuous men.

² Monstrelet says that the French were, "on a hasty survey, estimated to be more than six times the number of the English." According to the Italian chronicler, who ambitiously calls himself "Titus Livius," they were rather more than seven to one. Another contemporary estimates the French at 106,000, which would be more than ten to one, even admitting that Henry marched from Harfleur with 9000 men, and without counting his losses on the march.

¹ Monstrelet.

"The constable," says a great French writer,¹ who has described the battle with a rare impartiality, "was by right of his office the commander-in-chief of the French army, but there were with him so many princes who had all wills of their own, that it was not easy for him to obtain obedience." The Duke of Orleans, the Count of Nevers, and a host of young gentlemen who had just put on their knightly spurs, and had never earned them, wanted to charge the English at once. The constable, it appears, would fain have waited the arrival of fresh reinforcements under the Marshal de Logny and the Duke of Brittany, who were both on their march, and expected in the course of that and the following day. It seemed disgraceful, with such odds, to wait for more; but the constable prevailed. The entire loss of his authority was not felt till the battle commenced, and he was evidently determined upon delay. As the morning wore away he even sent Messire Guichard Dauphin and the Sire de Helly to the English camp to negotiate, and to offer Henry a free passage, if he would on his part restore Harfleur, together with all the pri-

soners he had made, and resign his pretensions to the crown of France. Henry, undismayed by the force before him, would only treat on the same conditions which he had offered in his own capital. He has been lauded for his firmness and his hardihood, but his good policy has been generally overlooked. If he had allowed the constable to amuse him with these negotiations for a day or two, his army would have been starved outright—a more serious consideration this, than the arrival of reinforcements; for had the Duke of Brittany come up with his 6000 men, he would in all probability have only increased the confusion and the unmanageableness of the French host. Seeing, then, that they would not come to him, Henry prepared to go to them. He despatched two detachments—the one to lie in ambush on the left flank of the French, the other to their rear, where, when the battle began, they were to set fire to a barn and house belonging to the priory of St. George at Hesdin, and so create an alarm. These manœuvres were executed; and the two detachments, being both of archers, got to the posts appointed, and lay in wait without



THE FIELD OF AZINCOURT.²—From a drawing on the spot by John Absolon.

being perceived by the enemy. It was towards the hour of noon when Henry gave the brief but cheering order—"Banners, advance!" At the same moment, Sir Thomas Erpingham, the commander of the archers, a knight grown gray with age and honour, threw his trancheon into the air, exclaiming—"Now strike!" The distance between the two armies was short of a quarter of a mile. The English moved on in gallant array until the foremost came within bow-shot of the French: then the archers stuck their stakes in the ground before them, and set up a tremendous shout. Their loud huzzas were instantly echoed

by the men that lay concealed on the left flank of the French, who, the next minute, were assailed by a tremendous shower of arrows both in front and flank. The French had few or no bowmen, for that weapon was considered unworthy of knightly hands, and the princes had insolently rejected the service of the burghers and other plebeians, holding that France ought to be de-

² The wood on the left hand of the view is that from which the English archers cut the stakes which were planted as described in the text. From this wood the English position extended to the church shown in the view, the French position being opposite, or, looking at the view, at the back of the spectator. A few stones indicate the site of a chapel which, according to tradition, was built on the skirts of the wood. Bones, and sometimes weapons, are still dug up on the field.

fended only by *gentlemen*! Messire Clignet, of Brabant, thought that he could break the English archers with the lance, and he charged with 1200 horse, shouting "Mountjoye! St. Denis!" But the ground was soft and slippery; the flight of arrows that met them right in the face was terrific: some were killed; some rolled, horse and horseman, on the fields; others turned their horses' heads: and of the whole 1200, not above seven score followed their chiefs up to the English front, where the archers, instead of wearing steel armour, had even thrown aside their leathern jackets, that they might have a freer use of their nervous arms. But between the defence of the sharp stakes, and the incessant flight of their arrows, very few of the French lances reached those open breasts. Such of the knights as stood their ground, stooped their heads as the arrows went through the visors; they thus scarcely saw what they were doing, and lost the command of their horses, which, wounded in many places, became mad with pain, and galloped back, joining the other fugitives, and breaking the first division of the French army. Only three horsemen penetrated beyond the stakes, and they were instantly slain. Everywhere within reach of the arrows the French horse were seen capering or rushing through the lines, doing great mischief to their own army, and causing the wildest uproar and confusion. But, in fact, all order was already lost there; the columns got mixed; the words of command were disregarded; and while the timid stole to the rear, the brave all rushed to the van, crowding the division that was over-crowded before in that narrow space. Meanwhile, the English, removing their stakes, came on with still more tremendous huzzas: the French made a slight retrograde movement, and then, so miserably had their ground been chosen, they got into some recently ploughed corn-fields, where their horses, sank almost to their saddle-girths, stuck fast or rolled over with their riders. Seeing that the van-guard was thoroughly disordered and broken, the English archers left their stakes, which it appears they did not use again, and slinging their bows behind them, rushed with their bill-hooks and hatchets into the midst of the steel-clad knights, they themselves being almost without clothing, and many of them both bare-footed and bare-headed. The Constable of France and many of the most illustrious of the knights were presently killed by these despised plebeians, who, without any assistance from the chivalry of England, dispersed the whole body. Then the second division opened to receive the sad remnants of the first—a manœuvre attended with fresh disorder. At this moment the Duke Anthony of Brabant, who had just arrived in the field, having in his impatient haste left his re-

inforcements behind him, headed a fresh charge of horse, but he was instantly slain by the English, who kept advancing, and destroying all that opposed them. The second division of the French, however, closed up, and kept its ground, though the weight of their armour made them sink knee-deep in the mire. Henry now brought up his men-at-arms, and, calling in his brave bowmen, formed them again in good order. These lightly-equipped troops found little inconvenience from the nature of the soil; they had the free use of their limbs; they were fresh as when they first came into battle; and they again gave a loud huzza when the king led them on to a fresh charge. It was now that the real battle took place, and that Henry's life was repeatedly exposed to great danger. His brother, the Duke of Clarence, was wounded and thrown down, and would have been killed or made prisoner, but for the personal valour of the king, who placed himself beside the body, and beat off the assailants. Soon after he was charged by a band of eighteen knights, bearing the banner of the Lord of Croy, who had bound themselves by an oath to take or kill the King of England. One of these knights struck the king with his mace or battle-axe, and the blow was so violent that Henry staggered and fell on his knees; but his brave men instantly closed round him, and killed every one of the eighteen knights. The Duke of Alençon then charged up, and cut his way to the royal standard of England. With a stroke of his battle-axe he beat the Duke of York to the ground; and when Henry stood forth to defend his unworthy relative, Alençon hit him over the head, and knocked off part of the crown which he wore over his helmet. But this blow was the last the Frenchman ever struck—the English closed upon him; seeing his danger, he raised his voice to the king, saying, "I surrender to you; I am the Duke of Alençon." Henry held out his hand, but it was too late—the duke was dead. His fall ended the battle, for his followers fled in dismay; and the third division of the French army, which had never drawn sword, and which was in itself more than double the number of the whole English force, fell back, and presently began to gallop from the field. Up to this point the English had not embarrassed themselves with prisoners; but they now took them by heaps—many surrendering, and many more making vain efforts to defend their liberty and honour in the midst of that hopeless confusion. As they took the Frenchmen, they removed their helmets from their heads. An immense number were thus secured, when Henry heard a dreadful noise in his rear, where the priests of his army were sitting on horse-back among the baggage, and he soon saw a hostile force drawn out in that direction. At

the same time, the third division of the French, which had been in full retreat, seemed to rally and raise their banners afresh. Henry knew that the Duke of Brittany and other chiefs, with reinforcements, were not far off; and believing himself about to be enveloped, he gave orders that every man should kill the prisoner or prisoners he had taken.¹ As the ransom of captives of rank was one of the soldiers' best gains, many were unwilling to obey this mandate; but Henry sent 200 archers, who knocked the French knights on the head without compunction. The extent of this horrible massacre is not known; but it appears that a great number of the noblest knights in France fell in consequence of what, after all, was a mistake. The body in the rear were only some 500 or 600 peasants who had entered Maisoncelles, and fallen upon the baggage, in hope of obtaining plunder, and driving off some of the English horses; and what appeared a rallying in front was only a momentary pause, the third division continuing to gallop off the field harder than ever. As soon as Henry discovered his mistake, he gave orders to stop the carnage and to look after the wounded. Then, attended by his principal barons, he rode over the field, and sent out the heralds to examine the coats of arms of the knights and princes that had fallen; and while his people were occupied in stripping the dead, he called to him the herald of the King of France, the king-at-arms, who was named Mountjoye, and with him several other heralds, both English and French, and said to them—"We have not made this slaughter, but the Almighty, as we believe, for the sins of France." And after this he asked them to whom the honour of the victory was due? and then Mountjoye answered:—"To the King of England; to him ought victory to be given, and not to the King of France." After this the king asked the name of the castle that he saw pretty near to him, and they answered that it was called Azincourt. "Then," said Henry, "since all battles ought to be named after the nearest castle, let this battle bear henceforward and lastingly the name of the battle of Azincourt."²

The loss on the side of the French was frightful. The whole chivalry of France was cropped. Seven near relations of King Charles—the Duke of Brabant, the Count of Nevers, the Duke of Bar, his brother the Count of Marle, his other brother John, the Constable d'Albret, the Duke of Alençon—had all perished. Among the great lords, the Count of Dampierre, the Count of Vaudemont, the Lords of Rambure, Helly, and Verchin, and Messire Guichard Dauphin, met the same fate. In all, there perished on the field

8000 gentlemen, knights, or squires, including 120 great lords that had each a banner of his own. Among the most distinguished prisoners, who were far less numerous than the slain of the same class, were the Duke of Orleans, the Count of Richemont, the Marshal Boucicault, the Duke of Bourbon, the Counts of En and Vendôme, and the Lords of Harcourt and Craon. The loss of the English is differently estimated, but at the highest account it was only 1600 men, among whom were the Earl of Suffolk and the Duke of York, who, after his manifold treacheries, met a soldier's death—a more honourable fate than he deserved.

On the following morning, when the English left Maisoncelles, the king and the Duke of Orleans rode side by side, conversing in a friendly manner. The Count of Charolais, afterwards called Philip the Good, eldest son of the Duke of Burgundy, was at the castle of Aire, not far from the battle, in which he had been prevented taking a part by the strict orders of his father. When he heard the dreadful news he sent the bailiff of Aire and the abbot of Ruisseauville to superintend the burying of the French, while he attended in person the funeral of his two uncles, the Duke of Brabant and the Count of Nevers. The abbot and the bailiff bought twenty-five roods of land: here three immense pits were dug, and 5800 men were buried in heaps. Then the Bishop of Guines went down and sprinkled holy water, and blessed this vast sepulchre of the aristocracy of France. Many hundreds who had friends at hand were interred with more decency in the churches of the neighbouring country, or conveyed to their own castles. Thousands who had crawled from the field into villages, or into the neighbouring woods, were buried there, or left a prey to the wolves and the ravens.³

Almost sinking under the weight of their booty, the English conquerors marched slowly on towards Calais. Immediately on his arriving at Calais, Henry called a council. Sickness still prevailed in his skeleton of an army; famine and disease raged in all the neighbouring provinces of France; he had not only saved his honour, but gained the greatest military glory; he wanted men—he wanted money. All these considerations pointed homeward, and the council determined that the best thing for him to do was to return to England. Accordingly he set sail forthwith, carrying with him a host of royal and noble captives. The people of England were literally mad with joy and triumph. At Dover they rushed into the sea to meet him, and carried him to shore on their shoulders. At Canterbury, at Rochester, at every town he passed or approached, they went

¹ "Chronicle A," as quoted by Sir H. Nicolas. ² *Monstrelet*.

³ "Chronicle A;" *St. Rémy* [another eye-witness of the battle]; *P. Févin*; *Elmhams*; *Monstrelet*; *Villaret*; *Barante*; *Nicolas*.

out by thousands to meet him and do him honour. At Blackheath, he was met by the lords, commons, and clergy, the mayor, aldermen, and citizens of London, who conducted him in triumph into the capital, where wine ran like water in the streets—where every house was decorated, and every voice raised to greet him with a joyous huzza.¹

In the first heat of this enthusiasm, parliament voted all the supplies he asked for, and even conferred on him for life the subsidy on wool and leather,² a measure which had been already so bitterly repented of in the case of Richard II. But Henry, with all his fondness for conquests abroad, betrayed no arbitrary inclinations at home, and he used this concession so moderately as to give universal contentment.

A.D. 1410. In the spring of this year, Sigismund, King of the Romans and emperor elect, came to England on a visit to Henry. The object of Sigismund's visit was to put an end to the schism in the church, where two popes were fiercely contending against each other, and to reconcile, if possible, the Kings of France and England. He was followed to the English court by French ambassadors, and by William of Bavaria, Count of Holland and of Hainault. The mediation between the two sovereigns ended in nothing.

Henry made a very favourable impression, however, on the mind of his imperial guest, the effects of which were seen some years later. During Sigismund's visit the French, after losing much valuable time, besieged Henry's new conquest, Harfleur, both by land and water. The Earl of Dorset, the governor, who had but a small and unhealthy garrison, sent to England for succour; and the Duke of Bedford, the king's brother, immediately sailed from Rye with such ships as were ready. On the eve of the 14th August, the duke came in sight of the mouth of the Seine, where he found more formidable enemies than he had expected, for the French had procured the assistance of some great caracs from Genoa, and some galleys, balingers, and other large high-decked vessels from Spain, all of which were advantageously posted. The duke lay to for the night: most of the captains of his fleet went on board his ship during the night and concerted the plan of the battle. But the imprudence of the French rendered any deep plan unnecessary: on the morning of the 15th they left their good moorings and their allies, the Genoese and Spaniards, and sailed out to attack the English. Two of their best ships were almost instantly taken, and the rest soon found that they had done wrong in committing themselves in the open sea without their friends. The battle, however, was long,

and fierce, and perilous. When the duke had bented the French, he made for the Genoese caracs, which stood so high in the water that their decks were a full spear's length above the decks of his ships: in spite of this difficulty, they were all carried by boarding; and, in the end, a most brilliant naval victory was gained. Most of the ships were taken; some were sunk; a few escaped by running up the Seine into shallow water; the land troops raised the siege and fled. The duke, when he had fully executed his commission, and put Harfleur in a good state of defence, returned to England.³

In the month of September, Henry, with his guests Sigismund and William of Bavaria, went over to Calais, where a sort of congress was held, at which the Duke of Burgundy, the irreconcilable enemy of the now prevalent party in France, attended in person, apparently well inclined to forget that two of his brothers had been slain at Azincourt.⁴ Jean Sans-peur, who was smarting under some recent insults received from Paris, and who was brother-in-law to William of Bavaria, Count of Hainault, whom Henry had completely captivated, spent nine days at Calais in constant intercourse with the King of England and the emperor, and if he did not *then* actually acknowledge Henry's rights to the throne of France, and conclude a treaty (the protocol of which was drawn up and still exists), he certainly accustomed his mind to those ideas.

When the secret congress at Calais broke up, Henry returned to England to raise and organize an army, properly provided with all means of attack. It was the month of August in the following year (1417) before Henry again landed in France.

With the fearful lesson taught them at Azincourt, with nearly two whole years which they had had since to reflect upon it, one might have expected that the French would have learned some wisdom, and have reconciled themselves with one another, and prepared to defend their country against one who had proved himself so redoubtable an enemy. But no; this frantic and demoralized aristocracy would not be taught even by misfortune, and in the way of cure the copious blood-letting of Azincourt had been thrown away upon them. Many of the Bourguignons even rejoiced that the Armagnacs had been so thoroughly beaten by the English. The people of Paris mur-

¹ *Eltham; Monstretet; Holl; Holishead.*

² At first, however, Jean Sans-peur had been very violent, and had even sent Henry his gauntlet, defying him *à feu et à sang*—for that he had caused the death of his brother, the Duke of Brabant, who was not a vassal of France. As for his other brother, the Count of Nevers, who had equally fallen at Azincourt, he said he could have no grudge against Henry on his account, inasmuch as he (Nevers) was the King of France's mar, had armed for him, and had perished in his quarrel. Such were some of the nice distinctions of feudalists!

¹ *Em.; Liv.; Store; Holishead.*

² *Rot. Parl.*

nured against the crimes and imbecilities of their princes; and some severer moralists affirmed, as the King of England had done, that the monstrous disorders and vices which prevailed in all classes and conditions had drawn down the vengeance of Heaven.

The government seemed to occupy itself much more about the Duke of Burgundy, who was still bent on expelling the Armagnacs, than about the English. They wanted the army which that powerful prince had assembled, but they wanted it without the duke; and while they begged for his troops, they continued to oppress and persecute his partizans in Paris. The Count of Armagnac, father-in-law of the now captive Duke of Orleans, was recalled from the south, and placed at the head of affairs. He insulted the Duke of Burgundy with the offer of a pension and the government of Picardy for his son, forbidding him to approach Paris. The duke marched to Troyes. There he received orders, in the king's name, to disband his troops; but, taking no heed of them, he continued to march upon Paris. At the end of November, 1415, he established his headquarters at Lagny, only six leagues from the capital. He had with him Caboche, and the other furious butchers; but his party, and these men's fraternity, were overawed in Paris by the Armagnacs. While he lay at Lagny, the dauphin fell sick, and died. A report was immediately spread that he had been poisoned by the Armagnacs, who dreaded that he would make terms with his father-in-law the Duke of Burgundy. The duke then demanded his daughter, who was still living in confinement away from Paris: the Armagnacs sent him the young lady, but they could return neither her dower nor her jewels. The Count of Armagnac, who was now Constable of France, put Paris in such a state of defence that Jean Sans-peur would not venture to attack it; and thus foiled a second time, he withdrew his army and went into Flanders in the month of February, 1416. The Armagnacs used their victory without discretion; they imprisoned their opponents or drove them into exile: at last they thought of driving the English out of Harfleur; we have seen the result of their expedition. Prince John was now Dauphin of France, and the Duke of Burgundy hoped to be enabled to seize the government in the name of this youth. A plot in his favour was discovered at Paris during the absence of the Count of Armagnac at Harfleur. The objects of the conspirators, if we can believe their enemies, were atrocious. The principal of them that were taken were—Orgemont, a canon of Paris; Belloy, a rich cloth merchant; and Regnaud, a curate and master of arts. Belloy and Regnaud were beheaded, but Orgemont, being claimed by the chapter of the cathedral, after being brought to

the scaffold, was sent to a dungeon to feed on bread and water for life, and he soon died a most miserable death. The Count of Armagnac returned from his luckless expedition to Harfleur in a savage humour. He deprived the city of most of its privileges, abolished the fraternity of butchers, and adopted precautions which convey a strange notion of the condition of that metropolis. To specify nothing more, even bottles and flower-pots were prohibited, as they might be thrown from the windows upon the heads of the soldiers. As blood began to be spilt, the Bourguignons stole out of the city and joined the exiles, who now formed an army both numerous and desperate. In the summer of 1416, advancing from the frontier of the Duke of Burgundy's state of Artois, they ravaged the whole country as far as the walls of Paris. Jean de Poix, learning that the king was at St. Germain-en-Laye, got, with 400 men in disguise, into that place, and nearly succeeded in carrying off the king and the Chancellor of France. In the month of August, De Solré seized one of the gates of Paris, threw the whole city into consternation, and then burned some of the châteaux in the neighbourhood. At the same time, troops of Savoyards, Lombards, and Germans, who had been brought into France to fight for one or the other faction, finding themselves paid by neither, scourged the country, plundering and destroying. Even the troops nominally in the pay of government lived at large on the unhappy people; and, in the midst of all these horrors, a set of brigands, called "Begeaux," sprang up, and added to the universal disorder by committing all sorts of atrocities. An order, which the Constable Armagnac issued in the king's name, only augmented the prevailing cruelty. It authorized every man to pursue the foreign adventurers and the brigands like wild beasts, and to burn or slaughter them, without any form of trial, or without caring for inquisition on the part of the laws. Indeed, it was made evident even at this crisis, that the Armagnacs were almost exclusively animated by their desire of vengeance on the rival faction. Raymond de la Guerre, whom the constable sent to Noyon, loaded all the trees in that neighbourhood with noblemen and gentlemen of the Bourguignon party, whom he hanged as fast as he caught them.

Affairs were in this state, when the Duke of Burgundy attended the congress at Calais, where, at the very least, he listened with an attentive ear to the projects of the King of England. Yet, on leaving that conference, he went to Valenciennes and swore fealty to John, the new dauphin, engaging to assist him against all his enemies, and especially against the English. As the dauphin was detached from the Armagnac party, and had thrown himself, in a manner, into the power of

the Bourguignons, the duke was probably sincere in these engagements. There was, however, nothing in his character to remove suspicion of his being anxious to have two strings to his bow. When summoned in the name of his father by the Armagnacs to return to Paris, the young dauphin refused, unless he were permitted to bring the Duke of Burgundy and his friends with him. Soon after this, at the beginning of 1417, the dauphin fell suddenly sick, and died at Compiègne. It was given out that his death had been caused by an abscess in the ear and neck; but nobody believed this report; and, in a fulminating letter which Jean Sans-peur addressed to all the good towns of France, he openly charged his enemies with having poisoned his nephew. The Dauphin John was succeeded by his brother Charles, who, though not sixteen years of age and possessed of no abilities of a high order, was exceedingly crafty. Hitherto his mother Isabella had shared in the power of the prevailing faction; but great jealousies had arisen between her and the Count of Armagnac; and when Charles put in his claim for a part of the authority, there was none left for the queen. The crazed king, content with his own vulgar mistress, had been perfectly indifferent to the infidelities of his wife. In the events we have now to relate, it is evident that he was directed by other minds; but it is not certain whether the impulse was given by the Count of Armagnac, or by the new Dauphin Charles, or by both. The approach of age had not moderated the tastes of the queen; her court was notorious for looseness and immorality: and what shocked the people more, it was the constant scene of profusion and extravagant expense, of balls, masquerades, and all kinds of fêtes, even in the midst of foreign and domestic wars, famine, and pestilence. Wholly separated from her husband, she lived chiefly at Vincennes, where she had a strong guard for her protection, commanded by the Sires de Gravelle, De Giac, and De Bois-Bourdon—the last being her paramour. Of a sudden the king complained of these irregularities. Bois-Bourdon was arrested at his order by the provost of Paris, carried to the Châtelet, and put to the torture, under which it is said that he confessed many sad crimes. In the end, the unlucky favourite was thrown into the Seine sewed up in a leather bag, which bore this inscription:—"Let pass the justice of the king." Many of the queen's servants were arrested or forced to flee, and, a few days after, Isabella herself was seized and conveyed to Tours, where she was kept a prisoner. Some treasure which she had left in Paris and Melun was discovered, and appropriated by the Count of Armagnac and the Dauphin Charles. Ever since the murder of her former lover, the Duke

of Orleans, the queen had been the implacable enemy of the murderer, the Duke of Burgundy; but now her recent wrongs prevailed over her old injuries, and though watched by many spies, she found means to open a correspondence with the Duke of Burgundy, in order to avenge herself on the Constable Armagnac and her own son Charles.

The situation of the constable now became critical—the fulminating letter of his rival had produced a great effect; and while the Bourguignons were collecting from all sides, he learned that the English had landed. The common report was, that the treaty had really been signed at Calais between Henry and Jean Sans-peur: this the constable firmly believed, and circumstances certainly went to confirm this conviction; for at the moment that Henry had disembarked his army on the coast of Normandy, the duke began his march upon Paris, vowing that he would exterminate the treacherous, poisoning Armagnacs with fire and sword. The constable showed little wisdom at this crisis. The only precaution he took against the English was to throw some foreign mercenaries into Rouen.¹

When Henry landed unopposed at Touque, in the beginning of August, he had with him the finest army that England had ever sent into France. There were 16,000 men-at-arms, from 14,000 to 16,000 archers,² a body of artificers of all kinds, and another body of sappers and miners: the army was provided with a train of artillery and military engines, and, with its followers of all kinds, must have amounted to 40,000 men at the least. Touque, Auvillers, and Villers surrendered after very short sieges; Caen was taken by assault; Bayeux surrendered spontaneously; and L'Aigle, Lisieux, Falaise, and other towns and castles, were reduced in a very short time. As winter set in, Henry betook himself to comfortable quarters; his plan being not to proceed into the interior of France, until he had reduced all the important fortresses in Normandy. The distracted French court sent humbly to propose a peace or truce, but he would grant neither, except on the following conditions:—1. That the Princess Catherine should become his wife. 2. That he should be presently declared regent of France, and successor to the throne upon Charles' death.³

It was during this winter that Sir John Oldcastle, who had been living in safe concealment in Wales, rushed upon his fate. Smarting under persecution, the Lollards, it is said, invited the

¹ *Montrelet; Juvenal; P. Fénis; Villard; Barante.*

² Many of the archers were mounted, as in the preceding campaign, but their horses were rather for the march than the battle. This, indeed, may also be said of the horses of our knights, who, in these wars, almost invariably dismounted and fought on foot.

³ *Rymer.*

Scots into England, and engaged to join them. It is certain that the Duke of Albany and Earl Douglas advanced and laid siege to the castles of Berwick and Roxburgh, and that Sir John Oldcastle showed himself about the same time in the neighbourhood of London, where his name was still revered by many. The Scots, however, were obliged to retreat on the approach of the regent, the Duke of Bedford; and after this, Oldcastle, fleeing from St. Alban's, endeavoured to gain his former hiding-place. But he was taken, after a gallant resistance, on the borders of Wales, and arraigned before the House of Lords, who condemned him to be hanged as a rebel and burned as a heretic. This sentence was executed in the month of December, in St. Giles' Fields. The old soldier, whom persecution had driven into rebellion, if he actually was a rebel, died with great courage. Henry was so far fortunate, that his absence saved him from the odium—perhaps the anguish—of signing the death-warrant of the chosen companion of his early years.¹

A.D. 1418. Some of Henry's operations of siege or blockade had been prosecuted during the winter; in the spring he received a reinforcement of several thousand men, among whom were a great many Irish, whose singular dress, or *undress*, and whose primitive manners, made a great impression on the French. He now conducted several sieges at once. Cherbourg on the coast, Damfront in the interior, fell about the same time. Then advancing to the left bank of the Seine, he made himself master of the whole of the lower part of that river from Louviers to the sea. He besieged and took the town of Louviers; Pont de l'Arche was obliged to open its gates; and by the beginning of July he was master of the whole of Lower Normandy. Though left entirely to their own resources, the population had made a brave resistance: many of the great lords were glad to make private treaties with the invader, but the people of the towns everywhere did their best to resist him, and maintain the independence of their country. Henry, however, took no savage vengeance on the people of Normandy for their obstinate resistance; on the contrary, he tried to gain their good-will by popular acts of government; he abolished the odious tax upon salt, which the French court had imposed; he put an end to irregular and illegal exactions; and to the towns and the individuals that swore fealty to him he distributed honours and employments.²

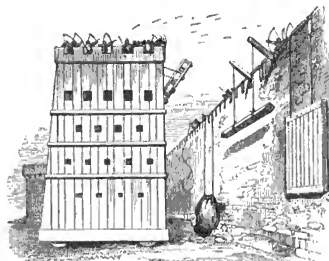
After taking Pont de l'Arche, on the left bank of the Seine, Henry carried his main force over that river, and laid siege to Rouen. This was one of the greatest operations of the kind that

had been attempted in those ages. Rouen, the capital of Upper Normandy, was strongly fortified: on two of its sides it was washed by the Seine, and on all sides it was walled and defended by towers and batteries. Its fixed population amounted to above 150,000; but some of these had fled out of fear, and others had been expelled by the magistrates, on the principle that no families should remain excepting such as could lay in provisions for themselves for ten months. But if there had been a reduction of the timid and the poor, there had been an influx of men of bold spirits and better circumstances—gentlemen who had retired from Lower Normandy, and who were resolute on making a fresh stand against the conqueror behind the walls of Rouen. Fifteen thousand citizens had been well trained to the use of arms; foreign archers had been introduced; reinforcements of regular troops had been gradually accumulating, until there was a garrison of 4000 men-at-arms, besides bowmen, engineers, and sappers. The fortifications had been improved and strengthened—the suburbs burned—the neighbouring country reduced to a desert. Perhaps, in a military point of view, Henry's plans are open to criticism; for, if he had proceeded at first against Rouen, instead of spending his time on minor sieges, he might have taken it by a *coup-de-main*; the place having scarcely any regular garrison, and the citizens being then in a state of complete panic and disorder. As it was, when he sat down before it (on the 30th of July) he found it fully prepared to receive him; and so high was the spirit of the garrison, that they came forth and made part of his army fight a battle before they could take up positions proper for the siege. He soon perceived that such a strong place, defended by such forces, was not to be taken by assault, but to be reduced by slower means. He drew lines round all the land sides of the city; he dug deep ditches all round, so that his camp might be safe, and his men might pass from point to point without any fear of the artillery and arrows from the city walls; he erected wooden towers, and placed batteries of cannon in the most commanding parts of his lines, adopting every precaution against the effect of sorties and bombardment. Before these works were completed—and they took a long time, as they extended over an irregular line of more than two miles—many sallies were made by the garrison, and many high deeds of arms were performed on both sides. But as Henry continued to reinforce his besieging army, and to bring up great numbers of labourers to work in the trenches, the circumvallation proceeded at an accelerated pace; and, when it was finished, the besieged could neither attack with any effect nor receive any provision or succour from the land

¹ Rot. Parl.: Rymur: Walsingham; Elmham; Stow.

² Monstrelet: Walsingham; Elmham.

side. At the same time, to cut off all hope of supply from the upper part of the river, he kept a good garrison at Pont de l'Arche, stationed troops along the banks and on the islets of the Seine, drew a triple chain of iron across the



ANCIENT WAR ENGINE.¹—Grose's Military Antiquities.

stream, and threw over it a bridge of boats well manned with archers just above the town. In the lower part of the river he had 200 small vessels constantly sailing to and fro, and the mouth of the river was guarded most carefully by the garrison of Harfleur and by a strong fleet. But in order to be still more sure, he drew another triple chain of iron across the river a little below the town. The fort of St. Catherine, situated upon a steep cliff of white chalk above the town, he compelled to surrender; but whenever he spoke of terms of capitulation to the garrison of Rouen, he was boldly assured that they would never yield so long as they had strength in their arms to hold their swords. Nothing could prevail but famine; and this was inevitable.²

Meanwhile the Duke of Burgundy, whom we left in full march for the capital, was received in all the towns through which he passed as a deliverer; for he promised to restore peace, and abolish the gabelle and other oppressive taxes. Beyond Paris, Chalons, Troyes, Auxerre, and many other of the principal cities, contracted an alliance with him; but Paris itself, which had been completely purged of Bourguignons, closed its gates and manned its ramparts; and he was told again, that, if the English were to present themselves at one gate and he (the duke) at another, they would rather open the gate to the English than to him. After taking some castles, and burning all that was left to burn in the neighbourhood, the duke began to besiege Paris; but he

was foiled a third time. His party, however, was strengthened in public opinion by the arrival of two embassies to him—the one from the Emperor Sigismund, who assured him of his friendship; the other from the college of cardinals, who treated with him as with the real representative of the government of France—seeing that the king was “too much pre-occupied and hindered” by his malady, the dauphin too young, and the Count of Armagnac schismatic. He received a message also from Queen Isabella, who was still a prisoner at Tours, imploring him, now that he had shut up his enemy, the Count of Armagnac, in Paris, to hasten to her relief. He suddenly left Corbeil, on the Seine, which he was besieging, and rode rapidly across the country to the banks of the Loire, accompanied by his principal lords and knights, and the best-mounted of his men-at-arms. He stopped in a wood at the distance of five or six miles from Tours, and sent forward a troop of horse, which lay concealed outside of the town,

while a secret messenger went to inform the queen that her deliverers were at hand. Isabella represented to her keepers that she was anxious to hear mass that morning at the abbey of Marmontier, a very short distance from the city, and, after some slight difficulty, she was permitted to go with three of her keepers. As soon as she entered the abbey, the duke's officer rode up to the church door with sixty horsemen. “Flee, madame,” cried her guardians, “for here is a great troop of English or Bourguignons!” But the queen advanced with a smiling countenance to the officer, and the duke arriving presently after with his whole force, she saluted him as her “most dear cousin,” and placed herself under his protection. They had a joyous dinner together at the abbey; and then the queen sent to tell the people of Tours that they must admit her and the Duke of Burgundy within their walls. After some hesitation, both town and castle were put into the hands of the queen and the Bourguignons. From Tours the queen and the duke proceeded in triumph to Chartres, whence, on the 12th of November, Isabella wrote to all the “good towns,” telling them that, by the aid of her very dear cousin, she had recovered her power as regent of the kingdom. She then caused a great seal to be engraved, and appointed a chancellor and other high officers of state. The duke left her majesty at Chartres, and rode back to the neighbourhood of the capital, and after placing strong garrisons in the towns near Paris, returned to Chartres to the queen, who, on the 12th of January, appointed him governor-general of the whole kingdom. By this time the court of Isabella was crowded with princes and great lords. Most of the towns, ex-

¹ This cut shows the siege tower, with its battering ram and the draw bridge for storming; also some of the means of defence against the ram, as the noose, the woolpack, the heavy beam, and the timber shield or fender.

² *Monstrelet; Blunham.*

cept those that were taken or besieged by the King of England, declared for the queen and the duke: the people rose in many places, and killed the tax-gatherers appointed by the other party, shouting, "Long live Burgundy, and no taxes!" Thus passed this critical winter and part of the spring, the two factions scarcely bestowing a thought on the progress the English were making in Normandy.¹

On the other hand, the Count of Armagnac was not a man to abandon his authority without a struggle, and he made a hard one. His captains, Barbazan and Tanneguy-Duchâtel, issued from Paris, and took several towns and castles from the Bourguignons, giving no quarter to the garrisons.

At last, some persons about the king and dauphin began to speak of the necessity of putting an end to this state of things by a family peace and general reconciliation; and the Bishop of Paris had the courage to open a correspondence with the Duke of Burgundy to that effect. The dauphin, too, who was tired of his servitude under the Armagnacs, sent ambassadors to treat with the agents of the duke and of his mother the queen. For several successive days these envoys met at the village of La Tonbe; and their negotiations were facilitated and hastened to a conclusion by the arrivals of the Cardinals Ursini and St. Mark. On the 23d of May the negotiators signed a treaty (subject to ratification), the effect of which would have been to place the whole power of the government in the hands of the Duke of Burgundy and the queen. The people of Paris were overjoyed at the news; but not so was the Count of Armagnac, who, relying on the strong garrison he had in the city, resolved to oppose the family peace, which would have deprived him of all authority. He had the idiotic king and the young dauphin in his hands; he had a council of ministers (such as it was) and a chancellor, who, together with several bishops then in Paris, denounced the family peace as highly dishonourable to the *majesty* of Charles. But, notwithstanding his proscriptions, the count was not safe; for all the people left in Paris, from fierce Armagnacs had become Bourguignons. His men-at-arms had long grievously insulted the burghers: a blow given to the son of a rich iron-merchant sealed their doom and that of their master. On the night of the 25th May a party of young citizens opened the Porte St. Germain-des-Prés to L'Isle-Adam, a devoted partizan of the Duke of Burgundy, who rushed through the gate with the whole garrison of Pontoise. L'Isle-Adam's force separated into three divisions, and ran through the principal streets shouting "Our Lady of

Peace!—Long live Burgundy!—Let those who are for peace take up arms and follow us!" Most of the poorer sort threw on their clothes and joined the Bourguignons. Surprised in the middle of the night, the Armagnacs could make no resistance: the count fled out of his lodging and hid himself. Tanneguy-Duchâtel—a Breton, and the most determined of all the Armagnacs—ran to the dauphin, wrapped him up in his bed-coverings—for there was no time to spare for his dressing—and carried him off to the Bastille. He was scarcely gone when the mob broke into the dauphin's apartments, and bound all his gentlemen and servants. They then burst into the houses of all the chiefs of the Armagnac party, pillaged them, and threw their occupants into prison. Strange to say, only three lives were sacrificed during this first night. L'Isle-Adam in person broke open the gates of the Hotel St. Paul, where the king was lodged, and presented himself to his majesty, who was lying in bed, sick as well as crazed. "How fares my cousin of Burgundy?—it is long since I saw him," said the unhappy prince; and this was all he said, notwithstanding the surrounding uproar. As soon as it was day they carried him down to the court-yard, put him upon a horse, and led him to and fro through Paris, "to make it appear to the ignorant that they had his sovereign approbation for all that they were doing." The reason and memory of the poor phantom of royalty were gone, and he seemed not to know or to care about the difference between Armagnacs and Bourguignons. In the course of the morning L'Isle-Adam endeavoured to stop the plunder and disorder; but he threatened with death all such persons as should conceal that atrocious traitor the Count of Armagnac. Upon this, a poor mason, in whose house he had taken shelter, betrayed the count, who was seized and shut up in the prison of the Châtelet. On the 11th of June, Tanneguy-Duchâtel, who had collected 1600 men in the Bastille, made a sortie in the hope of recovering Paris; but the people fell upon him from all sides, and assailed him from their windows and house-tops. Among the cries heard on this occasion was that of "Long live the King of England!" The Armagnacs killed a good many of the poorer burghers of the street St. Antoine; but, in the end, the fierce Breton was obliged to run back to the Bastille, having lost upwards of 400 men. The people had now arms in their hands and rage in their hearts; they massacred all the Armagnacs they could find in the city; and even women and children were seen dragging and mutilating the wounded and the dead. Tanneguy-Duchâtel, thinking the Bastille no longer a place of safety, fled by night, and carried the dauphin to the town of Bourges, in the centre of France. The

¹ *Juvenal des Ursins; Fécuz; Montrelet; St. Rémy.*

starving and brutalized peasants of the neighbourhood flocked into Paris to take part in the carnival of blood and plunder; and when the exiled butchers were seen prowling about the streets, it was understood that all mercy had fled. There was, however, a pause in the massacre; for L'Isle-Adam and other Bourguignon chiefs found it more profitable to keep the Armagnacs alive and exact ransoms for them.¹ The prisons were crammed already, so that the new captives were shut up in private houses.

All this time the Duke of Burgundy and the queen kept themselves at a distance; the duke was at Montbelliard, holding a conference with the emperor; the queen was at Troyes, and it was said, and believed at the time, that she told a deputation which was sent to her, that she would never return to Paris while so many Armagnacs were left living there. Although Tanne-guy-Duchâtel was a fugitive, and 150 miles off, it was reported that he was about to return with a great force to liberate the Armagnac prisoners, and massacre the Bourguignons and all that lived in Paris—men, women, and children. False alarms were repeatedly given at the dead of night; the people were deprived of their sleep, and kept in a constant agony of anxiety and fear, than which nothing is more likely to dispose the popular mind to cruelty. On the night of Sunday, the 12th of June, the cry ran through Paris that the enemy were at the gates. "Ah!" said some, "the town and the burghers will never have quiet so long as there remains one Armagnac alive here." These words were like a spark thrown among gunpowder; the people took an oath that they would exterminate the prisoners; and then shouting "Peace for ever!—Long live the Duke of Burgundy!" they went to the prisons. L'Isle-Adam threw himself before them with 1000 horse, but the people were 40,000 or 50,000; and the Bourguignon was not disposed to encounter danger in opposing their blind fury. The mob broke open the prisons and private houses where the Armagnacs were confined, and massacred all the prisoners, not sparing even the babe at the breast. One of the first victims was the Count of Armagnac, whose naked and disfigured corpse was dragged about the city by women and children for three days. The slaughter lasted from four o'clock in the morning till mid-day, in which time about 1500 persons perished. On the next day, and for many following days, murders were executed more in detail. At last, on the 14th of July, the queen and the Duke of Burgundy made their triumphant entrance into Paris. The streets, literally wet

with blood, were strewn with flowers before them, and they presented themselves together to the wretched king, who received his wife "pleasantly." The duke organized a sort of government, but he was unable to stop the popular fury; and both he and the queen had still victims of their own to sacrifice. The murders continued for several days after their entrance, and then, with great craft, they contrived to destroy the leaders of the murderers, and pacify the people. The total number of those that perished during the months of June, July, and August, exceeded 5000.²

The queen and the Duke of Burgundy failed in some plots to get possession of the person of the dauphin, who remained at Bourges, in the midst of a strong party of Armagnacs. They then opened negotiations, offered him the conditions of the late treaty, and begged him to return to Paris. It is very doubtful whether the dauphin was disposed to trust his mother, and it is quite certain that the party in whose hands he was thought of anything rather than of peace and reconciliation. What they wanted was vengeance on the Bourguignons! The young Count of Armagnac, the son of the murdered constable, concluded a truce with the English, with whom he had been fighting in Guienne (for Henry had produced an active war in that distant province); and with a number of Gascon lords, relations or friends of his family, joined the dauphin, demanding justice. Tanne-guy-Duchâtel breathed nothing but death and destruction; and he is now to be considered as the real head of the party. The treaty was of course rejected. The dauphin took the title of regent, and constituted a parliament at Poitiers. The Duke of Burgundy then had recourse to the sword; and, while he waged a cruel war with the dauphin in the heart of France, he had to check the English in Normandy. There were thus two anarchical governments in France; the one at Paris, the other at Bourges or Poitiers, or in the camp of the dauphin. Each opened negotiations with the King of England; and Henry listened to both, and amused both, without neglecting the blockade of Rouen, which he had now well nigh reduced by famine. In the month of November he sent ministers to meet the envoys of the dauphin at Alençon. The French wished to carry on the negotiations in their own language; the English insisted that the Latin language should be used.³ The tone of the latter was such as is usually assumed by the ambassadors of a conqueror; they

¹ It is said that L'Isle-Adam obtained in this manner 100,000 crowns for his own share, and that the Lords of Chastellux and Bar got each as much.

² *Journal; St. Rémy; Journal de Paris; Mondrelet; Barante.*

³ Henry said that his ambassadors did not speak or understand French. In the end, it was agreed that all written documents should be in duplicate—one in French and one in Latin—and that the Latin copy should be the authority in all cases of misunderstanding or doubt.—*Rymar.*

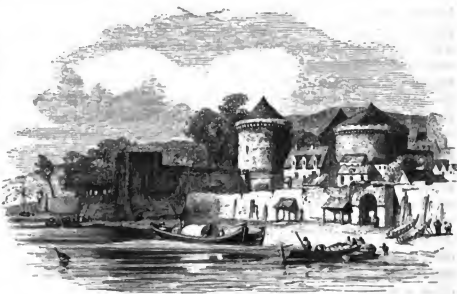
made the French disclose their intentions, but they would explain nothing themselves, and the conference ended by their expressing a very rational doubt whether, seeing the condition of France and the nonage of the dauphin, he could give proper security for the fulfilment of any treaty. A few days after this conference, Henry's ministers met the envoys of the Duke of Burgundy—nominally of the king—at Pont de l'Arche. Their conduct there was nearly the same as at Alençon; and, after diplomatizing for twelve days, the French envoys were dismissed, with the expression of another doubt on the part of Henry whether, seeing the malady of King Charles and the questionable authority of the Duke of Burgundy, he could safely treat with either.¹ At this time the cardinal-legate,

Ursini, visited the King of England in his camp before Rouen, and did his best to induce him to put an end to the war. "It is the will of Heaven," said Henry; "God has led me hither by the hand to punish the sins of the land, and to reign in it like a true king. There is no sovereign, no law, in France. I have just rights, and I shall go on, and put the crown of France on my head. It is the will of God."

The garrison and the citizens of Rouen, who had vainly implored assistance from Paris, held out with great constancy. The blockade was enlivened by many romantic incidents and bold feats of arms, but there was no Froissart living to record them. At length, when they had eaten everything, even to their horses and their dogs, and when many thousands had perished of famine and disease, they sent to ask for terms of capitulation.² Henry insisted on an unconditional surrender; but when the governor threatened to set fire to the city, he relented, and allowed the men-at-arms their lives and liberty, and the citizens their property and franchises. The men-at-arms, however, were made to swear that they would not serve against him for the next twelve months, and the citizens were bound to pay a contribution of 300,000 crowns. On the 16th day of January, 1419, Henry entered Rouen in triumph. The other cities and castles of the province now submitted, and the flag of Eng-

land floated over the whole of Normandy on both sides of the Seine.³

The fall of Rouen carried dismay into every corner of France. The people of Paris trembled within their walls; and the Duke of Burgundy



CASTLE ERECTED BY HENRY V. AT ROUEN.—From Jollinmont, *Mémoires des Plus Remarquables de la Ville de Rouen*.

and the queen, carrying the king with them, left the capital, and went to Lagny. People hoped that at such a crisis, when the King of England might be daily expected in Paris, the two factions would come to an understanding; but time passed without any visible fulfilment of these hopes. Indeed, both the Duke of Burgundy and the dauphin tried again to form a separate alliance with the English, each hoping, with Henry's assistance, to annihilate his rival, and, when the work was done and his assistance no longer needed, to destroy the King of England with the whole power of united France. Henry listened to both, occasionally using no small amount of diplomatic cajolery. The dauphin requested a personal interview, and Henry acceded to his wish; but, on reflection, the young prince, who had no great reliance on honour, feared to put himself in the power of the English, and did not keep his appointment. The Duke of Burgundy, who was informed of all that passed, thought that this was a favourable opportunity for him to treat; and he sent ambassadors, who found Henry at Rouen, "as proud as a lion" (said they). He did not, indeed, refuse to talk of peace, but he made war all the while; and, recrossing the Seine, he immediately marched along its left bank to Mantes, within fifty miles of Paris. The duke sent another embassy, and Henry made another march in advance to Vernon. But the conditions which

¹ Rymer; *Monstrelet*.

² The reported number of 50,000 victims at Rouen must be an exaggeration.

³ *Monstrelet*; *Klühn*; *Barante*.

⁴ This castle was founded by Henry V., and finished in the reign of Henry VI. It was named *Mul a'p' frotte*—"the hot neighbour." It was taken by Dunois in 1418, and destroyed in 1600.

the duke now offered seemed so advantageous, that the Earl of Warwick was despatched to Provins, where the king and queen and Burgundy were staying. On his road he was attacked by some forces of the dauphin, led on by the famous Tanneguy-Duchâtel; but, as the earl had the precaution to take a strong escort with him, his assailants were repulsed with loss. Warwick was received with great respect; the duke seemed to acknowledge that his master's demands were not inadmissible—that all difficulties might be removed by personal intercourse; and, at last, it was agreed that a truce should be concluded between the English and the Bourguignons, and that Henry should meet the King and Queen of France and the duke on the 30th of May. On the day appointed, Henry went with a splendid retinue to the place of rendezvous, which was on the right bank of the Seine, near the town of Meulan. Close to the water's edge there was an inclosure; on one side was a rich tent pitched for the King of England; on the other, a rich tent for the King of France; and between the two there was a third tent, in which the interviews were to take place. Henry entered the inclosure first; the queen, the Princess Catherine, and the Duke of Burgundy entered soon after in great state. The wretched King of France was not presentable—they had left him behind at Pontoise. The etiquette of the scene was nicely managed; at a given signal of trumpets and clarions, the King of England and the Queen of France left their tents and advanced from opposite sides with slow and dignified steps. In the centre they met: Henry was attended by his brothers of Clarence and Gloucester; Isabella by her young and blooming daughter, and her cousin of Burgundy; each being followed at a respectful distance by thirty knights and sixteen councillors. Henry, who was in the very prime of manhood, and one of the handsomest and most graceful men of his age, bowed to the queen, took her hand, and embraced her; and "the like he did unto Madame Catherine." This was the first time of seeing his intended bride, and he was visibly struck with her beauty and grace, as her mother intended he should be. Having conducted the queen to her seat in the council-tent, Henry seated himself opposite to her and the princess; and then the Earl of Warwick opened the deliberations in a long speech in good French. The rest of the day was spent in formalities. Two days after, they met again with the same ceremonies, but Henry looked in vain for the beautiful Catherine—she was not there, nor was he permitted to see her again during these long conferences. The queen thus hoped to irritate his impatience; but, great as were the charms of her daughter, they could not move him from his

purpose. On this day, Henry presented his demands in writing. These were—the hand of the princess, the possession of Normandy, of his other conquests, and of the territories ceded by the treaty of Bretigny—all to be held without any dependence on the French crown. On these conditions, he was ready to resign his claims to that crown. The queen and the Duke of Burgundy pretended to deliberate for four or five days, when they admitted Henry's propositions as the basis of the treaty, but suggested eight new clauses on the part of the French king. Henry employed himself and his ministers for several days in giving explanations, and seeking some slight modifications.¹ The opposite party were most diplomatically slow; but Henry was not slow in perceiving that their object was to gain time. During all these deliberations, Henry resided at Mantes, on the left bank of the Seine; but the queen and the duke retired to Pontoise, on the right bank, and twenty-five miles nearer to Paris. Now, it was whispered that several of the leaders of the Armagnac party were seen going to and fro between Pontoise and the head-quarters of the dauphin, and it was known that a truce had been concluded between the two factions. Only seven meetings had been held in the tents at Meulan in the course of a whole month, and when Henry went to an eighth meeting, he had the place all to himself; for neither the queen and duke, nor any of their ministers, were there to meet him. The fact was, they thought that they had no longer any need of keeping up the farce; they had concluded a treaty with the dauphin, whose party was terrified into terms by the conferences of their rivals with Henry. A week after the interruption of the negotiations with the English at Meulan, the duke and the dauphin met, and kissed one another, at an appointed place between Meulan and Corbeil, on the road to Paris, where they swore eternal friendship, with an oblivion of all past quarrels and differences whatsoever. On the following day they proclaimed the conditions of this blessed peace, the principal object of which was, "to resist the damnable enterprise of the English, the ancient enemies of the king and of all Frenchmen." On the 12th of July, the princes parted, with every show of affection.²

When the news of the reconciliation reached the English quarters, everybody there appears to have been perplexed and disheartened except the king, who most probably was the man best acquainted with the insincerity of the dauphin and with the real condition of France. There were, however, contingent circumstances that might have intimidated a less daring mind. The King of

¹ *Romer; Livius; Elnham; Monstrelet.*

² *Monstrelet; St. Denis; Juvenel; Mémoires pour servir à l'Hist. de France et de Bourgogne; Barante; Villard.*

Castile had declared against him, and fitted out a great armament to conquer or to plunder Guienne; and the Regent of Scotland had also opened negotiations with the dauphin. But, nothing daunted, Henry crossed the Seine, and advancing upon Paris, took the populous town of Pontoise on the 27th of July. Here he found a great treasure, accumulated by L'Isle-Adam, during the recent massacre and proscription of the Armagnacs. The Duke of Burgundy was at St. Denis, only about fifteen miles off; but he was in no state to oppose the conqueror; and, fearing to trust himself in Paris, he withdrew in all haste with the king to Troyes. Henry, complaining of the cheat put upon him at Meulan, yet proposed again to treat; but now, he said, that in addition to the territories he claimed before, he must have Pontoise and all the country through which he had advanced. Meanwhile, his victorious troops scoured the neighbourhood of Paris, and frequently advanced to the gates of that city, within which reigned anarchy, famine, and disease. He might have taken possession of it with 1000 men-at-arms, for there was no garrison left to defend it. The two factions, whom oaths and promises had not reconciled, accused each other of treachery, and no union of their forces took place. The Duke of Burgundy invited the dauphin to join him and the court at Troyes: the dauphin invited the duke to another conference, as he had matters to discuss of the greatest importance "to the good of France." The duke replied, that it would be more simple and seemly for the dauphin to join the councils at Troyes; but the prince would not be moved, and at last, by the influence of his mistress, Madame de Giac, the duke was induced to leave the king and queen at Troyes, and go to Bray-sur-Seine. The dauphin was at Montereau, only two leagues distant; and Tanne-guy-Duchâtel went from him to propose that the interview should be held on the bridge of Montereau. The duke (said this crafty messenger) might have the castle and the right bank of the river; the dauphin would keep his people on the left bank. Tanne-guy was accompanied, among others, by the Bishop of Valence, whose brother, the Bishop of Langres, was with the duke. These two brothers discussed the subject of the meeting together; and the Bishop of Langres, either out of conviction or treachery, advised his master to accept the invitation. Jean Sans-peur hesitated for a while—for he knew the prevailing perfidy, and, probably, at this moment, his murder of the Duke of Orleans, twelve years ago, weighed heavily on his soul. But again the agency of his beautiful mistress was employed; and at last he agreed to meet the son of his king on the bridge of Montereau, on the 10th of September. On the 9th, Tanne-guy-Duchâtel received the solemn

oaths of the followers of the duke, that they would keep the good peace already sworn; and the duke sent Madame de Giac's husband, and another member of his court, to receive the like oaths from the people of the dauphin. Many of the old and faithful servants of Burgundy were against the duke's going, seeing that the dauphin was wholly surrounded by his deadliest enemies; but the duke then said that it was his duty to adventure his person for so great a blessing as that of peace. At the moment that he was about to mount his horse, several of his servants, by whom he appears to have been much beloved, again tried to dissuade him, and his family astrologer told him that if he went he would never return. But Jean Sans-peur vaulted into his saddle and rode to Montereau with about 400 of his followers. He halted in a meadow near the castle, and sent to tell the dauphin that he was at his orders. Tanne-guy-Duchâtel went to him from the prince, and assured him that his master was well content with him, and would thenceforward be governed by the duke's counsels. As if perjury enough had not been committed, the dauphin swore, "by the honour of a prince," that no treachery or violence should be committed; and it was agreed that he would meet the duke on the bridge with only ten noble knights, the duke, on his part, agreeing to take with him the like number, and no more. While these regulations were settling, a valet of the duke's, who had been into the castle to prepare the lodging, ran up to his master, and told him that of a certainty he would be betrayed. The duke turned to Tanne-guy and said, "We rely on your word, but in the holy name of God, are you sure of what you have promised us?" Tanne-guy replied that he was quite sure; that he would rather die himself than see any mischief befall the Duke of Burgundy. "Well, then," said the duke, "we will go, trusting in God and you."

As he was about to walk towards the bridge, another of his servants ran up to him, imploring him to be on his guard, as he had seen a great number of armed men gathering in some houses on the opposite bank, close to the river. At this intimation, the duke sent one of his courtiers to the river side; but this courtier was the Sire de Giac, who returned and assured him that there was nothing of the sort. The dauphin's people had erected strong barriers at each end of the bridge, and in the middle of the bridge a sort of gallery with a narrow door on either side. When the duke arrived at the barrier on the right bank, he was received by Tanne-guy-Duchâtel and the Lord of Beauvau. He made them remark, that he and his ten followers had no other armour or arms than their coats-of-mail and their swords; and laying his hand on Tanne-guy's shoulder,

said, "Here is what I trust in." "Let us to my lord the dauphin," said Tanneguy, "he is waiting;" and then, with his companion, he hurried the duke's attendants, and closed the barrier. Jean Sans-peur was caught as in a trap. When he reached the gallery in the middle of the bridge he found the dauphin already there; he took off his velvet cap, which he wore instead of his helmet, and bent his knee to the heir of the throne of France. At that instant the president of Provence whispered to the dauphin, and they then gave a wink to Tanneguy, who raised a battle-axe, and struck at the duke from behind. The Sire de Navailles raised his arm to defend his master; but the Viscount of Narbonne cried, "He who moves is a dead man;" and while Robert de Loire seized the duke from behind, William le Douteiller aimed a heavy blow at him with his sword, shouting, "Kill! kill!" The duke put his hand to his sword, but had no time to draw it; his left hand, which he raised to defend his head, was nearly cut off; and then Tanneguy, who had despatched Navailles, struck at him a second time with his axe, and with such effect, that he reeled and fell close at the feet of the dauphin. As he still breathed, two other nobles knelt down over his body, and lifting up his coat-of-mail, struck their swords under it into his bowels. Jean Sans-peur gave one short sigh, and was still for ever. D'Aulnay, another of his ten, had been grievously wounded in attempting to defend him; the Lord of Neuchâtel rushed across the bridge, vaulted over the barrier, and escaped; the other seven were beaten to the ground and made prisoners. Even before the duke was knocked down by the treacherous Tanneguy, the dauphin's men-at-arms left their hiding-places; and, by the time he had breathed his last, they threw open the barrier at the opposite end of the bridge, and charged the Bourguignons, who, taken by surprise, and surmising what had happened, fled back to Bray. On returning from the assault, these men-at-arms stripped the duke of his rich collar and of everything valuable that he wore. After this, they would have thrown the body into the Seine, but the curate of Montereau interfered, and had the corpse carried to a mill near at hand, from which it was transported on the following day, in the poor man's bier, to the church of Montereau.¹ Low as was the state of moral feeling in France, this most foul and treacherous murder excited an almost universal horror.² The city of Paris vowed to revenge the death of the duke—sent deputies to his son, and requested a truce from the English,

whom, from this moment, they accustomed themselves to consider as allies against the dauphin and his party. The heir of Jean Sans-peur, Philip, Count of Charolais, he who had attended to the interment of the dead at Azincourt, succeeded to all his father's states, and to the warm affection of most of his subjects, particularly the opulent citizens of Flanders, who engaged to assist him to the utmost in his vengeance. He was at Ghent when he first received the news of what had passed at Montereau. "Michelle," said he, turning to his wife, who was sister to the dauphin, "your brother has murdered my father." From Ghent he proceeded to Arras, where he received deputations from Queen Isabella, from the city of Paris, from Burgundy, and other parts; and he then began both to arm and to negotiate.

In a sort of family council it was determined that the first thing to do was to seek a close alliance with the King of England; and, accordingly, ambassadors were sent from Arras to Pontoise. Before this step was taken, the dauphin had applied to the same quarter; but, putting aside all considerations of the guilt and increasing weakness of that party, Henry clearly saw that his interests lay on the other side, and he was quite ready to engage to assist the young Duke of Burgundy on certain conditions. Moderation was not to be expected in these conditions; yet, such as they were, Philip was glad to accept them, and Queen Isabella sent to assure Henry that she and the council of government, acting in her husband's name, would ratify them. Henry demanded the hand of the Princess Catherine, the present regency of the kingdom, and the succession to the throne of France on the death of Charles. Duke Philip signed these preliminaries immediately, but some minor points of the negotiation were prolonged through the winter, during which few military operations were undertaken. There was also a separate treaty between the Duke of Burgundy and King of England, in which it was stipulated that one of Henry's brothers should marry a sister of Duke Philip; that the king and the duke should love and assist one another like brothers; that they would pursue together the dauphin and the other murderers; and, finally, that the king should assign to the duke, and Madame Michelle his wife, lands in France producing a rent of 20,000 livres. The modifications made to the first great treaty were—that Henry should settle an income of 20,000 nobles on his wife Catherine; that he should govern during the regency by the advice of a council of French-

¹ *Monstrelet; St. Denis; St. Pol; Mémoires, pour servir à l'Histoire de France et de Bourgogne; Barante.*

² The dauphin was not a child; he was seventeen years old at the time, and had had considerable experience of the world. The murderers of the duke remained for many years his dearest

friends—his favourite companions—and, even at last, he parted with them by force and with regret. De Glac and his wife immediately went and joined him, and were received with all the favour and honour he could bestow. We shall presently see De Glac figuring as his prime minister.

men; that he should lay aside the title of King of France for as long as Charles lived; that on his accession he should re-annex Normandy to the French crown; and that he should respect the established liberties of the parliaments, peers, nobles, cities, towns, communities, and all individuals whatsoever; and administer justice according to the laws and customs of France. In the month of April, the imbecile Charles, directed by the queen, and the Duke of Burgundy, who was by this time at Troyes, put his hand to the treaty; and at the end of the same month it was accepted, without the slightest opposition, by the parliament, the chamber of accounts, the university, the chapter, the provost, the municipality, and all the corporate bodies of Paris. They were all assured, on the part of the Bishop of Tournai, that the treaty had been concluded, not for vengeance, but in order to put a stop to the ruin of the kingdom and the shedding of blood—to raise the poor people from the horrible oppressions they were suffering—to restore a lawful government, with peace and tranquillity for all men. After this, there followed an eulogium of the King of England. The assemblies of Paris were assured that the king, the queen, the barons, and bishops, assembled at Troyes had beforehand fully informed themselves of the excellent virtues of the King of England, now regent of France—that he was reputed prudent, wise, a lover of peace and justice—that he maintained admirable discipline in his army, opposing all debauchery, driving from his camp all naughty women, protecting the poor people—that he was affable to all men, great or small—a severe defender of churches and convents—a friend of learned clerks—a prince of a very religious mind, and, it was added, of a very noble person and pleasing countenance.¹

In the month of May Henry marched to Troyes, with a splendid retinue and the finest corps of his army, amounting, however, to not more than 7000 men.² During the march he took the greatest pains to preserve discipline and good order. On the 20th of May he arrived at Troyes, outside of the gates of which he was cordially welcomed by the young Duke of Burgundy and a host of French lords, both ecclesiastic and lay. After a short rest he went to pay his respects to the King and Queen of France, whom he found in the church of St. Peter with Madame Catherine. Everything had been regulated beforehand, and Henry and the princess were affianced to each other on the spot. On the following day everything connected with the treaty of the "perpetual peace" was terminated; and parliament, barons, bishops, and people, seemed to vie with each other in the eagerness with which they acknow-

ledged Henry as regent, and took oaths to obey him. On the 2d of June the marriage ceremony was performed in the church of St. John at Troyes. The Archbishop of Sens officiated, and afterwards went to bless the nuptial bed. But on the mor-



RUE MOYENNE, TROYES.³—From *Voyages dans l'Ancienne France*.

row, Henry, after he had given a splendid repast, would not listen to those who proposed a series of tournaments and festivals. "I pray," said he, "my lord the king to permit, and I command his servants and mine to be all ready to-morrow morning to go to lay siege to Sens, wherein are our enemies, there every man may have jousting and tourneying enough, and may give proof of his prowess; for there is no finer prowess than that of doing justice on the wicked, in order that the poor people may breathe and live." On the morning he had fixed (only the second after his marriage), the "regent and heir of France," with his beautiful bride, marched from Troyes to Sens, which he took in two days. From Sens he marched, with the Duke of Burgundy, to Montereau, and laid siege to that town, which was taken by assault on St. John's Day. Upon entering the town, the Duke of Burgundy was led by the poor women to the church in which his father had been interred nine months before. The next day he caused the grave to be opened, and gazed with horror on the disfigured corpse; it was half naked; none of the jewels were left; but Philip found his breviary or prayer-book.

¹ Rymer; Elmham; St. Denis; Monstrelet.

² Monstrelet.

³ In the foreground is the church of St. John, and more distant those of St. Urbain and St. Peter.

The body was removed to be sumptuously interred at Dijon, the capital of Burgundy; and the body of the Bastard of Croy, who had been killed in the assault, was put into the vacant grave at Montreueu. De Guित्रy, the governor of Montreueu, held out in the castle, and insulted the English herald who summoned him to surrender. Upon this, Henry threatened to hang some of the prisoners he had taken in the town, and caused a gibbet to be erected for the purpose. The unhappy captives knelt down by the edge of the castle ditch, imploring the governor to surrender and save their lives. The governor was inflexible, and so was Henry—the prisoners were hanged; and in eight days De Guित्रy was obliged to surrender the castle. The town of Villeneuve-le-Roy was also taken: and then the English and Bourguignons laid siege to the important and strongly fortified town of Melun, on the Seine. The dauphin had fled into Languedoc, where the party of his ally, the young Count of Armagnac, was strong: but Barbazan, Bourbon, and the bravest of his knights, had remained for the defence of Melun, which now stood a siege of more than four months, during which both besieged and besiegers suffered cruelly from sickness, and Henry lost nearly all his horses. The garrison surrendered on the 18th of November. During the siege Queen Isabella, with her husband and Queen Catherine, resided at Corbeil or in the English camp.

At the beginning of December the two kings, Henry and Charles, made a triumphant entry into Paris, amidst the acclamations of the multitude. The rich had assumed the red cross of England; the priests welcomed Henry by chanting "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord!" If Henry had come with a good convoy of provisions he would have been much more welcome; for, at the moment of all this parade, children were screaming through the streets that they were dying of hunger, and poor people were actually expiring on the dunghills. But they had suffered so much that they thought every change must be for the better, and the people entertained an exalted notion of the wealth and resources of the King of England. On the following day Queen Catherine and her mother made their solemn entry, and were equally well received. In the name of Charles the three estates of the kingdom were summoned to Paris. They met on the 6th of December, and unanimously gave their approbation to the treaty with the King of England.¹

A.D. 1421. Henry had great need of money, and this was only to be obtained from his subjects in England. In the month of

January he left Paris with his wife: on the day after Candlemas he took shipping, and landed at Dover, whence he proceeded by Eltham to London, where he was received with the most enthusiastic joy, and with such pageants and feasts as had never been seen in the land. On the festival of St. Matthew the fair lady Catherine was crowned Queen of England at Westminster Abbey: the coronation was most magnificent, and so was the feast that followed it in Westminster Hall.² The king and queen then made a progress through a part of England; but Henry's triumph was damped by the news of the defeat and death of his brother the Duke of Clarence, whom he had left governor of Normandy. The duke had made an incursion into the county of Anjou, which sided with the dauphin. On the 22d of March his vanguard was surprised by the united forces of the natives under La Fayette, and 5000 or 6000 Scots under the Earl of Buchan, the second son of the Regent of Scotland; and he was surrounded, defeated, and slain,³ before his archers could come up. The brave bowmen, however, arrived in time to recover his body and drive the allies from the field. At the same time, Jacques de Harcourt, from his strong castle of Crotoy, in Picardy, made continual excursions against the English both by sea and land: in the marches of Picardy, Poitou de Sainttraille and Vignolles, called La Hire, maintained a fierce partizan warfare; and the populace of Paris, seeing that their wants were not relieved by the new government, became so discontented and turbulent, that the Duke of Exeter, who commanded there, was obliged to employ his archers against them in the streets.

Henry saw that no time was to be lost, and the English nation had not yet opened their eyes to the madness of his enterprise. Parliament met him in the best of humours, and gave their ratification to the treaty of Troyes: the clergy voted him a tenth, and the lords and commons cheerfully authorized the raising of loans on the security of parliament. Henry left his wife at Windsor Castle, from the splendid solitudes of which he withdrew a royal captive. This was James Stewart, the accomplished King of the Scots, who had been detained sixteen years in England, his uncle the Duke of Albany and regent intriguing to prolong his captivity rather than to release him. Albany was now dead, but he had just been succeeded in the regency by his son Murdoch, who for a time seems to have been equally anxious to retain the exercise of royal authority. Not only was no effort made for the release of James, but the existing factions in Scotland would

¹ *Monstrelet: Fabian.*

² The Duke of Clarence, after being wounded by Sir William Swinton, was despatched with a battle-axe by the Earl of Buchan.

³ *Mémoires pour servir à l'Hist. de Fr. et de Bourg.: Pres. Hénault, Abrég. Chron. de l'Hist. de France; Rymer.*

perhaps have rendered that king's return to his country highly dangerous to himself. The positions of the great houses of the Earls of March and of Douglas were reversed: March had been restored to his forfeited estates and honours by the Duke of Albany, without consulting the parliament of Scotland; and Douglas declined influence. The regent had sent troops into France to assist the dauphin without declaring war against England; and while some of the barons approved of the measure, foreseeing in the conquest of France the subjugation of Scotland, others strongly condemned it. Archibald, Earl of Douglas, who had been for several years a prisoner in England in the time of Henry IV., readily listened to proposals which were sanctioned, and even warmly recommended, by his captive sovereign. He engaged to serve the King of England all his life against all men, except the King of Scotland, and to follow him to France with 200 men-at-arms and 200 archers, to whom Henry was to pay the usual wages, allowing Douglas £200 a-year for himself. The gallant king also agreed to serve in that war, Henry engaging to allow him to revisit Scotland three months after their return from France. Out of affection for James, Alexander, Lord Forbes, Alexander de Seton, Lord of Gordon, William Blair, and two other Scottish knights, each with a certain number of men, joined Henry's standard at Dover, where, by the beginning of June, 4000 choice men-at-arms, and about 24,000 archers, were collected in admirable array. These forces were landed, on the 11th and 12th of June, at Calais, whence 1200 men-at-arms were sent, by forced marches, to Paris, to reinforce the Duke of Exeter. Henry marched more leisurely to Montreuil, where he had a long conference with his ally, the young Duke of Burgundy, who soon after, while the English were employed near the banks of the Loire, defeated the Dauphinists at Mons-en-Vimeu, in the marches of Picardy, and took Saint-traille and some others of the bravest knights of that party. This victory was followed by the surrender of several places in the north-west. When Henry reached Paris, the dauphin was besieging Chartres, and some of his partizans were scouring the whole country between Chartres and the capital. But all this soon came to an end: the siege of Chartres was raised at the approach of Henry; Beaugency was taken by the English, and the dauphin was driven behind the Loire. Leaving the King of Scotland, in whom he appears to have had the fullest confidence, to prosecute the siege of Dreux, which capitulated on the 20th of August, Henry followed up the flying dauphin until he again took refuge in the strong town of Bourges in Berry. He then recrossed the Loire and returned to Paris. Allowing him-

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self a very short repose, he proceeded, in the month of October, to lay siege to Meaux, about thirty miles to the north-east of Paris. Within that place, which was one of the strongest in all France, was a chief who had made himself remarkable for his atrocities, and an object of wonderment even in those atrocious times, when cruelties were committed in all parts of the kingdom. The Bastard of Vaurus had been an adherent of the old Count of Armagnac, and to avenge his master's death, he became more ferocious and blood-thirsty than a tiger. Whenever a Bourguignon or an Englishman fell into his hands, he was massacred on the spot, or put to death by execrable torture. Henry carried the town by assault in ten weeks; but the Bastard and his garrison, who could expect little mercy, retired to a sort of acropolis, called the marketplace, where they made a long and a most desperate resistance. The dauphin wished to do something for the relief of these worthy allies, but he was not very courageous or adventurous; his troops, however numerous, dreaded to meet their adversaries in the field, and all that he did was to send the Sire d'Affemont to steal by night with some reinforcements into the besieged place. D'Affemont was taken prisoner by the English; and at last, in the beginning of the month of May, the place surrendered at discretion, and the Bastard of Vaurus was hanged. During this siege of seven months, Henry lost a considerable number of his brave warriors: the Earl of Worcester and Lord Clifford were killed by the enemy's artillery; others perished of an epidemic sickness; but the conquest of that important place left the English undisputed masters of the whole of France north of the Loire. While he was prosecuting the siege with wonderful perseverance, he was gladdened with the news that his wife Catherine had borne him a son, in Windsor Castle, on the 6th of December. On the 21st of May the queen, escorted by the Duke of Bedford, landed at Harfleur, whence she proceeded, with still increasing troops of noblemen, by way of Rouen, to the Bois de Vincennes, where she was received as some angelical person. On the great festival of Whitsuntide the two courts of Henry and Charles made a grand entry into Paris, and on that day King Henry and Queen Catherine kept their court in the palace of the Louvre, where they sat in their royal robes, with their imperial crowns on their heads.

Meanwhile the dauphin had collected in the south an army of 20,000 men, the command of which he intrusted to the Earl of Buchan, who still retained a considerable Scottish force. From Bourges Buchan advanced to the Loire, and, crossing that river, took the town of La Charité; then descending the right bank of the river, he

laid siege to the important town of Cosne, and reduced it to such straits that the garrison agreed to surrender if they were not relieved by a given day. Before Cosne, Buchan was joined by the dauphin. The Duke of Burgundy pressed Henry to march to the relief of the besieged place. The King of England never required much pressing on occasions like these, and though he was labouring under a severe illness, he left Paris at the end of July. As soon as the dauphin heard that he was in motion, he caused the siege to be raised, recrossed the Loire, and again threw himself into Bourges. But Henry's strength failed him on the march, and halting at Corbeil, about twenty miles to the south of Paris, he gave the command of his army to his brother, the Duke of Bedford, and throwing himself into a litter, was conveyed back to the Bois de Vincennes in the neighbourhood of the capital. The Duke of Bedford was about to cross the Loire when he was recalled by the unexpected news that the king his brother was dying. The duke arrived at Vincennes in time to receive his instructions and his last farewell.

Henry had much to attach him to life: his grand scheme of conquest seemed to be approaching a happy completion; he was King of France in fact, and the crown was within his grasp, for his wretched father-in-law was at last dying; he was the happy husband of a young and beautiful wife; he was a father; he was young himself, and until recently, when a mysterious malady attacked him, in the enjoyment of vigorous health and buoyant spirits. Yet, in spite of all this, he saw death approach with calmness. He felt no remorse for the blood he had shed in France, believing to the last that he had rights to the crown, and that he had been but an instrument in the hand of Providence. He felt some natural anxiety on account of his infant son, but even on this head he was supported by a confident hope in the wisdom, valour, and fidelity of his brothers and of his English subjects. On the day of his death, he summoned the Duke of Bedford, the Earl of Warwick, and some other great lords, to his bedside, and told them he saw it was the will of his Creator that he should quit this world: he bade them be of good cheer, and he comforted them with kind words, yet grave and full of meaning. He exhorted them to be true to his son as they had been to him, and to keep peace and amity among themselves during the long minority. He most earnestly recommended them to cultivate the friendship of his ally the Duke of Burgundy. He told them never to make a peace with Charles, calling himself dauphin, which did not stipulate for his surrender of all claims to the crown of France, or, at worst, for the grant to England of the duchies of Normandy and Aquit-

taine in full sovereignty. He cautiously warned them not to release the Duke of Orleans, or any of the French princes of the blood taken at Azincourt. During the minority of his son, he signified his wish that his brother the Duke of Gloucester should be regent or protector in England, and that his brother the Duke of Bedford, with the advice of the Duke of Burgundy, should be regent in France. His hearers, who did not share his equanimity, wept and sobbed while they vowed obedience to his dying injunctions, and promised to protect his wife and child. Feeling his end approach, he sent for his confessor and his chaplains, whom he directed to chant the seven penitential Psalms. When they came to the verse "Thou shalt build up the walls of Jerusalem," he stopped them, and said aloud, that he always intended, after he had wholly subdued the realm of France and restored it to peace and good order, to go and conquer the Holy City from the Saracens. Having expressed this intention, he allowed the priests to proceed, and a few minutes after, he calmly breathed his last, in the thirty-fourth year of his age and the tenth of his reign, on the last day of August, 1422.

It had been very usual to abandon the king as soon as the breath was out of his body, and even to treat his unconscious remains with disrespect; but Henry's nobles and officers resolved to give him a most magnificent funeral. In the first place, they caused the body to be embalmed, and then to be carried in great pomp to the church of Notre Dame, in Paris, where a solemn service was performed. The funeral procession, blackening all the way, then proceeded to Rouen, whither some of the nobles had previously conducted Queen Catherine, who had been kept in ignorance of the danger of the king, and knew not of his death until some days after it had happened. At Rouen it lay in state for several days. The coffin was then placed within a car drawn by four splendid horses. In this state the body was conveyed by slow journeys from Rouen to Abbeville, where it was placed in the cathedral of St. Ulftran, with rows of priests on each side of the coffin to chant requiems all through the night. During the slow, sad progress from town to town, the funeral car was preceded and flanked by heralds, persons bearing banners and achievements, and a host of men, all clad in white sheets, and carrying lighted torches in their hands; it was followed by the royal household in deep mourning, by some hundreds of knights and esquires in black armour, and plumes, with their lances reversed, and by the princes of the blood, and the King of Scotland, who acted as chief mourner. At about a league in the rear of all travelled the youthful widow, with a numerous retinue. The night after leaving Abbeville, they rested at Hesdin,

the next night at Montreuil, the next at Boulogne, and then at Calais, where a fleet was in readiness to convey them to Dover. From Dover they travelled by the usual road to London, where they arrived on Martimus Day. As the melancholy procession approached London, fifteen bishops in their pontifical attire, many mitred abbots and churchmen, with a vast multitude of persons of all conditions, went out to meet it. The churchmen chanted the service for the dead as it passed over London bridge and through the street of the Lombards to St. Paul's. After the obsequies had been performed at St. Paul's in

presence of the whole parliament, the body was carried to Westminster Abbey, and there interred near the shrine of Edward the Confessor.¹ "At this funeral," continues Monstrelet, who wrote some years later, "greater pomp and expense were made than had been done for 200 years at the burying of any King of England; and even now, as much reverence and honour are paid every day to his tomb as if it were certain that he is a saint in heaven."

We take this strong popular feeling as one proof that Henry had many fine qualities besides those of a mere warrior and conqueror.²

CHAPTER III.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1422—1431.

HENRY VI., SURNAMED OF WINDSOR.—ACCESSION, A.D. 1422—DEPOSITION, A.D. 1461.

Henry VI., infant son of Henry V., proclaimed king—The Duke of Gloucester appointed Protector of England, and the Duke of Bedford Regent of France—Henry VI. proclaimed King of France—Charles the dauphin also proclaimed King of France—Victory of the English over the French and Scots at Crevant—They are again victorious at Verneuil—The successes of the Duke of Bedford impaired by the folly of the Duke of Gloucester—Marriage of Gloucester to Jacqueline of Hainault—Umbrage of the Duke of Burgundy at the marriage—Dissensions in the court of Charles, the French king—Orleans besieged by the English—Victory of the English over the French and Scots at Rouvrai—Orleans reduced to the last extremity—Joan of Arc appears—Her early history—Her application to Charles—The examination held upon her claim to a Divine commission—She marches to the relief of Orleans—Dismay of the English at her coming—They are defeated, and compelled to raise the siege—Successes of Joan of Arc—Victory of the French over the English at Patay—Triumphant march of Charles to Rheims—His coronation—Appeal of Joan to the Duke of Burgundy—Perplexities of the Duke of Bedford—He is reinforced by Cardinal Beaufort—Indecisive operations in the field—Declining influence of Joan of Arc—Bedford resigns the regency of France to the Duke of Burgundy—Joan of Arc taken prisoner—She is tried as a sorceress—Her unjust and oppressive treatment—She is condemned and executed.



HE son of Henry and Catherine was not quite nine months old. As soon as his father's death was known in England, some of the bishops and lay lords issued commissions, in the name of Henry VI., to the judges, sheriffs, and other officers, autho-

rizing them to continue their respective duties, and summoned a parliament to meet in November. As soon as parliament was assembled, it laid claim to the right of regulating the regency. The Duke of Gloucester claimed the post of regent, because, in the absence of his elder brother, the Duke of Bedford, he was nearest in blood,

¹ Monstrelet: *Walsing.*

² "Power deemed to be ill gotten is naturally precarious; and the instance of Henry IV. has been well quoted to prove that public liberty flourishes with a bad title in the sovereign. None of our kings seems to have been less beloved, and indeed he had little claim to affection. But what men denied to the reigning king, they poured in full measure upon the heir of his throne. The virtues of the Prince of Wales [Henry V.] are almost inviolably eulogized by those parliaments who treat harshly his father; and these records afford a strong presumption that some early petulance or riot has been much exaggerated by the vulgar minds of our chroniclers. One can scarcely understand, at least, that a prince who was three years engaged in quelling the dangerous insurrection of Glendower, and who, in the latter time of his father's reign, presided at the council, was so lost in a cloud of low debauchery as common fame represents. Loved he certainly was throughout his life, as so intrepid, affable, and generous a temper well deserved; and this sentiment was heightened to admiration by successes still more rapid and dazzling than those of

Edward III. During his reign there scarcely appears any vestige of dissatisfaction in parliament—a circumstance very honourable, whether we ascribe it to the justice of his administration or to the affection of his people. Perhaps two exceptions, though they are rather one in spirit, might be made:—The first, a petition to the Duke of Gloucester, then holding parliament as Guardian of England, that he would move the king and queen to return as speedily as might please them, in relief and comfort of the commons; the second, a petition that their petitions might not be sent to the king beyond sea, but altogether determined 'within the kingdom of England during this parliament,' and that this ordinance might be of force in all future parliaments to be held in England. This prayer, to which the guardian declined to accede, evidently sprang from the apprehensions excited in their minds by the treaty of Troyes, that England might become a province of the French crown, which led them to obtain a renewal of the statute of Edward III., declaring the independence of this kingdom."—Hallam, *State of Europe during the Middle Ages*, vol. iii. pp. 143, 144.

and because the late king had named him regent on his death-bed. The lords, after searching the rolls and consulting with the judges, told the duke that this demand was contrary to the constitution, and that the late king had no power whatever to appoint a regent without the consent of parliament. They offered to appoint him president of the council in the absence of the Duke of Bedford, and to give him, not the title of regent, lieutenant, or tutor, but that of Protector of the realm and church of England—which title, they said, would serve to remind him of his duty. A few days after they proceeded to name a chancellor, a treasurer, a keeper of the privy seal, and a permanent council, which consisted of sixteen members, with the Duke of Bedford for president, the Duke of Gloucester to act for him, and to receive the salary of £5333 during his brother's absence from England. All these regulations and nominations received the assent of the commons, and the Duke of Gloucester was obliged to be satisfied with them. The care of the person and education of the young prince was afterwards intrusted to the Earl of Warwick and to Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, a half-brother of King Henry IV., who had also a high seat in the council.¹ After voting the continuance of the duty on wool, and tonnage and poundage for two years, the parliament was dissolved. With the exception of some movements on the Welsh borders, the accession of the infant king was perfectly peaceful.

In France, where there were no constitutional delicacies to be managed, the Duke of Bedford, who was deservedly popular with the army, was at once recognized as regent, and succeeded to the power, and nearly to all the consideration of his deceased brother.² He remained at Paris, or in the neighbourhood, surrounded by the Earls of Somerset, Warwick, Salisbury, Suffolk, and Arundel, Sir John Talbot, Sir John Fastolfe, and the other distinguished captains who had carried the military fame of England to so high a pitch in the preceding reign. In the month of October, Charles VI. expired at Paris. The dauphin, who was now in his twenty-first year, was in Auvergne, and in a very poor and reduced condition. As soon as the knights of his party received the news, they conducted him to a little chapel, raised

a banner with the arms of France upon it, and saluted him with cries of "Long live the king!" Such was the inauguration of Charles VII., who at the time was not master of a fourth part of the kingdom. The death of his father, however, gave him an immediate increase of moral strength, and he soon proceeded to the city of Poitiers, where he was crowned and anointed with some solemnity.

The Duke of Bedford, with the consent of the parliament of Paris, had proclaimed the infant Henry King of France; and while Charles was being crowned at Poitiers he held a great assembly in the capital, where the parliament, the university, the archbishop, the metropolitan clergy, the magistrates, and principal burghers, swore fealty to Henry. The same ceremony was performed in all the other great towns of France in subjection to the English, or to their ally the Duke of Burgundy. To secure the friendship of this prince, whose power nearly equalled that of the King of France, even when France was undivided, Bedford strictly adhered to the instructions of his dying brother, consulting the Duke of Burgundy upon all important affairs, and paying a politic deference to his judgment and better acquaintance with the feelings and habits of the French. He married the Duke's sister, Anne of Burgundy; and, by negotiating a marriage between another sister of the duke's, the widow of the deceased dauphin, and Arthur, Count of Richemont, brother of the Duke of Brittany, he hoped to secure the support and co-operation of the Bretons, who, in the time of Henry V., had been only neutral. A sort of congress was held by these great personages at Amiens, in the month of April, 1423, and there Bedford received the most gratifying assurances of continued support from his two allies. But, at the same time, and without the knowledge of the Duke of Bedford, the Dukes of Burgundy and Brittany made a separate treaty with one another; and some embarrassing discussions arose concerning the flight into England of Jacqueline, Countess of Hainault, whose marriage with the Duke of Gloucester struck the first great blow at the power of the English in France.³ But, for the moment, that power seemed to be on the increase, and Bedford soon gained two great vic-

¹ Beaufort was the second of the sons of John of Gaunt, by his third wife Catherine Roet, Roet, or Rowet, widow of Sir Otos Swynford, generally supposed to have been the sister of Philippa Roet, who is said to have been the wife of the poet Chaucer. There are considerable doubts, however, both as to the reality of this connection, and even as to the fact of Chaucer having been married at all. Catherine Rowet, who was the daughter of Sir Paine Rowet, a knight of Hainault, had long been the duke's mistress, having been originally brought over to wait upon his first wife, Blanche of Lancaster. The children of John of Gaunt and Catherine Rowet—three sons and a daughter—were all born before their marriage, which took place in 1397, but were legiti-

matized that year by a patent which is entered on the rolls of parliament. They took the name of Beaufort from the castle of Beaufort in France, where they were born; a property that came into the possession of their father by his first wife. The patent of legitimation entitled them and their descendants to hold all honours and estates, such as duchies, principalities, earldoms, &c.; and in some copies of it there is an express reservation of the right of inheriting the crown. Henry VII. descended from the eldest of these Beauforts, John, created (A.D. 1397) Earl of Somerset.

² *Kot. Parl.*: *Rymer*: *Walsingham*.

³ *Barante*: *Daru, Hist. de la Bretagne*.

tories, which were compared to the glorious affairs of Crecy, Poitiers, and Azincourt. Charles VII. gave himself up to indolence and selfish indulgence, loitering away his time, not with his beautiful wife, Mary of Anjou, but with his mistresses. He had, however, about him many men of great energy: they roused him from his inglorious ease and forced him into the field. Crossing the Loire once more, Charles now fixed his head-quarters at Gien, a small town close on the right bank of that river, and there he remained while the mass of his forces, under James Stuart, Lord Darnley, and the Marshal of Severac, struck off to the east, fell upon Burgundy, and laid siege to Crevant, a very important place. The Duke of Burgundy had some forces on foot in that direction, but they were very inconsiderable, and he again eagerly pressed the English to save his fertile province. The Duke of Bedford instantly despatched the Earls of Salisbury and Suffolk to the relief of Crevant, and as the French, relying on their great superiority of numbers and the determined valour of their Scottish allies, stood their ground outside the town, a general battle was resolved upon. At Auxerre the English were joined by the Burgundians; but their force was still very inferior, and they had to pass the river Yonne in face of the enemy. Having forced the passage, they found the main body drawn up in good position on the right bank. While the English attacked in front, the Burgundians attacked in flank, and then made a movement to the rear. By this disposition the English were opposed to the Scots; the Burgundians to the French, their own countrymen. The French soon gave way, and then fled in a disgraceful manner, leaving their Scottish allies to shift for themselves. Though thus abandoned by all save a few honourable knights, the Scots gallantly defended themselves for a long time, and the victory was not decided till more than 3000 of them were killed or taken prisoners.¹

Charles VII. received about this time a body of auxiliaries from the Duke of Milan, and gave encouragement to an insurrection in Maine and Anjou, and in other places north of the Loire. We must pass over a number of petty combats and sieges. In the affair of La Gravelle, John de la Pole, brother to the Duke of Suffolk, was surprised by a great force under Harcourt, Count of Aumale, and was obliged to retreat with considerable loss.

In another direction a detachment of the Duke of Burgundy was defeated by the Italian and Scottish auxiliaries of King Charles. The spirit of the French people had gained one great advan-

tage for this *roi-faiblant*; they had gradually thrown off the yoke in several parts of the north and the north-west; they had got possession of several towns in Normandy; and thus the English, instead of crossing the Loire, were obliged to fight in the country between that river and the Seine. Their alliance with the Duke of Brittany rested on hollow foundations from the first, and a quarrel with his brother, the Count of Richemont, was followed by bad effects. The count, who was refused the separate command of an army, for which Bedford judged him unfit, would not be soothed by the offer of a liberal pension—lands and honours he had received already—and, stealing away secretly, he withdrew to Brittany, hoping to induce his brother to declare against the English. Bedford laboured the more earnestly to gratify the Duke of Burgundy; but he did not yet know the secret treaty existing between that prince and the Duke of Brittany. In the course of 1423, the auxiliary force of Scotland had been greatly increased by fresh arrivals; and Archibald, Earl of Douglas, lately the adherent of Henry V., went and joined Charles, who made him a French duke, by the title of the Duke of Touraine. Here, again, the regent Bedford acted with all possible good policy; he negotiated with King James of Scotland, and released him from his imprisonment in England in the spring of 1424, by which further reinforcements from Scotland to France were prevented.

In the summer of 1424 the Duke of Bedford laid siege to the strong town of Ivry. Charles resolved to relieve the place, and to that end sent his whole army into Normandy. This army consisted of about 7000 Scots and 7000 Italians and French. The command was nominally given to the Earls of Douglas and Buchan; but the Counts of Alençon, Aumale, and Narbonne, and the other French nobles who marched with them, would take no orders from Scottish adventurers—for such they termed the bravest and noblest of their allies. This ill-assorted army marched within sight of Ivry, but they halted in dismay on seeing the excellent position of the English, and presently retreated without drawing a sword. Upon this failure Ivry surrendered. Either by an ingenious stratagem of their own, or by a rising in their favour of the inhabitants, Charles' army got possession of the important town of Verneuil, situated about thirty miles to the south-west of Ivry; but they were scarcely there when the Duke of Bedford presented himself before the walls. A tumultuary council was held, and as they could not possibly remain where they were on account of a scarcity, it was resolved to go out and fight the English in an open field. They had every advantage of position: the town covered one of their flanks, they had also learned

¹ *Monstrelet*.

something from experience, and, leaving their baggage and their horses within the walls, they formed on foot, leaving only about 2000 men-at-arms, part of whom were Italians, to fight on horseback. The Duke of Bedford, whose army was inferior in numbers, followed the old tactics of Crecy and Azincourt: he made all his cavalry dismount; he placed his horses and his baggage in the rear, under a guard of archers; and he stationed the rest of the bowmen on his flanks and in his van, where they stuck their sharp stakes into the ground. There was a brief pause. The Earl of Douglas wished to wait for the attack of the English, but the French nobles would not listen to his prudence, and the Count of Narbonne rushed forward, shouting "Mountjoye St. Denis!" The whole line followed him in hurry and confusion; and by the time they got up to the English stakes, they were both out of breath and out of order. Their number, however, was imposing, for van, rear, and reserve, came up altogether. The English stood firm, shouting "St. George for Bedford!" But some of the archers were borne down and driven towards the baggage—a fortunate circumstance, for they seem to have arrived just in time to support their comrades there, who were charged in the rear by the 2000 horse, led on by La Hire and Saintrailles. This cavalry was repeatedly repulsed, and at last completely driven from the field. Then the English archers in the rear (above 2000 men) advanced to the main body and decided the victory, which had been fiercely and at times very equally disputed for upwards of three hours. The loss of the allies was tremendous. The Earl of Douglas and his son, Lord James Douglas, the Earl of Buchan, Sir Alexander Meldrum, with many Scottish knights, were slain. The French lost the Counts Narbonne, Tonnière, and Vantadour, the Sires of Roche-baron and Gamaches, with many other great lords, and nearly 300 knights. The Duke of Alençon, the Marshal de la Fayette, the Sires de Maucourt, and Charles de Longueval, with many other lords, were taken prisoners. The Duke of Bedford cut off the heads of Maucourt and Longueval, because they had formerly taken the oath of fealty to his nephew; and he did the same to several knights of Normandy, because they had deserted from his standard on the eve of the battle.¹ The great loss he had himself sustained probably had something to do with these executions. Sixteen hundred Englishmen lay dead on that bloody field, mixed with 3000 or 4000 Scots, French, and Italians. The town of Verneuil immediately surrendered to the conqueror. Such was the battle of Verneuil, the last great victory obtained by the Duke of Bed-

ford; it was fought on the 17th of August, 1424.

The cause of Charles now seemed hopeless; his army was destroyed, he had no money or credit, and many of his friends began to complain of his want of activity and valour, for he still kept away from the scene of danger. But circumstances operated wonderfully in his favour, and made him King of all France in spite of his follies. Dissension had broken out in the English council, where the Duke of Gloucester could never agree with his uncle Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester; and the English people had grown weary of this long war, which had once been exceedingly popular. At this moment (and we are disposed to believe on most occasions afterwards) Beaufort advocated measures of prudence and cautious policy, which were defeated by the impetuous will of Gloucester.

Jacqueline of Hainault, only daughter of the Count of Hainault, brother-in-law of Jean Sans-peur, inherited at a very early age the states of Hainault, Holland, and Zealand. Her succession was disputed by her uncle, John the Merciless, Bishop of Liège, who invaded Holland. After a long war, the Duke of Burgundy, Jean Sans-peur, interfered, and concluded a treaty, by which the Bishop of Liège was to enjoy the revenues of Holland and Zealand. John the Merciless had previously shed a great deal of Christian blood in order to remain Bishop of Liège. But soon after this arrangement he got himself secularized by the pope, and throwing away erozier and stole, married Elizabeth of Luxemburg, the widow of the Duke of Brabant, who had perished at Azincourt. This Elizabeth had a son, now Duke of Brabant, and the ex-bishop proposed that he should be married to his niece Jacqueline. This union, as tending to unite the different branches of the house of Burgundy, was strongly recommended by Jean Sans-peur and other members of the family; but the young lady had a great aversion to the match. John of Brabant was younger than she: they were cousins-german; and she, besides, had been the boy's god-mother. The pope, however, gave his dispensation, and Jacqueline was tormented into a compliance with the family scheme. But her antipathies were never overcome: she was of a womanly age, beautiful, bold, and not deficient in wit and understanding; her husband was a puny boy of fifteen, weak in mind as in body, fond of the society of low favourites, and entirely led by them. Shortly after their marriage they quarrelled violently; and Madame Jacqueline, who had a summary way of proceeding, sent her half-brother, called the Bastard of Hainault, to punish her husband's chief favourite, William le Begue, who had insulted her. The Bastard killed the favou-

¹ Monstrelet.

rite in his bed. But the young duke chose a new confident, and continued to be ruled by a set of vulgar servants; and the court was continually disgraced by domestic broils. On an unlucky day the young duke, by the advice of his favourite, drove away all the ladies that waited upon his wife, and exiled them to Holland. On this insult, Jacqueline withdrew to Valenciennes, and thence to Calais, where the English received her with great honour. From Calais she passed over to England, and sought an asylum and the protection of the court. This was in 1421, while Henry V. was still living; and at the end of that year she was residing in great friendship with Henry's wife Catherine at Windsor Castle. Jacqueline had not been long in England when she became enamoured of the king's brother, the Duke of Gloucester; and the duke, rather out of ambition than affection, proposed himself as her husband. Here another dispensation was necessary. On applying to Pope Martin V. it was found that he had been applied to by the powerful princes of the house of Burgundy, and was not disposed to annul the marriage with the Duke of Brabant, although Jacqueline alleged that she had been driven into that union by deceit and force. But it happened that there was another pope living; for Benedict XIII. would not submit to the decision of the council of Constance, and he readily enough granted a dispensation to the duchess. Jacqueline then married the Duke of Gloucester; on which the duke claimed as his own Hainault, Holland, and Zealand—all the states, castles, and towns which his wife inherited from her father. For some time no open measures were adopted for the recovery of Jacqueline's patrimony; and the Duke of Bedford, who had married the Duke of Burgundy's sister, contrived to keep that prince in apparent good humour, though in reality Philip had many misgivings, and intrigued under-hand long before venturing upon any overt act. A few weeks after the great battle of Verneuil, Gloucester and Jacqueline, with an English army of 5000 or 6000 men, landed at Calais; and, contrary to the advice of Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, and in spite of the earnest representations of the Regent Bedford, these two ardent spirits led their forces through the territories of the Duke of Burgundy, and fell upon his cousin, the Duke of Brabant, in Hainault. At this time Jacqueline's uncle, John, ex-Bishop of Liège, died, and she was accused of having induced some of her partizans to poison him. Gloucester and his daring wife soon got possession of Mons, the capital of Hainault, where a strong party declared for her. At first the Duke of Burgundy thought that Gloucester was coming to reinforce his brother in France; but when he knew the direction

he had taken he became perfectly furious, and sent orders to all his vassals to assist his beloved nephew the Duke of Brabant, and oppose the duchess and her new husband to the utmost. Gloucester, upon this, wrote to Duke Philip, telling him that if the Duke of Brabant was his cousin, his companion and wife Jacqueline was twice his cousin—that he (Gloucester) had not broken the peace or the treaties existing between him and his very dear cousin of Burgundy—that he was only taking possession of what lawfully belonged to him by his marriage—and he hinted, truly or falsely, that the Duke of Burgundy had formerly encouraged his projects. The duke replied by giving Gloucester the lie, and defying him to single combat. Gloucester readily accepted the challenge, and named St. George's Day for the duel, which Philip had no intention to fight. He sent a great part of the forces which he had engaged to keep on foot for the service of the Regent Bedford, into the Low Countries, against his brother, and at the same time the Duke of Gloucester obtained the English reinforcements intended for Bedford. Philip did not cool on reflection. He even employed troops and many knights that had been in the service of his great enemy Charles VII., the murderer of his father; and among these warriors was the celebrated Saintraille. The Burgundians thus began to listen to their old foes, and to join them in attributing (incorrectly) the origin of all the evils France was suffering to the English. Proposals were suggested for an accommodation with King Charles by the pope, the Duke of Savoy, and others; and though the Duke of Burgundy did not think, as yet, he had taken sufficient vengeance for his father's death, and though he did not openly abandon his brother-in-law the Duke of Bedford till eight years later, he was from this moment a lukewarm and suspected ally. For about a year and a half Gloucester defied all the power of Burgundy, and maintained himself in Hainault; but then want of money, and a jealousy of his uncle Beaufort, induced him to return to England. His departure was fatal to the interests of his wife: Valenciennes, Condé, and Bouchain opened their gates to Duke Philip; and Jacqueline was besieged in Mons, the citizens of which soon delivered her up to the duke, who committed her to a close imprisonment in his palace at Ghent.¹

Gloucester's return to England was attended by other disastrous circumstances. His quarrel with Beaufort rose to such a height that a civil war seemed imminent; and the Duke of Bedford was obliged to leave France at a very critical moment, and come over to London at the end of

¹ *Monstrelet*; *P. Henin*; *Barante*.

1425. By his authority and influence a reconciliation was effected, and the uncle and nephew were made to shake hands in the presence of a parliament assembled at Leicester. But the bishop immediately resigned the seals and prepared to go abroad.

During Bedford's absence the Duke of Brittany declared for the King of France, being induced thereto by his brother the Count of Richemont, whom Charles had recently named Constable of France. The constable was out of his reach, in the country beyond the Loire; but soon after Bedford's return to France he severely punished the duke by sending a formidable army into Brittany, that repeatedly defeated his forces, and compelled him to abandon his treaty with the King of France, and resume his allegiance to England.¹

Meanwhile the errant court of Charles continued to be the scene of disgraceful intrigues, jealousies, and dissensions. Arthur, Count of Richemont, the new constable, complained, not without reason, of the conduct of the king's ignoble favourites; but the system which he adopted to correct this evil was truly atrocious. When he first joined the king the chief favourite was the Sire de Giac, who, with his wife, had had so great a share in the murder of Jean Sans-peur at Montreuil. This wretched man he seized by night in his bed, set him half naked upon a horse, and gave him over to George de la Tremoille, Count of Guines, who carried him to Duu-le-Roi, and there had him thrown into the river with a great stone tied to his neck. Camus de Beaulieu succeeded to the now dangerous post of prime favourite, and the constable got rid of him by assassination. Seeing that Charles could not live without a favourite, the constable then recommended to his notice George de la Tremoille, a person whom he thought entirely devoted to his interest, and incapable of making himself too formidable. But Count Arthur was mistaken in his man: George de la Tremoille, who had married Madame de Giac, whose husband he had just murdered, because she was still very beautiful and very rich, was the most accomplished rogue in that profligate court. He was witty, insinuating, experienced in business and in war; and he soon obtained a greater ascendancy over the frivolous king than any preceding favourite. As soon as the constable discovered his mistake, he made a league with the Count of Clermont, the Count of la Marche, the Marshal of Boussac, and others, to destroy him; but La Tremoille was well versed in the ways of treachery: he declined an interview to which they invited him, kept himself with the king close in a strong

castle, and laughed at the conspirators, who were obliged to disperse at the approach of winter. Charles then passed a sentence of banishment against the constable, who thereupon took up arms against him in conjunction with several princes of the blood. In the spring of 1428 these allies surprised the town of Bourges, but neither the king nor Tremoille was there. The constable retired into Poictou, and there kept up the civil war. At the same time another great royalist and patriot, the Marshal of Severac, threatened to desolate Languedoc with fire and sword unless the king paid him certain arrears; and the king and the treasurer had only four crowns between them. The Count of Foix took forcible possession of Beziers, and René of Anjou, a brother of the queen, negotiated on his own account with the English.

These brief details will render it perfectly intelligible how, during the six years that Charles had been a king, no progress had been made against the English, who were now determined to cross the Loire, and carry their conquests farther than Henry V. had ever penetrated.² The miserable state of weakness to which their recent chastisement had reduced him, more than any reliance on the treaty which he had signed, made the English feel sure of the Duke of Brittany, whose states extended along the right bank of the Lower Loire, and whose forces, under other circumstances, might have embarrassed them on their right flank and on their rear. At the same time, they felt a renewed confidence in the Bourguignon party; for Duke Philip returned to Paris, and had a friendly interview with the Duke of Bedford, being much pleased at having been permitted to settle the affairs of Madame Jacqueline after his own fashion. That wife of two husbands, who had some of the essentials of a heroine of romance, escaped from her prison in Ghent, and fled, disguised as a man, into Holland, where a strong party immediately took up arms for her. The Duke of Burgundy soon pursued her in the name of his cousin and her husband, the Duke of Brabant. The Duke of Gloucester contrived to send some money and a small force of archers to her aid. The archers landed on one of the islands of Zealand, and were well nigh taking the Duke Philip prisoner; but they were overwhelmed by superior force, and after a fierce battle, in which the duke lost many of his best knights, they were driven back to their ships. Philip took many towns—for he also had a faction in his favour—and then withdrew into Flanders to collect a great army. Jacqueline tried to retake the towns; and she commanded in person at several sieges and in several battles, making

¹ Rymer; Darns.

² Montreuil; Juvenal; P. Henin; Tillard; Barant.

knights and performing all the offices of a warrior and a prince. Her party however declined; the Duke of Bedford and the council prevented Gloucester from lending any further assistance; the Duke of Burgundy advanced again into Holland with an immense force well provided with artillery; town fell after town, and she was obliged to retire into Friesland. At the same time the thunders of the Vatican rolled over her head. The pope Martin V., whose authority was now generally recognized by the Christian world, declared that her marriage with Gloucester was null and void; and that, even in case of the death of her first husband, the Duke of Brabant, she could never lawfully be the wife of the English prince. The Duke of Gloucester consoled himself for this disappointment by marrying Eleanor Cobham, daughter to Lord Reginald Cobham—"which Eleanor before was his wanton paramour, to his great reproach, as was then noted."¹ But, though abandoned by her plighted knight, the husband of her choice, and threatened by the pope, the daring Jacqueline maintained the struggle; nor did her first husband, the object of her hatred, live to triumph over her. The Duke of Brabant died in the month of April, 1427; he was succeeded in his hereditary state of Brabant by his brother; but the Duke of Burgundy kept his hold of Holland and Hainault, the inheritance of Madame Jacqueline. A great naval victory, which the duke gained over William de Brederade, Jacqueline's admiral, completed the ruin of her affairs: and in the summer of 1428 she was obliged to submit to a harsh treaty. She agreed to recognize her dear cousin as direct heir to all her dominions—to give him the government of them all immediately—never to marry without his consent—and to satisfy herself with the revenues of Ostrevand, Veveland, and Brille. Duke Philip rejoiced in the success of his arms and his policy; and as he could not but feel that the English might have frustrated his scheme, he for a while was in good humour with them, engaging to furnish troops for the great enterprise of subduing the country beyond the Loire.

Ever since the English had been in possession of Paris, the city of Orleans, advantageously situated on the Loire, had been considered as the centre of the kingdom. Whatever fragments of prosperity remained were gathered within its walls; its fall would have the most fatal effects on the cause of independence; and the best road to the provinces of the south lay through it. It was, therefore, determined to reduce it by siege or blockade; but this project had been imprudently divulged, and the Earl of Salisbury lost many weeks in reducing a number of insignificant

places in the neighbourhood, instead of marching at once to his object; and the French people, who were fully sensible of the life-and-death importance of the town, made the best use of this time in preparing for its defence. The season was far advanced before Salisbury appeared; but at last, on the 12th of October, he took up his positions both on the right and left bank, and began the difficult operation of girding in a large and populous town, in the best possible state of preparation, with a small army of 8000 or 9000 men. The inhabitants had provided themselves with all sorts of warlike stores and provisions, being determined to defend the place to the last extremity. The people of Orleans were well seconded by the inhabitants of other towns upon the Loire or behind it; for the burghers generally were good Frenchmen, and did not, like the princes of the blood and the great lords, lose their patriotism in jealousies and broils. Bourges, Poitiers, La Rochelle, and other places, sent provisions, money, and troops. The three estates met at Chinon, and voted an aid of 400,000 francs. The king also was roused from his lethargy; and as La Tremoille, and all the royalists about him believed that the fall of Orleans would be followed by the loss of all France, very unusual exertions were made. Charles named the Sire de Gaucourt governor of Orleans; and Saint-raille, De Guitry, Villars, and many other captains of name, threw themselves into the town before the English appeared.²

Unappalled by all these circumstances, the Earl of Salisbury began the attack of the place, and his first plan seems to have been to take it by assault. A strong bridge communicated between the left bank of the river and the town, and the entrance to this bridge was defended by a fortress called the Tourelles, of which Salisbury determined to make himself master. The English scaled the walls, but were repulsed more than once with considerable loss. Salisbury, however, persevered, and, on the 23d of October, he carried the Tourelles by storm. But, in the interval, the besieged had broken down an arch of the bridge, and raised a new fort at the other end of it in advance of the city walls. Why the English general should have chosen to make his attack on this side, with a wide river between him and the town, when two sides of the triangle on the right bank³ presented no such obstacle, we are at a loss to determine; but the bridge, as a passage, was now given up. The Bastard of Orleans,⁴ the bravest and best officer in Charles'

¹ *Monstrelet: Journal du Siege; Barante; Villaret.*

² Then, as now, Orleans covered an irregular triangle, the base of which was along the river bank.

³ He was the natural son of the Duke of Orleans, killed by order of Jean Sans-peur.

⁴ *Stow.*

service, broke through the English lines on the opposite side of the river, and got into the town with numerous reinforcements, composed of French, Scots, Italians, and Spaniards. Salisbury saw that he must proceed by blockade. A few days after, as he was examining the town from the tower of the Tourelles, he was wounded in the face by a stone-shot, which killed the gentleman behind him on the spot. The earl survived a week, and then died, to the great regret of the army, who considered him as one of the most skilful and fortunate in arms of all the English captains. The Earl of Suffolk succeeded to the vacant command. It was now the month of November, and the weather was inclement; but the English built themselves huts, which were covered from the fire of the town by banks of earth, and there they were tolerably well supplied with provisions, and occasionally reinforced. But their number was insufficient to surround the whole town, and maintain constantly the passage of the river; boats occasionally ascended or descended with provisions for the besieged, and convoys of stores and fresh troops stole from time to time into the city.

Thus passed the winter months. Early in February, the Duke of Bedford collected about 500 carts and waggons from the borders of Normandy, and the country round Paris; and these the merchants were ordered to load with provisions, stores, and other things for the use of the army before Orleans. When all was ready, Sir John Fastolfe was appointed to escort the convoy with 1600 men. Sir John marched out of Paris on Ash Wednesday, and proceeded in good order until he came near to the village of Rouvrai, between Genville and Orleans. Here he was brought to a halt by intelligence that an army of French and Scots, 4000 strong, occupied the road before him. Making the best use of a short notice, Fastolfe formed a square with his carts and waggons, leaving but two openings; he posted his archers in these two gaps, the men-at-arms standing hard by to support them. In this situation Sir John waited two hours for the coming of the enemy, who at last arrived with a great noise. It seemed to them, that, considering their superior numbers, and that the convoy consisted of not more than 600 real Englishmen—the rest being people of Paris and other parts—they could not fail of destroying them speedily, and making prize of the stores. Others, however, had their doubts and misgivings, seeing that their captains did not well agree as to how the battle should be fought; for the Scots insisted that they ought all to dismount and fight on foot, while the French were all for fighting on horseback. At last, each nation resolved to fight in its own way. The Constable of Scotland, his son

Lord William Stewart, and all the Scots, dismounted and advanced impetuously to force the openings of the square; but the English archers shot so well and stiffly, that they were slain almost to a man. The Constable of Scotland and his son were killed fighting side by side; many Scottish knights of high repute also perished; and the Sires of Rochecouart, D'Albret, and other French lords, shared their fate. The defeat was perfect: the French who were on their horses, galloped from the field, upon which there remained about 600 dead, nearly all Scots. Sir John Fastolfe then refreshed his men, and marched on to Rouvrai, and from Rouvrai they departed in handsome array, with their convoy and artillery, armed with all accoutrements becoming warriors; and so they arrived in triumph before the walls of Orleans.¹

King Charles, on learning the news of this defeat, was sick at heart; and the great vigour with which the English now pressed the blockade of Orleans made most of his party despair. At certain intervals, the Earl of Suffolk had erected strong posts called bastilles, and he now sunk ditches and drew lines from one bastille to the other, until the circumvallation was almost complete. Thus those within the garrison could no longer pass with the ease they had done between the bastilles, and their friends without could no longer throw in provisions. At the hideous prospect of famine, the citizens, with the consent of Charles, proposed to deliver the town into the hands of the Duke of Burgundy. They despatched, as their ambassador to the duke, a knight who was his personal friend, and who had recently fought for him in Hainault against Jacqueline. This was Saintrailles, who, as well as his proposition, was joyfully received by Philip. But when they opened their project to the regent Bedford, he would not listen to it, saying that the prize ought to belong to the valour of those who had reduced Orleans to these straits. The Duke of Burgundy smiled, and acquiesced, but he immediately after left Paris in a very ill humour with the English.

In Orleans the patriotic citizens now felt the sharp pangs of hunger. In Chinon, where the court was residing, the greatest consternation prevailed; many of the lords withdrew; and if Charles himself did not flee into Auvergne, or the more distant province of Provence or Languedoc, it was owing to the counsels of his ill-treated but magnanimous wife, Mary of Anjou,

¹ Hume, following some of the French historians, lays the blame of this mischance on the Scots, who, he says, would not wait the sure effect of the artillery which the French had with them, but insisted upon charging. It does not, however, appear that the French had a single cannon; whereas Monstrelet particularly mentions Fastolfe's artillery, though he does not say it was used during the battle.

and the stormy opposition of the brave Bastard of Orleans. One day in the end of February, shortly after the battle of Rouvrai, when Charles' affairs were at the lowest ebb, there came messengers from the town of Fierbois, about five leagues from Chinon, to tell him that the deliverer of France was at hand, and only waited at Fierbois for permission to be admitted into his presence. This deliverer was neither prince, warrior, nor statesman; it was a poor country girl—Joan of Arc.

It would be marvellous, indeed, if the story of a miraculous interposition and a succession of miracles were not embarrassed with much doubt and confusion. We may, however, safely assume the following positions, which have been held by most modern historians:—1. That there was no supernatural agency in the case, though Joan thoroughly believed that there was. 2. That her heated imagination, acted upon by the miseries of France, by current superstitions, and aided by a peculiar temperament of body, raised the visions she saw and the voices she heard. 3. That her object was pure and glorious, entitling her in all ages to the name of a patriot and liberator. 4. That there was no previous collusion between Joan and King Charles, or between her and any of the king's friends, though some of the latter wisely determined to make the most of a delusion in which they themselves never believed.

On first receiving the strange message from Fierbois, Charles burst into a fit of laughter. He, however, consented that the wonderful maiden should come to him at Chinon; and Joan arrived in man's attire, attended by two squires and four servants. But, in the interval, the people about Charles had forced some serious reflections upon him, and he refused to admit her into his presence. For three days consultations were held on the subject: some said that if he accepted such unusual aid, the English would instantly accuse him of putting faith in sorcery, and leaguering himself with the devil; others said, that it would be dishonourable to the noble kingdom of France, and productive of mockery, to send forth a peasant wench as their champion. Some maintained that the king ought not to trust himself in a personal interview with a mad woman; but others thought that it would be well to hear what she could

say, and to send trusty messengers into the district she came from, in order to ascertain the particulars of her history and previous conduct. All this time, Joan was lodged in the town of Chinon, where her strict morality and fervent devotion greatly edified the people, and made some impression even upon the immoral court. Her story, at the same time, spread far and wide; and, strange as was the narrative, there was little in it very startling to the common people in a credulous age; and there were six witnesses at Chinon to corroborate parts of it. Joan, who was then in her twentieth year, was a native of a wild and hilly district in Lorraine, on the borders of Champagne; she was born in the little hamlet of Domremy, about three leagues south of the town of Vaucouleurs. Her parents were poor peasants; and, from her earliest days, she shared in their rustic labours, receiving no other education than lessons of simple piety. The whole district was remarkable for the simplicity of manners and the devotion of the people. The curse of faction had extended even to that remote spot. Domremy was Armagnac; but the next village was Bourguignon; and the children of the two



HAMLET OF DOMREMY, AND HOUSE OF JOAN OF ARC.—From Laborde, *Monumens de la France*.

places used to fight and pelt each other with stones for the sake of these names. As Joan grew up from infancy, she was famed all over the canton for her great piety; and passing much of her time among the hills, tending flocks and herds, she there mused in solitude over the wondrous legends of saints and virgin martyrs. The passing traveller frequently brought news of the triumphs and oppressions of the English, and of the cruel war that was desolating the fertile plains of France; and occasionally the quiet marches of Lorraine witnessed the destructive progress of hostile bands. From her infancy, Joan had lia-

tened to these tales of horror, and the miseries of the land became mixed with her dreams of heaven. When she approached the age of wo-

manhood, several singularities, both moral and physical, were observed in her, and she began to talk of visions and voices from another world. At first she saw a great light, and heard a voice, which merely told her to be wise and virtuous, and go frequently to mass. At this first warning, as she said afterwards, she took the vow of perpetual chastity. Then she saw the bright light again, and heard the voice, but the light at this time displayed angelic figures with wings on their shoulders; and one of these bright essences told her to go and succour the Dauphin of France. There was an old prophecy in the country, that France, after being ruined by a wicked woman, should be restored by a spotless virgin: it was easy to fix the character of the destroyer on Queen Isabella—Joan thought herself called to be the virgin deliverer. She represented, however, to the voices that she was but a lowly maiden, not knowing how to ride a war-horse or to conduct men of war; but the great voice who made himself known to her as St. Michael, assured her that faith and aid would be lent to her for that great end, and that she would be assisted by St. Catherine and St. Margaret. When her imagination reached this point, the two female saints appeared to her in the midst of the great light; she saw their heads crowned with glittering jewels—she heard their voices, mild and modest, and sweeter than music. The visions returned, but less frequently than the invisible voices, which she was very apt to hear when the bells of the church were ringing. When the voices had ceased, or the visions had departed, she was often found weeping, for that the angels of paradise had not carried her away with them. For a long time her parents had little faith in her visions, and they wished to cure her of them, by giving her a husband; but all proposals of this kind Joan rejected with horror. On a certain day, a troop of Bourguignons drove all the good people from Domremy, and burned their church. Joan with her family took refuge for a short time in a humble inn in the town of Neufchâteau, where she heard many more relations of the sad events that were passing in France. From this time her visions became more frequent; she said that her voices told her that she was the veritable virgin of the prophecy, and that she must go and conduct the dauphin—for so, according to her



ROOM IN WHICH JOAN OF ARC WAS BORN, as existing in 1812.—From Laborde.

account, Charles was to be called until he was crowned—to Rheims. The voices had already instructed her to proceed, in the first instance, to the Sire de Baudricourt, commander at Vaucouleurs, who would provide her with the means of travelling to Charles beyond the Loire; and, in the summer of 1428, she resolved to go to that governor. Her honest father would as soon have seen her thrown into the Meuse, as travelling the country among wicked men-at-arms and camp-followers; but she had made a convert of one of her uncles, and in his company she travelled to Vaucouleurs. Baudricourt took her for one crazed, or for a vagabond impostor, and at first refused to see her, saying that she ought to be sent back to her father, in order to be well whipped. Joan, however, was not easily repulsed; and as the object of her coming made a great noise all over the country, the governor was in a manner obliged to grant her an audience. She told the worthy knight that she was sent to him by her Lord. "And who is your Lord?" said the governor. "The King of Heaven," replied Joan. This confirmed Baudricourt in his opinion that she was crazed, and he dismissed her with very little ceremony. The Maid remained with her uncle, who was a cartwright in the town of Vaucouleurs; and still the fame of her sanctity grew and spread, for she passed whole days in the churches—she fasted with great austerity—her life was spotless; and still she continued to assert that her voices urged her night and day to go and succour the noble dauphin, and conduct him to Rheims, there to be crowned and consecrated. At length Baudricourt con-

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fronted her with a priest well armed with stole, crucifix, and holy water; and this clerk adjured her, if she were an evil spirit, to depart from them. Joan crawled on her knees to embrace the cross—a sure sign that she was no witch or sorceress. A short time after this, John of Nouvelourpont, surnamed De Metz, a gentleman of the neighbourhood, met her, and said it was time to think of seeing the king driven out of France, and of becoming every man an Englishman. Joan answered, in a tone of inspiration, that since the Sire of Baudricourt would not give ear unto her, she must make the journey to Charles on foot, even though she wore her legs down to her knees on the road; for, she added, it is neither kings nor dukes, nor yet the daughter of the King of Scotland, that can raise up this suffering France. "There is no help but in me. My voices have said it. And yet, in sooth, would I rather stay at home and spin at my mother's side; for this is not work that I have been used to; but I must go, and I must do, since my Lord so wills it." "Who is your Lord?" asked De Metz. "He is God!" answered Joan. De Metz was converted by her enthusiasm, and so was his friend Bertrand de Poulengi: the town's-people had been believers long before. There were some other portents and signs given by Joan, and nearly all Lorraine believed that she was deputed by Heaven; but Baudricourt, even to the last, seems to have doubted of her sanctity. Things, however, were at that desperate pass which makes men catch at straws. He gave permission to John of Metz and Bertrand de Poulengi to conduct her to Charles. The people of Vaucouleurs eagerly furnished Joan with everything she wished. The voices had long before told the Maiden to put on man's attire; and this she now did, and put spurs to her heels. They bought her a horse, and Baudricourt gave her a sword. When everything was ready for her departure, the governor received the oaths of the two squires, that they would faithfully conduct her to the king. Then Joan mounted her horse, and rode away, followed by the squires and four servants mounted.

It was on the 15th of February when the Maid began her long and dangerous march through a country almost entirely occupied by the English or by the Bourguignons, and many were the perils she encountered. The servants, weary and vexed, had some misgivings as to the holiness of her mission; they fancied that, after all, she might be a sorceress; and more than once they thought of throwing her over a precipice. But she got safely to Chinon, as we have seen; and the accomplishment of such a journey seemed in itself a miracle. After three days of doubt, Charles consented to receive her; for messages had been brought from Orleans, imploring, for the last

time, that he would aid his faithful city, and he saw no earthly means at hand. In this first interview, unabashed by the sneers of the court, Joan spoke with firmness, and in a tone which sounded very like prophecy, even to many incredulous ears. "Gentle dauphin," said she, "I am Joan the Maid. I come with a commission from the King of Heaven, to drive out your enemies, and conduct you to Rheims, where you shall receive the crown of France, which is your right." Charles took her aside, and spoke with her for a considerable time, in an under-tone of voice; and when she departed from him, he felt or feigned a conviction that it had pleased Providence to place the fate of France in the hands of that peasant girl. And from this moment it is clear that efforts were made, not only to spread her fame, but to add, by ingenious inventions, to the marvellousness of her whole story. Here lay the tricky part of the business; but it scarcely needed, for popular credulity might now be safely left to its own imaginings. Still, however, Charles or his ministers hesitated ere they would commit themselves by proclaiming that Joan was to be their deliverer. In order to ascertain that there was no magic or sorcery in the case (for the least credulous seemed to have entertained a dread of this kind from the beginning), they delivered Joan over to a commission of priests, among whom were some who boasted that they could detect the devil under any disguise. These seekers found no diabolical indications. But Tremoille and the chancellor had still some doubts. Charles, therefore, went from Chinon to Poitiers, where his parliament was assembled, and where there was besides a learned university. The king ordered that the Maid should be conveyed thither. Joan was growing weary of these long processes, and she had some dread of the doctors' bonnets; but, saying that she trusted in God to give her speech to convince the doctors, she went willingly to Poitiers. The monomania of this wonderful creature was free from all extraneous extravagance; she never varied in her story; she spoke with a natural eloquence and (admitting only her premises) with much good sense. She had an excellent notion of what was meant by heavenly assistance. "But," said one of the doctors, "if God wishes and intends to deliver France from her enemies, where is the use of our fighting?" "Let us fight," said Joan, "the help will come while we are fighting." They then asked her to give them some signs of her miraculous mission. "Not here," said Joan; "Poitiers is not the place; but send me to Orleans with as small a number of men-at-arms as you will, and I will give you a sure sign—the sign that I am to give is the raising of the siege of Orleans." When her examiners brought down

their ponderous learning upon her, she said that she was an unlettered peasant—that she knew not the difference between letter A and letter B—but this she *did* know, God had sent her to raise the siege of Orleans, and to conduct the dauphin to Rheims. The doctors of both faculties were convinced or silenced. Then the bishops of the south of France were consulted; and Jacques Gelu, Archbishop of Embrun, composed a very learned tractate to prove by quotations from Scripture that God might still interfere directly in the affairs of kingdoms—that there was nothing wicked in Joan's wearing the culotte and the whole garb of a man, though it was contrary to a law in Deuteronomy, provided such things were pre-ordained, and necessary to the end in view—that it was not wonderful, when miracles had been wrought by means of beasts (witness Balaam's ass), that they should be wrought by a virgin, albeit of lowly condition. Indeed, he said, that God had very frequently intrusted his secrets to virgins in preference to other conditions of mankind; and here the erudite archbishop, as proofs, placed in curious juxtaposition the Virgin Mary and the Sibyls. It appears that it was well known in those days that a virgin could have no dealings with the devil: and a last and delicate proof was intrusted by Charles to the matronly inspection of his queen's mother and Madame Gaucourt. The report of the doctors to the council of state was, that they had neither seen, known, nor discovered any particular in that virgin that was not conformable with the character of a good Christian and true Catholic. When bishops, doctors, lawyers, ladies, had all made their inquiries, the soldiers would see how the Maid could sit a horse and wield a lance. Here Joan's early occupations, and the address they had given, stood her in good stead. They mounted her upon a charger, and she kept a firm seat; they put a lance into her hand, and she showed that she had a vigorous grasp and a good eye. Here, however, some little instruction was necessary, and this it appears was given to her.

As the English pressed the siege, and the people of Orleans still implored for aid, and requested that the miraculous Maiden might be sent to them, it was at last resolved to give entire faith to her mission, and adopt Joan as the forlorn hope of France. They gave her the rank and the proper staff of a general officer. John Daulon, a brave and experienced knight, who had long served the king, was placed near her person as her esquire; two pages and two heralds were added; and a chosen squadron of horse was placed under her immediate orders. They caused to be made a complete suit of new armour to fit her person; her sword was an ancient blade bearing the mark of five crosses, which she was said

to have miraculously discovered in the church of St. Catherine at Fierbois. Her standard, which was made to her order, was white, dotted with *fleurs-de-lis*; on one side was figured the Almighty, on the other side were inscribed the words *Jhesus Maria*. Her charger was a snow-white steed; and when Joan first showed herself, mounted upon it, in her bright, new armour, and with her banner spread before her, the people could not sufficiently admire her noble and martial appearance. By this time the army of Charles was greatly reinforced; men flocked from all parts to have sight of the inspired Maiden; and a new enthusiasm, half patriotic, half religious, was awakened by the sight of Joan. The Maid set a bold and uncompromising face against the prevailing dissoluteness of manners; she drove away all the camp-followers, she made the men-at-arms confess their sins and take the sacrament, and she would not allow a soldier to follow her that had not performed these religious duties.

A great convoy of provisions was got together at Blois, and thither repaired, with the determination of escorting it to Orleans, Saintraille, Gaucourt, the Marshal of Boussac, the Sire de Raiz, La Hire, Ambroise de Lorré, and the Admiral de Culant. Joan of Arc joined these renowned men of war in the month of April, and insisted that they should shape their manoeuvres according to the inspirations which she had received, or which she might receive, from her voices. The captains, however, thought that a little military precaution would not be amiss; and, while they pretended to obey her, they had recourse in most things to their own science and experience. Joan said that her voices ordered her to march straight on from Blois by the right bank of the Loire; but the chiefs, who knew that the English troops were more numerous and better posted on that side, deceived the Maid, passed the troops over to the left bank, and got ready a convoy of boats to carry the provisions; and while Joan and the miraculous part of the expedition made way by water, they were flanked by an immense body of horse that kept close to the river. As they approached Orleans the garrison sallied out, and fell upon the besiegers with unusual vigour, shouting "The Maid! the Maid is come!" Favoured by this diversion, Joan, with the provisions and a powerful reinforcement, got into the town a little after night-fall, and Orleans was saved.

The English camp was now as sad as the city of Orleans was joyous: the soldiers had borne the risks and privations of a long siege without murmuring, but their bold hearts were not proof against the terrors of superstition. For two months they had heard of nothing but the miraculous Maid; they knew that she had caused a

letter to be written to their chiefs, telling them that she was coming, commissioned by Heaven to drive them out of France; and she had come at last, and by provisioning Orleans, had already performed one of her miracles. It was in vain that the Earl of Suffolk and the other captains tried to check this despondency—in vain represented the whole affair as a miserable juggle got up by their enemies—in vain spoke of the disgrace the dauphin and his people incurred in setting up a low-born woman as their champion. When the best of their knights had been beaten in every battle, could the fools hope to turn the fortune of war, and overcome English valour, by means of a cow-driving girl? These and the like arguments had no effect; but it was otherwise with another assertion they made. They said that Joan was not an envoy from heaven, but from hell—that she was a foul sorceress, working by spell and witchcraft. This had a very bad effect, for it agreed with their notions of things; and the men said, that, as brave soldiers, they would fight any earthly enemy, but that they were unequal to a contest with the powers of darkness. The consequence was inevitable; they began to see strange sights in the clouds; the sentinels were startled at night by strange sounds; some saw figures on horseback galloping through the air; others were quite sure that the moon and the stars were getting out of order. But, at the same time, there were other material causes working on the side of this supernatural dread. Flemings, Burgundians, Picards, nearly all the people of Duke Philip had stolen away from the siege; when the lines were once broken or overawed, continual reinforcements poured into the town until there were many more fighting men within it than without. An army constantly recruited lay at Blois. The English, receiving no succour, must evidently from besiegers become besieged; and this soon took place. The Maid of Orleans—for such was the title now given to Joan—would have sallied in full force the very day after her arrival, to fall pell-mell on all their positions; but this was opposed by the Bastard of Orleans. A large reinforcement was expected from Blois; and the garrisons of all the places which held for King Charles received orders to march out, to unite their forces, and to fall upon the English lines. The Bastard and the Sire Daulon undertook to go to Blois to hasten the march of the forces assembled there. On the following day, Joan, with La Hire, and a good part of the garrison, rode out of Orleans to escort them on the road to Blois. The bewildered English let them pass; indeed, they no longer attacked anything, but remained in their wooden towers or bastilles. In this manner the Maid was permitted to re-enter Orleans as freely as if there had

been no siege. She had already caused to be written, in her name, a strange letter to the enemy, and now she determined to address them by word of mouth. Mounting on the wall opposite to the tower at the end of the bridge, which was occupied by the English, she raised her voice like a prophet of old, and bade them all begone out of France, or woe and shame would befall them. Sir William Gladesdale, who commanded in the tower, replied with words of abuse, calling her a leman, and the French miscreants, to follow such a base leader, and telling Joan to go back and take care of her cows. Within the town Joan was still revered as an angel from heaven—at least by the common people—and her conduct was calculated to preserve and strengthen this feeling. She took extreme pains to check the immoralities and indecencies of the town and army; and certes, says one of her chroniclers, there was much to do in this way. At times, she paraded through the city mounted on her white charger, preceded by the sacred banner, and followed by her chaplain and a long line of priests bearing crosses and relics. The poor people who came trooping in from all the country round about crowded upon her path; and when they could not have the felicity of touching her hand, or knee, or foot, they were happy at being able to touch the horse she rode on.

All warlike operations were wisely suspended until the return of the Bastard, who, in a few days, was seen marching along the right bank of the Loire with a complete army. At this welcome sight Joan made a sortie with a great part of the garrison to meet him, and make his way more easy. The English remained motionless in their bastilles, and let her pass. Some of the men cried "There goes the witch;" but others began to think that, after all, her marvellous power might be from above. The Bastard's reinforcement entered Orleans preceded by Joan and the priests. The Maid was told that Sir John Fastolfe was again on his way to Orleans with troops and provisions for the besiegers. "Bastard," said the Maid, "in God's name let me know when he cometh, that I may deal with him." The Bastard assured her that she should receive timely notice. "If I do not," said Joan, "and if this Fastolfe pass without my knowing it, I will cut off your head." On the same day, Joan, who had lain down to rest, suddenly awoke, sprung from her bed, and called for her arms. Her voices, she said, told her to go out and fight the English, but whether they meant the reinforcements under Fastolfe, or the English in the bastilles, she knew not. She took her banner in her own hand, and rode to one of the gates. Here she saw a wounded man brought in. "Ha!" she exclaimed, "I can never see the blood of a Frenchman without my hair standing on end." Here

also she learned that an irregular sortie had been made, and that the French had been repulsed in an attack on one of the bastilles. She instantly resolved to head a fresh attack in person; and, as the moment was favourable, the Bastard hurried to join her in force. The Maid led the assault; the French followed her with enthusiasm; and, after a desperate fight of three hours, the bastille of Saint-Loup was carried. No quarter was given; but Joan tenderly regretted that so many English should perish without confession and absolution. On the next day there was no fighting, because it was the festival of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin; but Joan caused another letter to be thrown into the English lines, and stood on the ramparts to hear what they would say to it. They called her so many foul names, that she wept with shame and vexation; but she presently said, that her invisible voices spoke comfort to her ear, and brought her news from heaven. The plan now adopted proceeded, however, not from her miraculous inspiration, but from a council of war. It was resolved to make a feigned attack on the right bank; and while the English were gathering on that side, to fall suddenly upon the bastilles on the left bank. Although this combined movement was awkwardly executed, Joan crossed the river, took one of the bastilles by assault, and passed the night on the left bank. On the following day she had a furious quarrel with Gaucourt, the governor of Orleans, and other great captains, who still wished to proceed cautiously, while Joan insisted, that, without caring for the right bank, the whole night of the French should be poured out on the left to reduce the formidable position of the Tourelles. Gaucourt would have opposed her will by open force, but the people of the town and the common soldiers, who were all for the Maid, rose against him, threatening him with death. Joan, therefore, had her way; and while she fell upon the Tourelles from the land-side with an overwhelming force, the citizens attacked from the side of the river in boats and from the bridge, which they had repaired with planks and trunks of trees. The grand assault commenced two hours before noon; but notwithstanding their superstitious fears, the English fought most bravely, and repulsed their countless assailants. Another assault was made; but again the French were slaughtered in the breach, or hurled from the wall. The fire of their guns, and still more the flight of the English arrows, several times cleared both bank and bridge. About two hours after noon, when the French seemed quite disheartened, Joan herself planted a scaling ladder, and mounted the wall: she was struck by an arrow in the neck, and fell as if dead into the ditch. The difference of half an inch would have made all the difference be-

tween victory and defeat; the arrow wound was not mortal, and Joan was drawn out of the ditch by a valiant knight, and carried to the rear. While they were drawing out the arrow, she yielded to the weakness of her sex, and shrieked and wept; but when the first anguish was assuaged, she fell into earnest prayer, and then she heard over all the din of battle those voices that were sweeter than music. The English, who believed her dead, were confounded at seeing her presenting herself again at the edge of the ditch, urging on the French to the assault. They now felt assured that she was more than mortal; and as the superstitious panic spread, some of the men fancied they saw St. Michael the archangel, the patron saint of the city of Orleans, riding on a white horse, and fighting for the French. But what, perhaps, was even worse than this, in a military point of view, was the notable circumstance that they had used nearly all the gunpowder and arrows they had with them in the fort. Thus reduced to comparative inaction, the English were assaulted from the bank and from the bridge at the same moment. After defending the post like lions, Sir William Gladesdale and all his knights were slain. Then the French became masters of the tottering walls of the Tourelles, which were heaped within and without with piles of dead bodies. Scarcely an Englishman of any condition whatever escaped, but for every one that fell, there had fallen at least ten Frenchmen; so that Joan's miracle was not achieved without cost. That night a council of war was held in the English camp; and the Earl of Suffolk, Talbot, and the other captains, agreed that the siege should be raised. They were, however, most anxious to preserve the high military reputation of their country which had been won in so many fields; and as morning dawned, they left their towers and entrenchments, and drew out in open array, hoping to tempt the triumphant army within Orleans to come forth and give them battle. Inferior as they were in numbers, they were quite ready to face Joan—whether harlot, witch, or prophetess—if she would meet them on a fair field. Joan was willing enough to gratify them in this respect, but she was suffering from her wounds, and had no intimation from her celestial voices. After waiting for some time, the English burned or blew up their works, and marched on the road to Paris, retiring in perfect order with their colours proudly flying. Thus was raised the memorable siege of Orleans, on the 8th of May, 1429.¹

Suffolk did not retreat far. Leaving the Paris road, he threw his men into different castles in the neighbourhood of the Loire, and then, trusting

¹ Hist. de la Pucelle; Montrelet; Villaret; Barante.

to the arrival of reinforcements from the Duke of Bedford, he shut himself up in Jargeau, only a few miles from Orleans. But he was attacked sooner than he expected. As soon as the siege was raised, Joan went from Orleans to meet King Charles. She was received with great honour by the court; and the courtiers proposed to regale her with feasts and entertainments. But Joan told them it was no season for piping and dancing—that there was much work to do—and that she had but a short time upon earth to do it. It is said she predicted that she would die within a year.

Charles now was induced to put on his armour, and to show himself to his people as an active soldier for the first time in his life. He collected all his forces on the right bank of the Loire. Within four weeks, the white banner of the Maid was unfurled before Jargeau, and in ten days it was planted on the tower of that fortress. In this affair the Earl of Suffolk was made prisoner, and Joan had another narrow escape; for, as she mounted to the assault, she was struck on the head, and precipitated into the ditch. The Lord Talbot drew out the troops from the castles and garrisons in which they had been placed by Suffolk, and continued the retreat towards Paris. After taking possession of the places thus vacated, the French pursued him. Being met by a reinforcement of 4000 men, Talbot halted at Patay, but the French also were reinforced from every side, and even the disgraced constable, the Count Richemont, marched with an army of Bretons to join the king, against whom he had so recently waged war. Charles remembered how the count had murdered his favourites; and Tremoille was still with the king, and the chief director of his council. So violent was the feeling against Richemont, that the king at first refused to receive him, and even sent him word, that if he approached, he would cause him and his troops to be attacked as though they were English. There were, however, prudent men in the royal camp, who thought that past grievances ought to be forgotten; and most of the knights and esquires began to say that they would much rather follow an approved warrior like the Breton count than all the Maids in the world. It was therefore decided, in spite of the king and Tremoille, that the constable should be welcome. There had been a whisper that Joan had undertaken to attack him in the name of Charles. When they met, the constable said to her, "Joan, they say you wish to fight me; I am ignorant whether you are from God or not; if you are from God, I fear you not—if you are from the devil, I fear you still less." These words made a great impression; for it was known that Richemont had a keen eye in matters of witchcraft, and that he had burned a great many witches in Brittany.

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The majority of the French captains were still rather unwilling to risk a pitched battle with the English in the open field; they were awed by the great skill of the enemy in disposing their troops in such encounters, and by the recollection of Azincourt, Crevant, and Verneuil. "We had better wait," said they, "for more horse." "Have you good spurs?" said Joan—"ride on, in the name of the Lord, and conquer! The English are delivered over into my hands—you have but to smite them." And it was owing to the absolute will of the Maid, and the confidence the common men had in her, that the French were induced to fight the battle of Patay. Sir John Fastolfe, who had brought up the reinforcements, was of opinion that the English ought to decline the battle, and retreat to some strong fortress in their rear; and this because the men were disheartened by the recent occurrences at Orleans, and had not yet recovered from their superstitious fears. But Talbot thought it would be ridiculous and disgraceful to turn their backs upon the French, whom they had so constantly seen flying before them. The country about Patay was level and open, with nothing but a village or a young wood scattered here and there. Talbot, when aware that the French were approaching, made a movement, in order to derive advantage from a village and some thick hedges; but he was too late, and before he could gain the position his skilful eye had chosen, the van of the French army, led on by La Hire and Sainttraille, charged into the midst of his moving column, allowing them no time to form. The archers could not even fix their stakes, and they were mixed up with the enemy's horse before they could bend their bows. The main body of the French closely followed the van; and when they saw that it was not repulsed, and that the English were in such a disorder as they had never seen before, they also charged with great spirit and confidence. The division under Sir John Fastolfe turned and retreated without fighting. Those that remained with Talbot could never recover themselves or form with any effect. The archers were slaughtered in heaps; the horsemen spurred from the field, seeking safety in flight. The brave Talbot, who scorned such an expedient, was made prisoner, and with him were taken Lords Scales, Hungerford, and many other noble captains. Twelve hundred English remained dead on the field. The French were intoxicated with their unwon success, and as proud of the battle of Patay as if they had gained it with an inferior force.¹

Immediately after the battle, the Maid of Orleans rode to the king, who, though he had taken the field, still kept his person far from the scenes

¹ Monstrelet; Mémoires de Richemont; Villard: Sene.

of actual warfare. She now insisted on his undertaking the journey to Rheims. Charles still hesitated, and many of the persons about him found good reasons for delaying the journey. It would be wiser, they said, to make sure of the ground they had gained, and reduce several strong fortresses on the right bank of the Loire which the English still held. They represented that the wide tract of country which lay between them and Rheims was almost entirely in obedience to the King of England or the Duke of Burgundy, and that such an expedition would be full of danger and difficulty. The Maid reproved them for their lack of faith: she told them that the relieving of Orleans was not an easy task, that Orleans had been relieved; that none of them expected to take the Earl of Suffolk, and yet Suffolk was their prisoner; that they had been afraid of fighting the battle of Patay, and yet that battle had been won; and, finally, she repeated her old assurances that she was guided by heavenly counsels, and that the powers intrusted to her knew no limits, as they were the powers of heaven. Seeing that no reinforcements arrived from England, and that Bedford was beginning to concentrate near Paris all the army that remained to him, Charles took heart, and resolved to follow the Maid to Rheims. He set out on his flying expedition with a considerable array, composed entirely of horse. La Hire and Saintraille led the van; the rear was formed of provincial gentlemen of no great name, and of respectable burghers from the cities of the south, who all rode their own small horses, and brought their own provisions. The important town of Auxerre made a submissive treaty. From Auxerre Charles marched to Troyes, in the hope that the weak garrison of 500 or 600 Bourguignons would surrender to his army of 800 or 900 men. But the Bourguignons shut the gates of Troyes, and bade him defiance. Charles was not provided with artillery, and his troops were not inclined to make an assault by scaling the walls. For five days he lay before the town doing nothing. During this time, most of his troops suffered cruelly from want of provisions; and the ill humour which arose had well nigh proved fatal not only to the expedition, but also to the Maid of Orleans, whom the men began to apostrophize as a foul impostor. Even many of the captains advised Charles to return, and the Archbishop of Rheims, who had never thought much of Joan's supernatural mission, now openly expressed his doubts and misgivings. The Maid was summoned almost like a criminal to the bar to give an account of herself to the royal council; but her earnest eloquence again relieved her from all dangerous suspicions, and she made the leaders of the army agree to storm the walls as best they could. On

the sixth day they began to fill the ditch with bags of earth and faggots, and to prepare scaling ladders; but the citizens of Troyes were lukewarm in the cause of the Duke of Burgundy, and the priests of the town were numerous, influential, and inclined to the cause of the king. Chiefly by means of a certain Friar Richard, negotiations were opened with the besiegers, and Troyes was quietly surrendered to Charles. When Joan was about to enter the town, she was met by Brother Richard, who rapidly made many signs of the cross, and sprinkled holy water on the threshold of the gate; for the friar was not quite certain that she might not be an evil spirit, and the good people were sorely afraid of her. But as the Maid stood this proof, she was instantly proclaimed as an angel. Friar Richard then attached himself to the king's service, and induced, by his eloquent preaching, the people of several towns to declare for Charles. From Troyes, Charles marched to Rheims, where the people, greatly alarmed at all they heard of the miraculous Maid, rose in his favour, expelled all the officers and friends of Bedford and Burgundy, and threw open their gates at his approach. On the 15th of July, 1429, escorted by Joan and a host of priests, the French king made his solemn entrance into Rheims; and, two days after, he was anointed and crowned in the cathedral church. Next to himself, the most conspicuous figure in this ceremony was Joan of Arc, who stood close by his side, bearing aloft her white standard. When the king was crowned, she threw herself at his feet in tears, and all present wept when they heard the words she uttered:—"Gentle king, now is accomplished the will of God, who would have you come hither to Rheims, to receive your consecration, and show you that you are the true king, to whom the kingdom of France rightly belongs." Not one of the peers of France was present at this coronation; but the spontaneous joy and enthusiasm of the people gave to it the character of a national celebration.¹

Joan had caused a letter to be written to the Duke of Burgundy a few weeks before, requesting or commanding him to attend the coronation of his lawful sovereign; and on the day after that ceremony, she again addressed Philip, with the full consent of Charles' ministers, who knew the differences and jealousies that existed between the duke and Bedford, and who hoped that he might be detached from the English alliance. Joan's letter, like all those written in her name, began with the words "Jhesus Maria," written under a cross. On the part of the King of Heaven, she required the duke to make peace, and live in friendship with the King of France:

¹ *Monstrelet; Chron. de la Pucelle*; Documents and Original MSS. quoted by Lebrun des Charmettes and Laverdy.

she told him that it was monstrous in him to make war against his cousin and liege lord, and to shed the blood of loyal and Christian Frenchmen—that if he loved war, there were the Turks whom he might go and fight. She added, in the name of the gentle king, that he, Charles, was ready and willing to be reconciled on any conditions saving his honour, and that the peace and happiness of France depended entirely upon him, Duke Philip. The duke was probably not much affected by this letter, but many of his soldiers were uneasy at a prediction in it—that they would never gain another victory so long as they fought on the English side. Joan and Friar Richard gained more towns and fortresses for the king than several brave armies could have done in the same short space of time. Wherever Joan carried her white banner, the people saw swarms of beautiful white butterflies fluttering about it, and so they opened their gates to the miraculous visitant. The friar was scarcely less prevalent—sometimes winning a trial of towns by one eloquent discourse in the pulpit.

Soon after his coronation, instead of being obliged to return to the Loire as he had expected, Charles was enabled to march from Champagne into the Isle of France. Town after town surrendered to him as he advanced. Where, however, the garrison was composed of native English, matters were not quite so easily managed, for their ignorance of his language made them proof against the sermons of Friar Richard, and they still held the Maid as a foul witch. At several places Joan narrowly escaped being made prisoner and burned. At the same time, notwithstanding the accomplishment of all her prophecies and the advantages they still gained through her, many of the French captains treated her with great coldness, and even with harshness; for they were weary of hearing every success attributed not to them, the flower of the chivalry of France, but to the Maid of Orleans. Some foul attempts were made to commit her character for modesty and chastity, but these Joan defeated with the rage of a tigress. It appears clearly that she now kept the field against her inclination, and an inward conviction that she had done all that she had been appointed to do. Immediately after the coronation, she besought Charles to let her depart in peace, now that he was consecrated at Rheims and her mission fulfilled. She several times repeated the request with tears in her eyes, but Charles always found good arguments to detain her; he resolved not to part with the Maid as long as her name and presence could be of any use to him. When Joan was asked what she proposed to do with herself, she said that she would return to her native village, to her father and mother, who

longed to see her again, and that there she would tend the flocks and herds as she had done before. This modesty—this absence of all worldly ambition—gained her fresh consideration, and touched the hearts of some who had been disposed to consider her as a lucky impostor hunting after wealth and honours. Her voices, however, made themselves less frequently heard, and as the operations became more complicated, they gave her contradictory suggestions; at least Joan frequently hesitated and varied in her opinions, which she had never done before.¹

The Regent Bedford had done his best to prop the fast-falling dominion won by his great brother, but he was badly seconded by the government in England. In the council there was perpetual discord and dissension, kept up chiefly by the jealousy and hatred which existed between the regent's brother, the Duke of Gloucester, and his great uncle Cardinal Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, who, after a short retirement, had resumed his post in the government. The national exchequer was poor and embarrassed. As there was no raising of troops without money, Bedford got no reinforcements, and he was obliged to weaken his garrisons in Normandy in order to keep on foot a respectable force at Paris. Now, however, he received a small army, which Beaufort had raised by his own means, and for a very different purpose. The cry for religious reform, which had been raised in England by Wyckliffe, was echoed in Bohemia and part of Germany, a few years after his death, by John Huss, an eloquent preacher, who formed a sect too powerful to be put down at once by the ordinary means of the gibbet, the block, and the faggot. The pope excommunicated them in a wass, and preached a crusade against them. All the Christian princes and people of Europe were invited to embark in this holy war, and the zealous Cardinal Beaufort got together 250 men-at-arms, and about 2000 stout English archers, whom, in spite of his years, he determined to lead in person into Bohemia for the uprooting of heresy. But when the cardinal landed on the Continent and saw the difficulties to which Bedford was reduced, he agreed, after some feigned hesitation, to join this force to the army of the regent. The coffers of the regent were empty. To fill them Bedford cast an eye on the rich possessions of the Church of France.² It was but a glance, and seeing the difficulties, he did absolutely nothing except give the alarm to a sensitive body. Hitherto he had had a strong party among the bishops and great abbots (the poor clergy were better patriots), but his friends now began to fall from his side, although at first secretly. The Duchess of Bedford, who

¹ *Monstrelet: Barante.*² *Monstrelet.*

was sister to the Duke of Burgundy, exerted her influence to reconcile her husband and brother. Duke Philip went to Paris, and had another long and friendly conference with the regent: by mutual consent, the solemn treaties which bound them to one another were read in public, and so also was a circumstantial account of the atrocious murder of Jean Sans-peur on the bridge of Montreuil. After a short visit, Duke Philip quitted Paris, leaving only a weak reinforcement of 700 men with the regent; and very soon after, when Charles was approaching Paris, he received an embassy from him at Arras, and listened anew to overtures for a separate peace. He found, however, that he could not yet make a sufficiently advantageous bargain, and many of his most powerful adherents were not yet in a state of mind to tolerate a reconciliation with the detested Armagnacs. Philip's plan now appears to have been to afford Bedford just such a degree of support as would prevent his being crushed, and never to give him force sufficient to strike a decisive blow. The regent could never collect more than 10,000 men; at times his army did not amount to half that number. The consequences of his weakening the garrisons in Normandy, and of Charles' advance to the same quarter, were inevitable. Insurrections broke out; great lords, who had made separate treaties with the English, took up arms for Charles; some towns overpowered their garrisons; others were taken by assault; and the banner of independence was planted in several important places on the Norman coast. Bedford had been obliged to make more than one march into Normandy to provide for the security of that most important conquest; but the time was now come when he must face King Charles, whose forces made incursions to the very gates of Paris. As he advanced from the capital, the French retreated and fled so rapidly that there was no coming up with them. There was a great want of money on that side also, and Charles proposed retreating to his old positions on the Loire, but his wife and the Maid reasoned against this measure, and the Bastard of Orleans and other captains vowed that they would not follow the king in that direction. Being unable to find Charles, Bedford sent him a letter. He reproached him with deluding the ignorant people by means of a female—an impostor and prostitute—and an apostate friar; he required him to give him a personal meeting: if it could be proved that any reliance could be put in the word of one who had betrayed the late Duke of Burgundy, and stained himself foully with blood, then he, Bedford, would be ready to conclude a peace on reasonable conditions; but otherwise he would fight him in single combat, in order that the quarrel

might end, and the world see whose cause was the just one. To this letter Charles sent no answer. About the middle of August, when neither force expected it, the two armies came suddenly in sight of each other near Senlis. The English, who were very inferior in number, took up positions in front of the French. The French kept their ground, but would not attack, and the English were determined not to begin the battle. The French had become cautious in the field, had condescended to employ large bodies of archers, and had adopted much of the tactics and discipline of their enemy. Many of the hot-headed French knights wanted to attack, but when the more prudent captains cast their eyes along the English lines, and observed the firm countenance of the men, and the masterly arrangements of Bedford, they declared that this was not a thing to be thought of. Some cavalry was detached to skirmish round the positions of the English, in the vain hope of tempting the troops to leave them. Troops of horse rode out to meet these assailants, and many fierce encounters took place; but the rest of Bedford's army, though eager for the fight, obeyed the voice of their general, and remained motionless. Then the Maid was asked whether the French might quit their posts and engage; but her voices gave no consistent advice; and still Charles was unwilling to risk his crown in a general engagement of any kind. For three days the two armies thus lay facing each other, and then each marched off the field by its own road.

Bedford marched again into Normandy, which was invaded by the Constable Richemont. When he was at some distance, Charles turned round upon Paris, with the hope of taking it during the regent's absence. Beauvais, St. Denis, and other places in the neighbourhood of the capital, opened their gates to him, and, with the view of inducing the people of Paris to do the same, he published a general amnesty, and made the most brilliant promises to his good and loyal city. But the walls of Paris were defended by a small but determined garrison of English, and the populace had not yet made up their minds to receive the Armagnacs. It was then resolved to try the effect of force, and on the 12th of September an assault was made on the faubourg or suburb of St. Honoré. The Maid of Orleans was foremost in scaling the walls, but her white banner was no longer victorious; she was wounded and thrown down into the ditch, where her repulsed companions basely abandoned her. She crawled out of the ditch, and lay for some time alone among the dead. Then rising, she waved her banner, and cheered on the men to a fresh assault. The soldiers lost heart, and soon fell back by troops, until she was again left alone. Some better

spirits, ashamed to see a woman stand her ground while the mass of the army skulked behind some mounds of earth, where they were safe from the enemy's fire, moved forward and tried another assault, but they were driven back in the greatest confusion and fled, forcing the Maid with them.¹ It was evident that Joan's influence was fast declining, and that even the common soldiers were no longer for her. A few days before the unsuccessful attack on Paris she had found some of the men committing shameful disorders, and she beat them soundly with the flat of her sword until the weapon broke in her hand. It was the miraculous blade marked with the five crosses, which she had discovered in the church of St. Catherine at Fierbois, and which she had worn ever since. She was grieved at the accident; but as for the soldiers, they were disposed to think that her virtue lay in her sword, and that it departed from her when that sword was broken. Besides, they were weary of her rigid system of morals. Captains as well as men laid the whole blame of their recent failure upon her. "You are a false prophetess!" they cried: "you said we should have slept this night in Paris." "And so you would," said Joan, "if you fought as I fought!" But she was not blind to what was passing; and smarting with her wound, and a keener pang within, she again resolved to withdraw from an army and court where she had experienced little else than ingratitude. She even went to the abbey church and hung up her suit of white armour before the shrine of St. Denis; but again Charles found arguments to convince her that she ought to remain, for he fancied that she might still be of some little use. The miscarriage before Paris was sure to produce a moral effect detrimental to his interests. Charles had always drawn his main supplies from the country beyond the Loire, and he began to find a difficulty in subsisting at a distance from those provinces. Money was as scarce as ever; for want of it his troops were deserting; and Bedford, having done his business in Normandy, was advancing by forced marches. Charles therefore began a retreat, and scarcely halted until he had the Loire between him and the English regent. Bedford, who reached St. Denis soon after Charles' departure, marched into Paris in triumph, and there he was soon joined by his brother-in-law of Burgundy, who gave him the most consoling assurances of fidelity, and kept up a correspondence with the friends of Charles in the neighbourhood, at one and the same time. Soon after Bedford found himself obliged to resign the regency of France to Philip, who was further gratified by the payment of a large sum of money.

Bedford withdrew to Normandy, where he retained the supreme command; and at the close of the year Philip left Paris for Flanders.

During the winter months there A.D. 1430. was a nominal truce between the Bourguignons and the party of King Charles; and negotiations for the settlement of all differences were carried on by means of the Count of Savoy, some envoys of the emperor, and other agents.²

Meanwhile Charles lay inactive at Bourges. Another miraculous woman was now presented, whose inspiration was wholly of a financial description. This was Catherine of La Rochelle, who promised the king an abundance of riches. Catherine did not pretend to fight, like Joan; her *forte* lay in preaching, and in extracting money for the use of the king from those who possessed any. She announced that she could tell at a glance all those who had hidden treasures. She also had her visions, but these were rude and material compared with the celestial visitations of Joan, for she saw nothing but the figure of a single lady covered all over with massive gold. In truth, the whole affair was a vulgar parody of Joan's ideal and glorious monomania. Joan accused Catherine of imposture; but Friar Richard, that other great warrior in this unmanly struggle, supported the new prophetess, and both declared a deadly enmity to the Maid of Orleans. During the winter months Joan laid siege to St. Pierre-le-Moutier and La Charité. The first she took after the display of all her former valour and enthusiasm, but she was repulsed at the latter.³ At the opening of spring Charles moved from Bourges, and his army prepared to advance once more from the Loire to the Seine. It was accompanied by two prophetesses; for he did not think proper to dismiss Catherine of La Rochelle; and Joan, with banner and lance, marched with the van of the army to the neighbourhood of Paris.

After some unimportant skirmishes in the immediate neighbourhood of Paris, Joan marched to the relief of Compiègne, which was besieged by the people of Duke Philip. On approaching the town she found that the duke had come up in person, and that he was pressing the siege with his whole army, assisted by a body of English. She, however, fought her way into Compiègne. On the same day, the 25th of May, promising herself the same brilliant success which had attended her at Orleans, she made a *sortie*, and fell upon the enemy's lines. She surprised one of their positions and killed a great many men; but

¹ *Barante; Villard.*

² During the winter Charles had ennobled the family of Joan, and had declared that her native village of Domremy should be for ever exempt from taxes.

³ *Monstrelet; Lenglet; Hist. de la Pucelle; Barante.*

the whole Bourguignon force collected to a point and bore her back. With her usual intrepidity she threw herself in the rear of her now flying host, and she several times drew rein, and, rallying some of her men, faced about and fought, in order to check the pursuers. In this manner, fighting and retreating, she had nearly reached the edge of the town ditch, but there she was pulled from her horse by an archer, and her troops, without pausing to rescue her, fled over the drawbridge and closed the gate upon her. Joan rose and tried to defend herself, but her efforts were fruitless; she was surrounded by her enemies, her friends made no sally to save her, and so, at last, she surrendered to the Bastard of Vendôme, who carried her in triumph to the quarters of the Bourguignons. All the captains of the army ran to gaze at the prisoner, nor was Duke Philip the last. This prince went to the lodgings where she was confined, and spoke many words with her; "but what they were," adds Moustrelet, "I do not now recollect, although I was present." The wonderful news was spread with the rapidity of lightning; the Bourguignons and the English sung *Te Deum*, as if a great victory had been obtained; the ungrateful French made no effort to effect the release of the heroine by ransom, exchange of prisoners, or any other means. Three days after her seizure she was claimed, not by the Duke of Bedford, as generally stated, but by Friar Martin, doctor in theology, vicar-general of the inquisitor of the faith in the kingdom of France. Martin, in right of the office he held under the pope, required that Joan, called the Maid, should be instantly sent to him, that she might be tried by the Holy Inquisition. The Bastard of Vendôme, to whom Joan surrendered, had sold his prisoner to John of Luxemburg, who, without heeding Friar Martin's letter, sent Joan to his strong castle in Picardy. The university of Paris then took up the cause, and wrote to the Duke of Burgundy, imploring him to cause the Maid to be delivered to the Bishop of Beauvais, in whose diocese she had been taken. The duke took no more heed of the letter of the university than the count had taken of that of the inquisitor. Then the Bishop of Beauvais, who was a great foe to witchcraft and a great friend of the English, took the cause into his own hands and sent apostolic notaries to signify to the Duke of Burgundy, in presence of his captains, that he must deliver up the Maid. A similar notification was served in the same manner on John of Luxemburg, who, after some months, sold Joan to the bishop for 10,000 francs.

In the interval Duke Philip had returned into Flanders, leaving the Sires de Brimeu, De Lannoy, and De Saveuse to prosecute the siege of Compiègne. But that place was strong, and well

defended, and the siege was raised by the Marshal of Boussac, who came up with the principal army of Charles. The duke was detained in the Low Countries till the approach of winter. The emissaries of King Charles had stirred up his subjects of Liège to revolt; and when Philip, not without great loss, had reduced these to obedience, he became occupied by another disputed succession. As he was the strongest, he had the best of the argument, and he annexed Brabant to his other vast possessions. But while he was gaining these advantages in Flanders, he suffered defeat in France. He had concluded a treaty with the Count of Savoy, that former friend of Charles, who agreed to march an army into France, and to divide the south of that kingdom with the Duke of Burgundy. Philip sent an army into the provinces beyond the Loire, under the command of the Prince of Orange, who carried everything before him, and threatened Dauphiny, the Lyonnais, and even Languedoc. Those provinces, which had been so devoted to Charles, were exhausted by the long war, and could offer little resistance; but the royalists had secured the services of the celebrated Spanish adventurer Villandrada, who threw himself into the south with some companies composed of Spaniards, Portuguese, Italians, and Germans. These companies of adventure obtained a splendid victory over the Prince of Orange, who was obliged to evacuate the southern provinces. This defeat wholly disconcerted the scheme formed with the Count of Savoy. In the month of November the Duke of Burgundy returned into France, but he undertook no great enterprise, and winter was passed in petty skirmishes or in idleness.

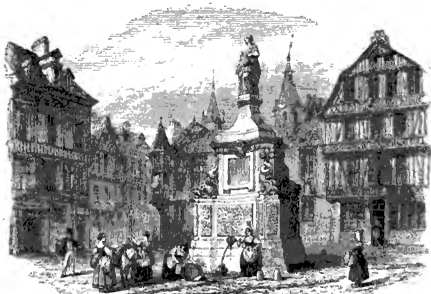
Meanwhile Joan languished in A.D. 1431. prison; her friends forgot her; her enemies longed to reduce her to ashes. All the English, and at least one-half of the French, firmly believed that all she had done had been by the direct aid of the devil. So strong was this feeling in Paris, that they burned alive a poor woman of Brittany for merely saying that she believed Joan's inspiration proceeded from heaven. After being confined successively in the castles of Beaufort, Arras, and Crotoy, she was transferred, at the end of six months, to Rouen. The Bourguignons, as well as the English, clamoured for her death, and the learned doctors of the university of Paris represented that religion would be in danger if sorcery and dealing with the devil were permitted to go unpunished. The Bishop of Beauvais claimed the right of conducting her trial, and this claim was formally admitted and confirmed by the clergy of Rouen and the university of Paris. The Duke of Bedford was desirous that the trial should be conducted in such a manner as to make a great impression on

the whole kingdom, and the Bishop of Beauvais summoned priests, and lawyers, and lettered men from far and near. Upwards of 100 doctors assembled to exercise their ingenuity in detecting impossible crimes; but some of these men grew weary of the long business, others were excluded by the bishop, and, towards the end, not more than forty sat in judgment. For sixteen days Joan was sharply interrogated by men who were ready to detect a lurking devil in everything she said, and who cross-examined her and twisted her words with all the adroitness of the schools. Though frequently puzzled by the long hard words they used, and by polemical demonstrations, to her perfectly unintelligible, Joan, unsupported by any one, pleaded her cause with great spirit, at times confounding the doctors with her prompt and clear replies and her plain good sense; for still, on all points but one, she was perfectly rational. Whenever the Bishop of Beauvais saw that her simple eloquence was producing an effect, he raised his voice angrily and silenced her. The principal object in view was to terrify or entrap her into an avowal that she had been labouring under an illusion, and that she now knew that the spirits which had appeared to her were spirits of darkness; but Joan maintained that they were angels from heaven, and that neither the devil, nor any of his ministers, could have power over a virgin like herself. Her judges thought that there must have been a deal of magic in her white banner, which had so often led the troops of Charles to victory, and raised such a panic among the bravest of the English and Bourguignons. Joan said that there was nothing about the banner but the blessing of God, and that she had used it fairly in battle as other combatants used their lances. When questioned touching her attachment to mother church, she said that her whole life bore witness in her favour; but they drew from her an assertion that she could not submit to the ministers of that church when her voices ordered the contrary. This was considered the worst heresy of all. The court drew up articles of condemnation and despatched them to the university of Paris, and to several French prelates of the highest rank. All the faculties of the university, and all the bishops consulted, agreed that Joan was heretical, and an impious impostor, and, as such, deserving death by fire. Several of her judges were, however, averse to burning, and, though the French writers pretty generally accuse the English of pressing for this execution, there is more evidence to show that they would have been satisfied with a public exposure and imprisonment for life. From the beginning, Joan's own countrymen of the Bourguignon faction were by far the most eager for her destruction.

After undergoing trying examinations in the court, the Maid was tormented in her cell by monks and confessors, who constantly represented that the church, which had tried her, was infallible in matters of faith, and that it was most merciful to those who recanted and submitted to its authority. These reasonings had their effect, and Joan was staggered at the array of bishops, doctors, and devout priests. She could hardly understand how such holy men could err; and though there was plenty of time for such a measure, the bishops and priests of her own or the royalist party, never set up a plea in her favour, or made any attempt to prove that she was a good Catholic. Indeed, Charles and his friends forgot her at once, as a thing that had answered its purpose and was no longer of any use. It was infamous in her enemies to burn her, but it was more infamous in her friends to abandon her in this manner. On the 24th of May, Joan was brought up to hear her sentence. It was known that her mind was already wavering, and every means was adopted to render the scene imposing and terrific, in order to induce her publicly to acknowledge her errors. She was placed on a scaffold in the cemetery of Saint-Ouen, and at a short distance stood a stake surrounded by faggots; the bishops and doctors sat in a gallery opposite to her, a Dominican friar mounted a high pulpit to preach, and the executioner stood close by with his cart. The church-yard was crowded with French and English soldiers and citizens of Rouen. The preacher dwelt with vehement oratory upon the damnable sin of heresy, hitherto so little known in France, and he expressed his horror and astonishment that so Christian a people as the French should have followed the delusions of an infamous loose woman. Joan listened in silence so long as the sermon turned upon her own character, but it was otherwise when the preacher attacked Charles, the man who "called himself king." "Speak of me," said the noble-minded enthusiast, "but sully not the fame of the king; he is good and royal; he is a Christian—the best in France." In the end Joan submitted; a paper, containing a confession and renunciation of errors was put into her hand, and, not knowing how to write, she signed it with a cross. Her punishment was commuted into perpetual imprisonment, and a penitentiary diet on the "bread of sorrow and the water of affliction." After being made to thank the church for its tender mercies, Joan was reconducted to her dungeon, where she put on the dress of her sex, as she had agreed to do, her male attire being considered as one of the most detestable features of her heresy. But when bishops, doctors, friars, executioner, and stake had disappeared, her cell was again illumined by

the miraculous light, the saints and angels again appeared to her, and again she heard their voices floating on the stillness of night. She examined her own heart and felt that she was still unconvinced by the arguments of the church; that she had meanly yielded to force and terror. She recalled all her former glories—she longed again to have her foot in the stirrup and her hand on the white banner—to be once more fighting for the independence of her country. By accident or design, the dress of a soldier was left in her prison, and one morning Joan was discovered wearing it. This circumstance was considered a sufficient proof that she had relapsed into heresy, and then it was determined that she should die. Her firmness again forsook her when she was told that they were going to burn her alive; she said that she did not fear death by the sword, or the axe, or the rope, but that to be burned was too horrible; and she tore her hair and made loud lamentations. The Bishop of Beauvais asked her if she had heard her voices again? She replied that she heard them, and that they had told her she had done wrong to sign the paper presented to her by the churchmen. Even if it had been usual to show mercy to relapsed heretics, this would have been fatal to her. She was delivered over to the secular arm. On the 30th of May, seven days after her abjuration, she was put into the executioner's cart and carried to the old market-place of Rouen, in the centre of which was a stake, and on the sides of which were scaffoldings and galleries erected for the bishops, doctors, priests, captains, and other select spectators. At sight of the stake, and the faggots which they

were heaping round it, she shuddered and wept; but by degrees she recovered her self-possession, and said that she hoped to be that night in paradise. The cart halted under the wooden gallery,



THE OLD MARKET-PLACE, ROUEN.—FROM *FRANCE MONUMENTALE ET PITTORESQUE*.

on which were seated the great Cardinal Beaufort and the French bishops. A monk delivered a short discourse, which reproached her with her backsliding, and which ended with these words:—"Go in peace; Joan; the church can no longer defend thee!" She knelt and prayed aloud, fervidly, though in tears. Cardinal Beaufort could not bear this lamentable spectacle; he rose from his seat and left the market-place, followed by several bishops, all shedding tears like himself. They covered her with the infernal livery of the Inquisition, and fixed on her head a black cap, which bore this inscription, "Heretic, Relapsed, Apostate, Idolater." They then forced her to the centre of the square, tied her to the stake, and set fire to the faggots. As the smoke and flames rose round her, Joan² was seen embracing a crucifix, and the last word that she was heard to utter was the name of "Jesus."³

¹ This little square is now called *Place de la Pucelle*, in honour of Joan of Arc. A fountain in its centre, surmounted by a statue of the Maid, marks the spot where she was burned.

² "It is easy to trace the true character of Joan. A thorough and earnest persuasion that hers was the right cause—that in all she had said she had spoken the truth—that in all she did she was doing her duty—a courage that did not sink before embattled armies and beleaguered walls, or judges thirsting for her blood—a serenity amid wounds and sufferings, such as the great poet of Tuscany ascribes to the dauntless Usher of Naples—a most resolute will on all points that were connected with her mission, perfect meekness and humility on all that were not—a clear, plain sense that could confound the casuistry of sophists—an ardent loyalty, such as our own Charles I. inspired—a dutiful devotion on all points to her country and her God. Nowhere do modern annals display a character more pure, more generous, more humble, amidst fancied visions and undoubted victories—more free from all taint of selfishness, more akin to the champions of old times."—*Lord Mahon*.

³ *Monstrelet*; *Chron. de la Pucelle*; *Villard*; *Lebrun des Char-*

mettes; *Laverdy*. . . . M. Laverdy's work consists chiefly of extracts from ancient manuscripts in the Bibliothèque du Roi, at Paris, and contains full accounts of Joan's trials. The works of different kinds relating to the Maid are very numerous: M. Chausard enumerates upwards of 400 expressly devoted to her life, or including details of her history. The fullest accounts of the Maid are derived from the revision of her trial, which took place twenty-four years after her death, by command of the pope, who had been petitioned by Joan's mother Isabella. Many of the Maid's companions of all ranks, from the lowest to the highest, were at this time living, and bore witness to the purity of her life and the marvellousness of her exploits. As a strong reaction had taken place, and as no English witnesses were heard, the accounts of this trial may afford some room for evil, but most of the facts may be safely admitted after a little deduction on the score of oratory and amplification. As a continuous narrative, full of the spirit and colour of the times, without any sceptical inquiry, and vividly dramatic, we know nothing superior to the story of Joan given by Barante in his *Histoire des Ducs de Bourgogne*.

CHAPTER IV.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1431—1461.

HENRY VI., SURNAMED OF WINDSOR.—ACCESSION, A.D. 1422—DEPOSITION, A.D. 1461.

Coronation of Henry VI. as King of France at Paris—The pageant unsuccessful—The Duke of Burgundy withdraws his alliance from England—His reconciliation with Charles the French king—Death of the Duke of Bedford—He is succeeded as English Regent of France by the Duke of York—Fresh victories of the English in France—Exploits of Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury—Imbecile character of Henry VI. on reaching manhood—His marriage with Margaret of Anjou—Quarrels and factions in the English court—The Duchess of Gloucester tried and punished for sorcery—The Duke of Gloucester murdered—Death of Cardinal Beaufort—English reverses in France—The French recover the whole of their country except Calais—Causes of their success—Unpopularity of the Duke of Suffolk in England—He is banished, and irregularly executed—John Cade's insurrection—He effects an entrance into London—His defeat and death—Revival of the claims of the house of York—The Duke of York appears in arms—He is apparently pacified—Defeat and death in France of Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury—Increasing imbecility of Henry VI.—The Duke of York appointed protector of the realm—Commencement of the wars of York and Lancaster—Victory of the Yorkists at St. Alban's—Political intrigues and insincere treaties that followed—The civil war renewed—Victory of the Yorkists at Bloreheath—Warwick, the "king-maker," their principal champion—The Duke of York openly claims the crown—He is satisfied with a compromise—His defeat and death at Wakefield—Atrocities of the Lancastrians after the battle—Edward, eldest son of the Duke of York, succeeds to his father's claims—He defeats the Lancastrians at Mortimer's Cross—Defeat of the Earl of Warwick by the Lancastrians upon Barnet Common—The Yorkists rally—Popularity of Edward—He enters London in triumph—He is proclaimed king.



HE affairs of the English were not mended by the burning of the Maid of Orleans. Thinking to please the people of Paris and to counteract some of the effects of the coronation at Rheims, they determined to get up another ceremony of the same kind. Young Henry, who had been crowned King of England at Westminster in the preceding year, was brought over to Paris to be crowned as King of France. At one time it was proposed to conduct him from Paris to Rheims, where the regal unction was supposed to have more virtue; but this project was abandoned, owing to the dangerous state of the country, and, after many delays, he was crowned in the church of Notre Dame, at Paris, in the month of November, 1431. The ceremony was splendid, but there was no joy on the part of the people: few of the great French lords attended; even the Duke of Burgundy was absent; and, instead of a French prelate, Henry's relative, Cardinal Beaufort, placed the crown on his head. Another discouraging symptom was that the royal boy—the son of a hero—though now nine years old, was spiritless and unpromising.

The utter disorder of affairs in England still prevented the sending of money or any considerable reinforcements to the Duke of Bedford; and the incurable madness of the French nobles clogged and impeded the opposite party, who were still poorer than the English. Charles led an errant life, apparently indifferent to the fate of his country, which suffered more from a linger-

ing, irregular war, than it had done during more decisive conflicts. He was gay in the midst of his mistresses, and his courtiers were only made unhappy by the rancorous jealousies they entertained of one another. Now and then the scene was darkened by an assassination, such as we have already described. The only consistent plan acted upon was that of detaching the Duke of Burgundy from his English alliance; and here a circumstance upon which they had no reason to count played into their hands. The Duchess of Bedford, the strongest connecting link between her husband and her brother, died in November, 1432. In the month of May of the following year Bedford espoused Jacquetta of Luxemburg. The Duke of Burgundy complained that Bedford had acted unfurlly in marrying Jacquetta, his vassal, without asking his consent; and that by marrying so soon he had shown a shameful disrespect to the deceased duchess, his very dear sister. The Duke of Bedford could not tolerate the harsh reproaches of his ally, and the less so from his knowing that Philip had courteously received fresh envoys from Charles immediately after the death of his sister. Some attempts at reconciliation were made by Cardinal Beaufort, but they were of no avail; Philip wanted a pretext for quarrelling, having at last almost concluded a satisfactory bargain with King Charles. To crown all, the Duke of Bedford's health was declining; and sickness, disappointment, and the daily exhibition of treachery, rendered him peevish and suspicious. Philip, however, affected scruples of conscience as to breaking the solemn

oaths which bound him to the English. His brothers-in-law, the Duke of Bourbon and the Constable Richemont, who were now steady in the interests of Charles, suggested that the pope could remove this difficulty; and, in a private conference, they induced Philip to agree to the general mediation of the Church of Rome, which had made several fruitless endeavours to promote a peace. By degrees the English were persuaded to refer their cause to the same arbitration. Eugenius IV. entered actively into the business, and arranged a grand European congress, which assembled at Arras in 1435. The Duke of Burgundy summoned the nobility of all his states to



THE HÔTEL-DE-VILLE, ARRAS.—FROM Coney's Ancient Cathedrals, &c.

his fair city of Arras; King Charles sent twenty-nine of his lords and ministers, the Duke of Bourbon and the constable being at the head of them: the interests of England were defended by Cardinal Beaufort and twenty-six lords, one-half of whom were English, the rest French: the great council of Basil despatched the Cardinal of Cyprus, and the pope was represented by the Cardinal of Santa Croce. In addition to all these negotiators there were ambassadors from the Emperor Sigismund, from the Kings of Castile, Aragon, Portugal, Navarre, Naples, Sicily, Cyprus, Poland, Denmark, and the Dukes of Brittany and Milan. The Duke of Savoy, who had played a conspicuous part in former negotiations

as well as wars, sent no ambassadors, because he had lately grown weary of the sins of the world, and had retired to a sort of hermitage. Europe had not yet seen any assembly of the kind half so magnificent; and, before the diplomatists proceeded to business, Duke Philip entertained them with jousts, tournaments, mysteries, and feasts. After the feasting came a course of sermons suited to the occasion; and then the Cardinal of Santa Croce opened the congress with a long speech, in which he dwelt on the duty of Christian nations to live in peace and harmony with one another. It was soon made evident that the representative of the pope was wholly biassed in favour of King Charles; at the same time the English, though they saw the rapidly growing friendship between the Bourguignons and the French, maintained a high tone, and at last Cardinal Beaufort disavowed the authority of the congress, and retired in disgust. Matters then proceeded smoothly with those who remained. Fifteen days after the departure of the English negotiators the Duke of Burgundy concluded a treaty with Charles: the terms were, of course, most favourable to Philip. In the first article Charles expressed his regret and penitence for the murder of Duke John. By the second article he agreed to abandon the men who had done that wicked deed, in order that they might be punished in person and in property—to do all that was possible to arrest them—and, failing in this, to banish them for ever from his dominions. By the fourth article, Charles engaged to build a chapel at Montereau for the good of the soul of Duke John; and, besides other pious foundations, a stone cross upon the bridge over the very spot where the duke had fallen. But these articles were insignificant preludes to those which followed. Charles engaged to pay Philip the sum of 400,000 crowns, and to put him in immediate possession of sundry fortresses as security for this money; he also ceded to Philip and his heirs the county of Mâcon, Boulogne, the towns and castles of Péronne, Roye, and Montdidier, together with several other towns and castles on the river Somme.

As soon as the treaty was sealed the congress repaired to the church of St. Waast. When mass had been sung, the Cardinal of Santa Croce ordered the treaty to be read. Then Jean Tudert, a dean of Paris, advanced, and threw himself at the feet of the Duke of Burgundy, and begged pardon publicly, on the part of King Charles, for the murder of his father. Then the Cardinal of Santa Croce, having placed a golden cross and the holy sacrament upon a cushion, made the Duke of Burgundy swear to forget and forgive the death of his father, and to live evermore in peace and friendship with the King of France. Then the two cardinals laid their hands upon

the duke's head, and gave him full absolution for all the oaths he had sworn to the English. The Duke of Bourbon and the constable swore upon the crucifix for Charles; and then followed a long process of swearing in the French and Burgundian lords, who to a man had taken many contrary oaths on former occasions.¹

The Duke of Bedford did not live to see the conclusion of the memorable congress of Arras; he died at Rouen on the 14th of September, and was buried there in the cathedral.² The French hoped that his death, and the secession of the Duke of Burgundy, would lead to an immediate conclusion of the war; but in part through their own miserable follies, in part through the valour of those with whom they had to contend, it took them fifteen more long years to drive the English out of their kingdom. The troops of Charles took Meulan, Pontoise, and other places on the Seine, while the English were left without a chief. In Normandy, Dieppe was surprised; and the people in several places were excited to insurrection by Richemont. When the French ventured too frankly into the open field they were several times defeated; but the English found enemies rising on every side, and they could no longer trust any of their sworn allies. The Duke of Burgundy soon declared open war against them. He sent some troops to join the army of Charles, and began to make immense preparations in Flanders for the siege of Calais, which place he intended to appropriate. He made use of all his influence over the people of Paris, in order to induce them to forget their old quarrel with the Armagnacs and declare for the king. In the month of April, 1436, the Parisians opened their gates to the famous Burgundian chief L'Isle Adam; and the weak English garrison, surprised and betrayed, was compelled to capitulate.

When the capital was lost, a successor to the Duke of Bedford arrived in the person of the Duke of York, who brought with him a reinforcement of 7000 or 8000 men; but the war no longer excited the English nation with dazzling visions of conquest and glory; the imprudent and impoverished government could no longer afford the same liberal pay to the soldiers; the hardy and respectable yeomen who had followed

Henry V. with such enthusiasm, and who had filled the ranks of his archers with good will and merry hearts, no longer presented themselves, and the recruits were chiefly drawn from very inferior classes or conditions of men. But, inferior as they were to the picked men that fought at Azincourt, they were not destitute of the hardy national spirit; and in the course of the ten following years the French were frequently made sensible of this fact. The gallant Talbot, afterwards Earl of Shrewsbury, soon reduced the revolted towns in Normandy; he defeated a French army near Rouen; he retook Pontoise in the depth of winter; he cleared the whole country round Paris; and, at one moment, nearly succeeded

in retaking that capital. The Duke of Burgundy, who was supposed to have learned the art of war from the English, did not practise that art against them with any effect; and he never ventured personally to face them in the field. The annals of war scarcely present a more miserable and ridiculous exhibition than Philip's siege of Calais, in the prosecution of which he spent immense sums. The Duke of Gloucester, formerly protector, now head of the council, who was getting ready reinforcements for Calais, sent a challenge to Philip, telling him that he would fight him and his whole army outside of Calais, as soon as the wind should serve for his voyage; and that if Philip would not await him there, he would follow him into his states of Flanders. Philip replied, that he would abide where he was; but four days before Gloucester landed, his army fled in a panic; and knights, men-at-arms, and all—30,000 men wearing helmets—followed their example, leaving an enormous quantity of baggage and all their artillery and engines of war behind them.

Philip was swept away by the rush of the fugitives, and the Constable Richemont, who had gone to share in the glory of capturing Calais, partook in his disgrace and vexation. The English, who had not waited for the raising of the siege to make incursions into Flanders, now fell with fury upon that country, taking several towns, and carrying off an immense booty. Gloucester soon followed Philip into the heart of Flanders, sending the most provoking messages after him; but Philip would not meet this army, small



JOHN TALBOT, EARL OF SHREWSBURY.³

¹ *Monstrelet*; *Rym.*; *Olivier de la Marche*; *Rot. Parl.*; *Barante*.
² The French wished Louis XI., the son of Charles VII., to destroy the monument, and throw the remains of the great warrior out of the church; but Louis rejected the brutal proposal, saying that he would not wage war against the dead, or in-

sult the remains of one who had made his father tremble so often, and who, were he alive, might yet make all France tremble.

³ The figure represents his monumental effigy at Whitechurch, Shropshire. Talbot inscribed on his sword this motto:—

“Sum Talboti pro vincere inimicos meos.”

as it was. Gloucester, who owed him many grudges on account of the affair of Madame Jacqueline, had now taken upon himself the title of the Earl of Flanders, pretending that Philip had forfeited those states by his treasons, and that his nephew Henry, as king of France, had bestowed them upon him.

If Duke Philip's ardour for the war had been but lukewarm before the siege of Calais, it cooled almost to the freezing point after that disgraceful miscarriage; and a similar failure in the following year (1437), before the walls of Crotoy, in the neighbourhood of Crey, did not tend to revive his spirits. Ghent and Bruges had openly revolted, and the subjects of all his states complained that they were beggared by the war. From this time he can scarcely be said to have taken a part in the struggle; but his neutrality alone was sufficient to turn the scales in favour of the French, who gradually regained possession of the provinces north of the Loire, though not without many a check. In Normandy and the neighbouring countries of Maine and Anjou, the English long presented a bold front. The Duke of York was recalled in 1437, and then the difficult command was given to the Earl of Warwick. Warwick died in two years, on which, after a considerable interval, the Duke of York was re-appointed. There was now a pause in the horrors of war occasioned by famine and the plague, which visited both England and France at the same time. In 1439 Talbot recovered Harfleur, the first conquest of Henry V., which had been wrested from the English. The valour of the nation never shone with a more brilliant light than during the siege, when Talbot, with a strong garrison before him, was attacked in the rear by an army far superior in number to his own, and annoyed at the same time by a fleet of ships which lay in the river and on the coast. Two years later Talbot displayed admirable generalship in relieving Pontoise, which was besieged by an army of 12,000 men; but all his skill and the valour of his troops could not long preserve that isolated position. In the course of the years 1442 and 1443 the French turned their arms against Henry's possessions in the south; but while they were gaining some fortresses in Guienne, the English took others in the north, and overran Picardy and Anjou. Soon after

this, the Duke of Burgundy turned a ready ear to proposals for an armistice; and negotiations were opened for a general peace. In the end all parties agreed to a truce for two years, to terminate April 1, 1446.

Henry of Windsor was now in his twenty-fourth year, but it had long been apparent that no increase of years would bring him the spirit of a man or the capability of managing his own affairs. Gentle, timid, submissive, and superstitious, he would have made a tolerably good monk, but he had not one of the qualities which constitute a good king. Parliament, which settled the regency, and apportioned and nicely limited the power and authority of its members, gave no authority whatever to the queen-mother, Catherine of France, the youthful widow of Henry V. This lady appears to have had little ambition; as three or four years after the death of the hero of Azincourt she married Owen Tudor, an obscure gentleman of Wales, who, however, boasted a most ancient and even a royal descent; but what, perhaps, had more influence over Catherine's choice was, the circumstance of his being one of the handsomest men in England, besides being "garnished with many godly gifts." In her affection for her promising family by this second marriage, from which sprung the royal line of Tudor, she may have somewhat neglected the care of the sickly and unpromising Henry. But all her cares had long ceased; for she died in 1437, and had now been buried nearly seven years in Westminster Abbey, by the side of her first husband.¹

In an evil hour part of the council took up the notion that Henry's miserable deficiencies might be all supplied by marrying him to a princess of intelligence and spirit; and for the execution of this precious scheme they fixed their eyes (of all the princesses in Europe!) upon Margaret of Anjou, the cousin of the French queen, and the devoted friend of Charles, in whose court she had passed much of her time. Margaret was handsome, of a womanly age, and noted for ability and decision of character; and she had not yet been intoxicated by power, or allowed opportunities of showing her pride, envy, and vindictiveness. The Earl of Suffolk, who negotiated the truce, and who was in high favour with the French court, also negotiated this fatal marriage.

¹ By an *ex post facto* law, passed in the sixth year of Henry VI., though not now found on the rolls of parliament, having apparently been torn out, such marriages as those of Catherine with Owen Tudor were declared presumptuous, derogatory to the royal dignity, and illegal, without the express consent of the sovereign. After Catherine's death, Tudor was apprehended and put in ward, but he was allowed to escape from the Tower. He was afterwards beheaded for his adherence to Henry VI. Jacquetta of Luxemburg, the widow of the great Duke of Bedford, followed Catherine's example, and married, to the great

annoyance of the English court, Sir Richard Woodville, who was only a knight. She and her husband, however, after some persecution and payment of a fine of £1000, were allowed to live in peace. Catherine, besides a daughter, had three sons by Owen Tudor. During the reign of their half-brother Henry VI., Edmund, the eldest, was created Earl of Richmond; and Jasper, the second, was made Earl of Pembroke. The first of these, by his marriage with the only daughter of John, Duke of Somerset, had Henry, who succeeded to the earldom of Richmond, and who afterwards ascended the throne as Henry VII.

It appears that the original notion was his, but that, though opposed most strenuously by the Duke of Gloucester, who here spoke the sense of the English people, he was supported by Cardinal Beaufort and other members of the government. The father of Margaret, though titular King of Sicily and Jerusalem, was deplorably poor—a very lackland. Suffolk, instead of asking, as usual in such cases, for a dower in money or in territory, consented to pay a price for the young lady's hand, and finally agreed to resign Anjou and Maine, which were wholly or in greater part in possession of the English, to her father, whose hereditary states they were. This was giving up, by a stroke of the pen, that which the French had not been able to obtain by the sword; and, from the geographical position of the territories ceded, it was putting the keys of Normandy into the hands of the enemy. If Suffolk and Beaufort had made up their minds to end the ruinous struggle, and to give up the whole of the English conquests in France, we might perhaps, abstractedly, and in the cool philosophy of a better period, applaud both the justice and the wisdom of the cession; but such notions were not suited to the fifteenth century, nor to the conquerors of any other time—the nation was bent on preserving at least a portion of what they had obtained at an enormous expense of blood and treasure, and the minister that had dared to propose any such measure would have been torn to pieces by the English people. The cession, in the circumstances of the times, savoured strongly either of treachery or fatuity. Beaufort was now nearly fourscore years old, and it is more charitable to suspect him of dotage than to accuse him of treachery.

As soon as the Earl of Suffolk returned to England with the bride, he was elevated to the rank of a marquis, and from that moment he and the queen began to monopolize and divide between them the whole authority of government. They were constantly together, and people said that Suffolk looked more like her husband and King of England than the unfortunate Henry. There was a strong popular prejudice against French queens of any kind; nor did Margaret's conduct at all tend to remove it. She applied doctrines of government which she had learned in France to a country wholly and happily different, and incensed the people by her arrogant despotic conduct. The friends and admirers of the Duke of Gloucester, among whom the citizens of London were very conspicuous, said everywhere that he would have found them a better queen, and taken better measures for the preservation of the English conquests; but the duke, either from fear of the prevalent faction at court, or from some other motive, gave his approval, in a very marked

manner, in parliament to all the negotiations concluded by Suffolk.¹ It is quite clear, however, that there was no sincerity in these outward demonstrations, and that the duke—"the good Duke Humphrey," as he was called by the people—would, on account of his great popularity, be a formidable obstacle in the way of the queen and her favourite. Besides, the passionate and vindictive Margaret was not likely to forget that Gloucester had at first strongly opposed the measures which made her a queen and gave to her father a respectable existence.

In 1441, after an altercation with the cardinal, in which the duke was defeated and humiliated,² a strange prosecution was got up against his wife the duchess, Eleanor Cobham, who, it will be remembered, had the misfortune of being Gloucester's mistress before she became his wife, and could never wholly efface the unfavourable impression made by this circumstance. She is represented as an avaricious, grasping, ambitious, and dissolute woman; but her enemies drew this portrait, and whatever she might be, she was dear to the duke, although he was not the most faithful of husbands. The duke was much devoted to the learning then in vogue, and exceedingly fond of the society of learned men. Among other doctors and clerks whom he entertained was one Roger Bolingbroke, whom he kept constantly in his house as chaplain. This Bolingbroke was much given to the sciences, especially to astronomy, and astronomy in those days was generally made to include astrology. Gloucester's wife, aware that Henry was sickly, and that her husband stood next in succession, was probably anxious to know whether the stars would tell when the king would die; and she had frequent consultations with the chaplain and others. On a sudden, soon after her husband's last violent quarrel with Cardinal Beaufort, she was accused of treason, "for that she, by sorcery and enchantment, intended to destroy the king, to the intent to advance and to promote her husband to the crown." The duchess and Bolingbroke were arrested, together with Southwell, priest and canon of St. Stephen's, Westminster; John Hum, priest; and Margery Jourdayn, commonly called the Witch of Eye. The duchess was examined in St. Stephen's Chapel before the Archbishop of Canterbury: she was condemned to do public penance in three places within the city of London, and afterwards to pass her life a prisoner in the Isle of Man, under charge of Sir John Stanley. Roger Bolingbroke, the learned astronomer, who died protesting his innocence of all

¹ *Rot. Parl.*; *Rymer*; *Hall*.

² The subject of the quarrel was the liberation (upon ransom) of the Duke of Orleans and other prisoners taken at Azincourt. Gloucester opposed their liberation.

evil intentions, was drawn and quartered at Tyburn; Margery Jourdayn was burned in Smithfield; Southwell died in prison before the time of execution; and John Hum received the royal pardon. The worst thing proved against the duchess was, that she had sought for love-phillets to secure the constancy of her husband. The worst thing attempted to be proved against her was, that she kept by her a wax figure, made by the "cunning necromancers," and endowed with this remarkable quality, that, in proportion as it was sweated and melted before a fire, it would, by magical sympathy, cause the flesh and substance of the king to wither and melt away, and his marrow to be dried up in his bones. "The Duke of Gloucester," says the chronicler,¹ "bore these things patiently and said little." But his enemies were now preparing for him the safe silence of the grave. A parliament was summoned to meet in February, 1447, not in the usual place at Westminster, because the Londoners were devoted to the erring but generous-hearted victim, but at Bury St. Edmunds, in Suffolk, where the favourite was in the midst of his dependents. Orders were given to the knights of the shire to come armed, and the men of Suffolk were collected and crowded in the town and neighbourhood. The king was conveyed to the town, and, as if his sacred person was in danger, a numerous guard was placed round the house he occupied. Gloucester, who was at his strong castle of Devizes, went to attend this parliament, and fell unsuspectingly into the snare. On the 11th of February, the day after the opening of the session, he was arrested on a charge of high treason, and, on the 28th day of the same month, he was found dead in his bed. The whole nation believed that the duke was foully murdered, and, with a single but striking exception,² all the writers living at or near the time hint, more or less openly, that this was the case. The body of the duke was shown to the people at Bury St. Edmunds, and there were no marks of violence upon it; but all men remembered that the bodies of Edward II., of Richard II., and of the other great Duke of Gloucester, who had been taken off at Calais during the reign of Richard II., had been exposed to view in the same manner, and bore no signs of the murderous hands of their enemies. Suffolk's party wished it to be believed that he had died of apo-

plexy. Some said he had died of a broken heart; but, even in the latter case, Suffolk and the queen were his murderers. Humphrey, however, was not a man likely to die of grief and despair, for he knew his great popularity, which in all probability must have assured him that the parliament, however composed, would not venture to proceed to extremities against him. What followed was a miserable show designed to furnish a plausible justification of his arrest. Five of his retainers were seized, and accused of plotting to release the Duchess of Gloucester from her confinement—to come to the parliament in arms—to murder the king, and proclaim the duke, their master, in his stead. They were convicted and condemned to die the horrible death of traitors; but when they were only half hanged, they were cut down, and, before the executioner could proceed in the bloody task of cutting up their bodies, Suffolk produced the royal pardon, and the men were easily restored to animation.³

As if he had not already created odium enough, the Marquis of Suffolk seized all the estates of the deceased duke, and, after keeping what best suited him, divided nearly all the remainder among his own family and most devoted partisans.⁴ The good Duke Humphrey left no legitimate children, and, on account of her conviction, Dame Eleanor could not claim any part of his property. The duke's friends in parliament boldly asserted his perfect innocence of treason, and laboured, session after session, to clear his memory from the imputation of his enemies. His old rival, his uncle Cardinal Beaufort, did not long survive him. He had for some time withdrawn from political affairs to his see of Winchester, where, however, in spite of his age and infirmities, he was still cherishing projects of ecclesiastical ambition, and dreaming of the triple crown of Rome which had so long eluded his grasp, but which he fancied was at last within his reach. He died in his palace of Wolvesey on the 11th day of April, and the *sign*⁵ he gave of Christian feeling was shown in his will, whereby he bequeathed the mass of his property to charitable purposes.⁶

When the truce expired, the King of France consented several times to renew it for short periods; but this suited his own purposes, and he knew that many of his lords would not permit their operations to be hampered by any ar-

¹ Hall.

² This is Whethamstede, who was abbot of St. Alban's at the time, a warm friend of Gloucester, and a declared enemy of the Suffolk party, whom he calls "dogs, scorpions, and impious noisers." He asserts that the duke died of grief and sickness. It appears that the abbot could have no motive for concealing the truth if he knew it.

³ Rymer; Rot. Parl.; Whethamstede; Hall; Grafton.

⁴ Rymer.

⁵ "Lord Cardinal, if thou think'st on heaven's bliss, Hold up thy hand; make signal of thy hope."

He dies, and makes no sign.—*Henry VI.*, part ii.

It is almost impossible to remove the impression made by Shakespeare's terrific death-bed scene; but that it is historically incorrect there can be little doubt. The great cardinal died almost in public, surrounded by the clergy of his diocese.

⁶ Hall; Continuation Hist. Cropland; Nichols, *Royal and Noble Wills*; Milner's *Hist. Winchester*.

mistice, in case of a favourable opportunity for attacking the troops of Henry. The fact was, Charles had another civil war in the south upon his hands: the Count of Armagnac, favoured by the now discarded minister La Tremoille, had organized a formidable league against him. France, indeed, was for some time in such a distracted condition that she must again have fallen under the yoke, if the government of England had been able and willing to press her; but that government was now influenced by Margaret of Anjou, whose father, brothers, cousins, and a host of relatives were to benefit by its folly, weakness, and vacillation.

A.D. 1449. Maine, which lay so conveniently along the southern frontier of Normandy, and which Suffolk had so liberally surrendered to the queen's father, René of Anjou, had gradually been filled with French troops and companies of adventure in the service of King Charles, who insulted the English lines almost with impunity. The Duke of York had been for some time recalled. In vain his successor, the Duke of Somerset, represented to his government that he had no money—no efficient army—and that all the fortresses in Normandy were falling into ruin from want of proper repairs. Charles wanted a decent pretext for breaking the armistice, and such pretexts are always found when sought for. Some English soldiers, who had been expelled from their houses in Maine, plundered a town in Brittany, just as the French had plundered many a place in Normandy during the truce. Somerset, conscious of his weakness, offered a reparation in money; but Charles named a sum which it was impossible for him to pay, and then threw his troops across the frontiers of Maine, and called up his columns from all sides to fall upon both Lower and Upper Normandy. While the English were negotiating about the damage done in Brittany, Verneuil and Pont de l'Arche were surprised or betrayed. The Bastard of Orleans, now Count of Dunois, led the main body of the army to Rouen, within the walls of which he had many secret agents. His force was immense, but the capital of Normandy was taken rather through the treachery of the inhabitants than the valour of his troops. The Duke of Somerset had been obliged to shut himself up in Rouen, and all that he had to oppose to an army without, and to a vast and disaffected population within, was a weak garrison of 1200 men; but the brave Talbot was with him, and where Talbot was the English were sure to do something to save their honour. But the situation of the English was too desperate to be saved even by the heroism of a Talbot: the whole town rose against them, opened their gates to the Bastard, and drove the garrison into the

citadel, where Somerset capitulated on the 4th of November, 1449, being obliged to order the surrender of several other important fortresses as the price of his own liberty and that of his brave men. Talbot was given as an hostage—Somerset retired to Caen.¹

A.D. 1450. Popular indignation obliged the minister Suffolk to do something; but all that he did, and it might be all that he could do, was to send a reinforcement of 3000 men into Normandy. Sir Thomas Kyriel, the leader of these men, had the old confidence of a captain of Henry V. and Bedford; and he did not doubt that, in case of the French meeting him in the open field, he could give a satisfactory account of them, however superior their numbers. He accordingly gladly joined battle at Fourmigni with an army under the command of the Count of Clermont; but, while he was engaged, a second army, led on by the Constable of France, closed upon him in flank and rear. Some of his men then broke and fled, but more remained to fight desperately, and die with their swords in their hands. The victory of the French was complete, and they boasted of it without any reference to the enormous disparity of numbers.² Bayeux, Avranches, and other towns, immediately surrendered to them; and soon after, the Duke of Somerset was driven out of Caen. The last siege the English sustained was at Cherbourg; but that place being furiously assailed both by sea and land, surrendered on the 12th of August; and the whole of Normandy was lost.³

The Count of Dunois and other captains had already made an impression on the English possessions on the Garonne: the Count of Penthievre had recently been despatched with an army in that direction, and, soon after the conquest or submission of Normandy, the mass of Charles' forces marched against Guienne, where there were scarcely any English troops, and where the people, though not much attached to the French, from whom they still differed materially in language and habits, were wavering and divided. The nobles generally had declared against the English: when the French army began their campaign in earnest, in 1451, the castles were surrendered to them without any fighting. The English, collecting their weak and scattered detachments, retired to Bordeaux and the places in the neighbourhood of that fair and flourishing city, where their flag had floated for 300 years. Castillon, St. Emilion, Libourne, Rions, were carried by assault; and the Sire d'Orval advanced with a

¹ *Monstrelet; Hall.*

² *Monstrelet; Fillaret.* Sir Thomas Kyriel had drawn some troops from the garrisons, and joined them to his 3000; but his force was still very inferior to the army of Clermont, to say nothing of the second French army under Richemont.

³ *Monstrelet.*

body of horse to the environs of Bordeaux. At his approach the English garrison and 8000 or 10,000 of the citizens, with the mayor at their head, made a sortie with more spirit than discipline: D'Orval charged them rudely at several points, broke them, covered the roads with their wounded and their dead, and carried off a considerable number of prisoners. But Bordeaux

was not lost by an unlucky sally; and this year the French were awed by its formidable attitude. In the following summer the Counts of Dunois, Penthievre, Foix, and Armagnac penetrated into Guienne from four different sides: the important town of Blaye surrendered to them; other places declared for Charles; and, hemmed in or crushed by numerous and still increasing forces, the Eng-



lish, who no longer possessed a foot of ground in the province except Fronsac, Bayonne, and Bordeaux, were forced to consent to give up those places by the festival of St. John, if they were not previously relieved and reinforced by troops from England. The time passed; not a man was sent to their succour; and on the appointed day the garrisons of Fronsac and Bordeaux opened their gates to the officers of Charles. Notwithstanding their stipulation, the garrison of Bay-

onne still attempted to defend that place; but they were compelled to capitulate soon after to Count Gaston de Foix.¹

Thus was lost the last fragment of the brilliant heritage of Eleanor of Aquitaine, which had been secured by the policy and valour of Henry II. Nothing now remained to the English in France

¹ The connection, at once political and commercial, which bound England by the closest ties with Guienne and Languedoc, during whole centuries, at times, too, when northern and west-

save Calais and a strip of marshy land commanded by its batteries. In Normandy and other parts of France their expulsion was hailed with a general though not unanimous joy; but it was far different in Guienne, where the people, who did not consider themselves Frenchmen, and who were strongly attached to their old franchises, which the English, accustomed to liberties of the same sort, had respected, felt that they had much to lose and little to gain by being included in that national system and placed under French governors. Forgetting all their former complaints against the pride of the Islanders, the people of Guienne long continued to regret the days when the red cross of England waved over their thriving cities and sea-ports. Nor did they submit to their new masters without an effort to restore the dominion of their old ones.¹

The tables had been turned: the English began, under Henry V., to make their conquest of France when that country was cursed with a mad king, an intriguing and vindictive queen, and a factious nobility; and they finished losing all they gained, and a great deal more, when the same curses fell upon their own country. But the shame of those losses was not to be borne patiently by a high-spirited people, and before the final closing of the account of defeat and expulsion, they took a terrible vengeance on the Duke of Suffolk—for such was the title which this minister, rising as his country sank, had now taken to himself.

Bitter complaints had been repeatedly made in parliament by a spirited minority, and as misfortunes thickened this minority became a majority, whose indignation was overwhelming. Towards the end of 1449, while the public mind was exasperated by the recent loss of Rouen, Suffolk was attacked in both houses. He had a short breathing-time during the Christmas recess,² but the popular clamour rose louder and louder; and when parliament met, early in January, 1450, he complained of the accusations made against him, defended his loyalty and patriotism, and challenged his accusers to the

proof. This challenge was readily accepted. Four days after, the commons requested the lords to commit him to the Tower. The lords replied that they could not commit a peer without some specific charge. The commons took only two days to get up a direct charge, and, when they produced it, it was neither honest nor ingenious. It simply charged the duke with having furnished the castle of Wallingford with provisions and military stores, with the object of assisting the King of France, who, they asserted, was preparing to invade England. The lords, however, without hesitation, ordered the arrest of the obnoxious minister, and he was seized and conveyed to the Tower. The bill of impeachment, which the commons prepared in ten days, contained several additional charges. For example, they charged Suffolk with the design of destroying both Henry and his partial mistress Margaret, and placing the crown on the head of his own son; and they said that he had contracted engagements with the French, in the view of obtaining their assistance for these ends. To the charges of liberating the Duke of Orleans, and of ceding Maine and Anjou, he was certainly amenable as a minister; and these charges were now preferred against him. But the commons were still wavering and uncertain as to their proofs; and on the 7th of March, a month after laying their first impeachment of eight articles, they presented a new impeachment of a very different kind, which contained sixteen articles, some of which seem probable enough, but none of them amounted to absolute treason.

On the 13th day of March, Suffolk was brought to the bar of the lords, and falling on his knees before the king, he vowed that he was innocent of any treason. In pleading, he kept to the absurd impeachment in eight articles, never alluding to the charges of waste of money, improvidence, and corruption, or indeed to any other of the sixteen charges contained in the second bill of impeachment. As to the article relating to his project to secure the crown for his own son, he maintained that it was absurd, and the pro-

ern France was at war both with England and what are now her own southern provinces, must have greatly promoted the intellectual and social development of England. Thierry speaks thus of Languedoc:—"The county of Toulouse, and the great lordships which in the thirteenth century were its dependencies, either as allies or vassals, were infinitely more civilized than any other territories comprised within the limits of ancient Gaul. They drove a great trade with the ports of the Levant. Their cities enjoyed municipal constitutions, and even resembled in some measure the Italian republics. The wealthy bourgeois had each his own mansion-house, flanked with towers; and their sons might be knighted if they chose, and joust at tournaments like noblemen. This love of political equality, which scandalized the knights of France, Burgundy, and Germany, bringing all classes of the population into free intercourse with each other, inspired the Gallic inhabitants of the coasts of the Mediterranean with a spirit of activity which displayed itself in all kinds of moral culture. Their literature was the most re-

fined in Europe, and the language of that literature was classical in Italy and Spain. Their Christianity was ardent and exalted; for they were by nature impassioned, and it did not consist in an implicit belief of the dogmas, and a mechanical observance of the practices of the Roman church. Without openly revolting against that church, they had at that remote period anticipated, and in some sort had even exceeded, the religious reformation which the sixteenth century saw burst into light in other countries. All this was effected amongst them insensibly, without a religious war—without any burst of fanaticism—without their having themselves exactly measured the degree of their dissent from the Catholic church." Many traits in this description seem to have been transplanted into England at an early date.

¹ *Monstrelet*; A. Thierry, *Hist. Guyenne*; Hall; Stow.

² During this interval the Bishop of Chichester, a friend of Suffolk and keeper of the privy seal, was massacred by the people of Portsmouth for the part he had taken in the negotiations about Maine and Anjou.

ject impossible. He could not deny the cession of Maine and Anjou; but he urged that he was not alone in that guilt (if guilt it were), for the other lords of the council had authorized that measure, and the peers in parliament had afterwards sanctioned it. The commons were determined that he should not escape, and refused to vote any supplies; the court, by which could be meant little but the queen, were equally resolved that he should not be convicted; and the whole proceeding ended, as it began, in irregularity.

On the 17th of March, Suffolk was again called up to the lords, the king being present. The chancellor observed to the duke that he had not claimed the privilege of a peer, and asked him whether he had more to say in defence of his conduct. Suffolk said that he thought he had said enough to establish his innocence: and he threw himself upon the will of the king, his master. The scene had been arranged beforehand; the chancellor instantly rejoined, saying that, as the duke did not put himself upon his peerage for trial, the king would not declare him either innocent or guilty; but with respect to the second impeachment (to which Suffolk had given no answer), the king, not as a judge taking council of the lords, but as one to whose authority the prisoner had submitted of his own free will, commanded him to quit England before the 1st of May, and to remain in banishment for the space of five years.

If parliament had entered into this compromise, and were satisfied with it, it was far otherwise with the people of London. These were furious that the traitor, the cause of all the disgrace abroad, as they considered him, should be allowed to escape so easily; and, on the day of his enlargement, upwards of 2000 persons collected to take his life. Suffolk, however, evaded the rage of this mob, and went to his estates, where he summoned his relatives, friends, and dependents. In their presence he swore upon the host that he was a wronged and innocent man; and then he went to Ipswich, and embarked for the Continent. On the 2d of May, as they were sailing between Dover and Calais, the two small vessels which carried the exile and his retinue were brought-to by the *Nicholas of the Tower*, a great ship of war. The duke was ordered on board the *Nicholas*, the captain of which said to him, as he stepped upon the deck, "Welcome, traitor!" He was kept on board two days, during which the ship stood off and on, probably communicating with some great movers in the business on shore, and

the duke employed himself with his confessor. On the third day a cock-boat came alongside, and in the boat were a block, an axe, and an executioner. Suffolk was handed over to the latter, who cut off his head. A general cry had been raised that Suffolk still retained the confidence of Margaret, and that it was insupportable to see the "queen's darling" escape with a certainty of being soon recalled to power and to vengeance; but who were the great directors of his assassination was never clearly proved. No investigation took place; the people rejoiced at the death, and their minds were soon excited by other events which were the faint prelude to the wars of the Roses.²

John Cade was a native of Ireland, who had passed some time in France as a soldier of the English, or, according to other authorities, as an outlaw. It appears, however, that he had returned to his own country, and that he came from Ireland, then governed by the Duke of York, into England, at the moment when the excitement against the government was at the highest. Insurrections had broken out in several parts of the kingdom before Suffolk's fall, and Cade put himself at the head of a popular movement immediately after that event. He assumed the noble name of Mortimer, and claimed a descent which made him a relation (though illegitimately) of the Duke of York. None but very questionable evidence was ever brought to show that this prince had employed him, yet it is certain that Cade, or rather the peculiar circumstances of the times, without which Cade would have been nothing, played the game of the duke, and encouraged the hopes which York had long entertained of grasping the royal power. The men of Kent³ had long been noted for their determined spirit; they were the boldest and least vicious of the insurgents who, under Wat Tyler, nearly overturned a former weak government; they were probably better informed than the people of the inland counties of what was passing in France; and they were now more violent in their complaints than the rest of the nation. It was said that the queen held them guilty of the recent murder of her favourite, whose headless body lay for some time exposed on the beach near Dover, and that she had threatened to take a sanguinary vengeance. Cade threw himself among these men, who se-

² Hall: *Continuation Hist. Croyland: Stow.*

¹ This was the Archbishop of York. Suffolk's chancellor, the Archbishop of Canterbury, resigned the seals at the first blush of the prosecution. According to some accounts, the present scene passed in the king's apartment, to which all the lords, spiritual and temporal, were summoned.

³ Thierry ascribes the readiness of the men of Kent to take the lead in popular insurrections to their having preserved some remembrance of their fathers having made terms with William the Conqueror. A much more likely cause lay in the law of gavelkind prevailing in that county. This "incarnate custom of gavelkind," as it is called in the *Glory of Generosity*, "tendeth to the destruction of ancient and gentle houses," and hence also to the multiplication of small democratic proprietors.—P. 84.

lected him to be their captain. He led them towards the capital; and about the middle of June, a great multitude, estimated at 15,000 or 20,000, encamped at Blackheath, from which point Cade kept up a correspondence with the Londoners. The court sent to demand why the good men of Kent had quitted their homes. Cade gave their reasons in a paper entitled "The Complaint of the Commons of Kent." After alluding to the report that Kent was to be destroyed by a royal power, and made a hunting forest, "for the death of the Duke of Suffolk, of which the commons of Kent were never guilty," Cade, or the pens that wrote for him, went on to complain that justice and prosperity had been put out of the land by misgovernment; that the king was stirred to live only on the substance of the commons, while other men fattened on the lands and revenues of the crown; that the people of the realm were not paid for stuff and purveyance forcibly taken for the king's use; that the princes of the royal blood were excluded from the court and government, which were filled exclusively by mean and corrupt persons, who plundered and oppressed the people; that it was noised that the king's lands in France had been alienated and put away from the crown, and the lords and people there destroyed with untrue means of treason; that the commons of Kent had been especially overtaxed and ill-treated; that their sheriffs and collectors had been guilty of infamous extortion; and that the free election of knights of the shire had been hindered. The court pretended to be preparing a proper answer to this startling list of grievances, but it employed the time thus gained in collecting troops in London. In this interval Cade sent in another paper, headed "The requests by the captain of the great assembly in Kent." This document, though conceived in respectful language, went more directly to the point. It required that the king should resume the grants of the crown, so that he might reign like a king royal; that he should instantly dismiss all the false progeny and affinity of the Duke of Suffolk, and take about his noble person the true lords of his royal blood, namely, the high and mighty prince the Duke of York, long exiled from the king's presence, and the mighty princes the Dukes of Exeter, Buckingham, and Norfolk; that he should punish the false traitors who had contrived and imagined the death of that excellent prince the Duke of Gloucester, of their holy father the cardinal,¹ and others, and who had promoted and caused the loss of Anjou, Maine, Nor-

mandy, and other parts of France. The court had now levied a considerable army; and this force was sent out to give the rebels their answer. Cade fell back from Blackheath to Sevenoaks, where, in a good position, he halted, and waited the attack of a detachment of the royal army. This detachment was defeated on the 24th of June, and the commander, Sir Humphrey Stafford, was slain. The soldiers had not fought with good will at Sevenoaks; and when their main body, still at Blackheath, got intelligence of that affair, they began to say that they liked not to fight against their own countrymen, who only called for a reasonable redress of grievances. The court now found that concession was expedient: and they sent Lord Say, a very obnoxious minister, and some other individuals, who had been closely connected with the Duke of Suffolk, to the Tower, which Lord Scales undertook to maintain for the king. The army was disbanded, and the king was conveyed for safety to the strong castle of Kenilworth. While this was doing, Cade re-appeared at Blackheath; and by the end of June, he had made himself master of all the right bank of the Thames, from Lambeth and Southwark to Greenwich. From Southwark he sent to demand entrance into the city of London; and this, after a debate in the common council, was freely granted to him by the lord-mayor. On the 3d of July, Cade led his followers into the heart of the capital. He seemed anxious to preserve the strictest discipline—he issued proclamations forbidding plunder, and in the evening he led his host back to the Borough. The next day he returned in the same good order; but he forced the mayor and judges to sit in Guildhall, and pass judgment upon Lord Say, of whose person he had, by some means, obtained possession. Say demanded a trial by his peers, but Cade's men hurried him to the standard at Champs, and cut off his head. Soon after, they did the same by Say's son-in-law, Cromer, the sheriff of Kent.² When this was over, they retired quietly to the Borough for the night. In the course of the following day a few houses were pillaged. The citizens now took counsel with Lord Scales, who had 1000 soldiers in the Tower; and it was resolved that they should prevent Cade from entering the city on the morrow. The insurgents got news of this intention in the night, and instantly made an attack on the bridge. The citizens resolutely defended it, and, after a nocturnal fight, which lasted six hours, and cost many lives, they remained masters of the passage.

¹ This murder of old Beaufort was the most absurd statement in these documents. Surely it was natural enough for a man to die at the age of eighty; and the cardinal, as we have said, died almost in public.

² Bills of indictment were also found against the Duchesse of Suffolk, the Bishop of Salisbury, Thomas Daniel, and several other friends of the deceased minister, who, fortunately, were out of reach of the insurgents.

The insurgents retired into Southwark, and, in concert with the irritated citizens, it was resolved to delude them by promises of pardon, as had been practised with the followers of Wat Tyler. Both the chancellor and the ex-chancellor, the Archbishops of York and Canterbury, had taken refuge in the Tower, whence they despatched the Bishop of Winchester with a general pardon, under the great seal, to all such as should return to their homes. It appears that the prelate also promised a redress of grievances. His mission had the immediate effect of creating a division among the insurgents—one party being of opinion that they ought to accept the conditions; the other, that there was no faith to be put in them. Some began to retire into Kent: Cade accepted the pardon, and then the whole force began to disperse. But in two days Cade was again in Southwark, with a considerable host, who maintained that it would be folly to lay down their arms until they had obtained some security from government for the performance of its promises. Dissension, however, broke out afresh, and being awed by the warlike attitude of the Londoners, they retreated to Blackheath, and thence marched to Rochester, where their feuds terrified their leader. Cade, who expected to be murdered or delivered up to government, which had proclaimed him a traitor, and offered 1000 marks for his apprehension, got secretly to horse, and galloped across the country towards the Sussex coast. He was closely followed by one Alexander Iden, an esquire, who overtook him and attacked him sword in hand. After a desperate fight, the squire proved the better man. The

head of Cade was stuck upon London bridge, with the face turned towards the pleasant hills of Kent; and Iden was made happy with the 1000 marks. Pursuit was then made after Cade's companions,¹ and many were taken and executed as traitors.² It was stated in a subsequent act of attainder, that some of these men confessed that their object had been to place Richard, Duke of York, on the throne; but this evidence is open to suspicion; and, moreover, it was not affirmed that the insurgents had been employed by the duke.³ But whatever may have been the caution, prudence, and patience of the Duke of York, that prince's name was certainly put prominently forward at this time; and it is equally certain, if the question was to be decided by descent and birth, that York had a preferable right to the throne.

We have shown in what manner the claims of the old line of the Plantagenets rested in Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March.⁴ This Edmund, after faithfully serving the house of Lancaster in peace and in war, died in 1424; upon which, as he left no issue, and as his brother Roger and his sister Eleanor had died childless, his rights passed to his sister Anne, married to the Earl of Cambridge, who had been condemned and executed for treason in the beginning of the reign of Henry V. Anne Mortimer had a son, the present Prince Richard, who succeeded to the titles of his paternal uncle the Duke of York, as also to the lineal rights of his maternal uncle Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March. But notwithstanding the growth of the doctrine of hereditary right—a doctrine which had gradually made way in Europe—it may

¹ See: *Fabyan; Paston Letters.*

² Thierry contrasts this insurrection with that under Wat Tyler, seventy years before. The latter he considers as chiefly one of the Anglo-Saxon race, represented by the *serfs*, against the Anglo-Norman, represented by the *gentilshommes*—the gentry—and to have been the final term of the series of Saxon revolts, and the first of a new order of political movements. Had it succeeded, as an historian of that period expresses himself, all nobility and gentry might have disappeared from England. What really followed M. Thierry describes thus:—

"(A.D. 1381-1450.) But, instead of this, matters remained as formerly established by the Conquest; and the *serfs*, after their defeat, continued to be treated according to the terms of the proclamation, which told them:—'Villains you were, and still are; and in bondage you shall remain.' Notwithstanding the failure of the great effort they had made to escape at once from bondage, and to obliterate the distinction of conditions which had succeeded that of races, the natural process by which that distinction became gradually less visible and revolting went on uninterrupted; and the enfranchisement of individuals, which had begun long before, became more and more frequent. The idea of the specific injustice of *serfdom* and *prædial bondage* (whatever its origin, and whether of ancient or recent institution)—this great idea, which had formed the grand tie uniting the conspirators of 1381, and which the instinct of freedom had implanted in the souls of the peasantry before it had reached the higher ranks, came at length to be owned as a true principle by the gentry themselves. In those moments of thoughtfulness when reflection becomes calmer and deeper—when reason prevails over interest and avarice—in the hour of domestic sorrow, of sickness, and of impending death—the nobles of that age re-

peated in such moments of doubt of their holding property in bondage, as a thing displeasing to that God who had created all men after his own image. Many deeds of manumission, dated in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, have the following preamble:—'Inasmuch as in the beginning, God made all men by nature free, and as the law of nations placed some afterwards under the yoke of bondage, we think it would be pious and meritorious in the sight of God to liberate such persons to us subjected in villanage, and to free them entirely from such services: Know therefore that we have freed and liberated from all yoke of servitude —, our knaves, of the manor of —, them and all their children, born and to be born.' . . . Jack Cade, who in 1448 played the same part as Wat Tyler in 1381, did not, like the latter, make himself the representative of the rights of the common people in opposition to the gentlemen; but, connecting his own and the popular cause with the aristocratic factions which then divided England, he went so far as to announce himself as one of the royal family, unjustly excluded from the succession to the throne. The influence which this imposture had on the minds of the people in the northern provinces, and in that very county of Kent which, seventy years before, had chosen tilers, bakers, and carters for its leaders, proves that a rapid amalgamation was in progress between the political interests and passions of the different classes of men in England, and that a certain order of ideas and sympathies was no longer attached, in a fixed and invariable manner, to a certain descent or social condition."—*The Norman Conquest.*

³ The act here alluded to was an act of attainder passed against the Yorkists in November, 1459, when their enemies were triumphant.

⁴ See vol. i. p. 537.

be questioned whether the nation would have paid much attention to the genealogy of the Duke of York, if the notorious and still increasing incapacity of Henry, and the odium which his wife incurred, had not forced the subject upon their attention. The duke had been recalled from the command in France through the influence of Queen Margaret, and his post in Ireland was considered by his friends as a kind of exile. He had, however, acquired great popularity among the English and the descendants of the English in that country; and recently (in the year 1449) he had gained much credit by the ability he displayed in the suppression of an insurrection of the native Irish. Resigning his command there, he suddenly appeared in England in the end of August, 1451. After paying a short visit to the king in London, he retired to his castle of Fotheringay. He was mute as to his intentions, but the court took the alarm, and sought to oppose him by the Duke of Somerset, the nearest male relation to King Henry, and the head of the younger branch of the house of Lancaster. But it was under Somerset's government in France that the loss of Normandy was completed; and this circumstance, added to that of his being in high favour with the queen, rendered him almost as unpopular as the Duke of Suffolk had been.¹ Two years were spent in noisy discontent and silent intrigues. Each party stood in awe of the other, and measured its ground before proceeding to extremities. Some dark deeds were committed by both factions, but the scale of guilt seemed rather to incline to the side of the court. Tresham, the speaker of the House of Commons which had prosecuted the Duke of Suffolk, was assassinated by some friends of the queen.

A member of the commons boldly proposed that, as Henry had no children, and was not likely to have any, the Duke of York ought to be declared heir to the throne; but the proposer was committed to the Tower. The commons, however, passed a bill of attainder against the deceased Duke of Suffolk, and agreed in a request that the king would be pleased to dismiss from office and from the court the new minister the Duke of Somerset, and several lords and ladies related to Suffolk. The court resisted or evaded both measures. Violent quarrels arose between the adherents of government and the Yorkists; the former asserting that there was treason afloat—the latter, that there were projects for depriving Duke Richard of his liberty, and treating him as the Duke of Gloucester had been treated at Bury St. Edmunds. In the beginning of the year 1452, the Duke of York repaired to his castle of Ludlow, in Shropshire, the neighbour-

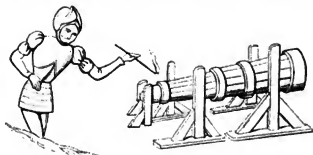
hood of which was devoted to the Mortimer family. He collected a considerable armed force, but, by proclamation, declared that he had no evil intentions against the king, to whom he offered to swear fealty upon the sacrament. A royal army was sent against him; but while that force went westward by one road, York marched eastward by another, and appeared before the gates of London, which were shut in his face. He then marched to the borders of Kent, where he probably expected to be joined by the malcontents who had been out with Cade. It appears, however, that few joined him, and when Henry came up with him, at Dartford, he agreed to a peaceful negotiation. Two bishops were the negotiators on the part of the king; and when they asked why York was in arms, he asserted that it was for his own safety, seeing that repeated attempts had been made to work his ruin. Henry said that he cleared York of all treason, and esteemed him as a true man and his own well-beloved cousin. Notwithstanding the coyness of the men of Kent, it may be presumed, from the high tone maintained by the duke, that his force was considerable. He insisted that all persons who had trespassed and offended against the laws, especially such as were indicted of treason, should be arrested and put upon their trial. The king, or those who directed him, promised all this, and more. A mock order was given for the apprehension of the minister, the Duke of Somerset, and York was assured that a new council, in which he should have a seat, should be appointed forthwith. Upon this Duke Richard disbanded his army, and agreed to a personal interview. With singular confidence he went unarmed and almost alone to the king's tent. One of the first persons he saw there was the Duke of Somerset, who called him felon and traitor, epithets which were retorted with interest. When York turned to depart, he was told that he was the king's prisoner. Somerset, it is said, would have proceeded to a summary trial and execution, but this was prevented by the fears of the other ministers and courtiers. York was then sent to London, and held partly as a prisoner, and "straighter would have been kept, but it was noised that Sir Edward, Earl of March, son to the said Duke of York, was coming towards London with a strong power of Welshmen, which feared so the queen and council that the duke was set at full liberty; and on the 10th of March he made his submission, and took his oath in St. Paul's to be a true, faithful, and obedient subject to the king, there being present King Henry and most of the nobility."² York retired to his castle of Wigmore, and remained

¹ *Kot. Parl.; Wm. Worcest.; Hall; Stow.*² *Stow.*

perfectly quiet till he was brought forward by the movements in parliament.

We have said that the people of Guienne did not submit without a struggle to the oppressive government of Charles VII. Soon after the pacification of the Duke of York,¹ they sent a deputation into England to request the assistance of a small army, to express their bitter regret at all the changes which had taken place, and to promise the most perfect loyalty and attachment to King Henry if he would enable them to throw off the French yoke.² Nearly all the lords of the Bordelais were equally irritated against the French, and they united with the citizens in the project of recalling the English. The chief of these nobles—the men of the highest rank in the country—the Sires of Duras, L'Esparre, Monferand, Rauzan, and L'Anglade, repaired secretly to London, where they treated with good effect, for, weak as was the government, it was determined to make an effort to recover what had been lost by miserable negligence. Four or five thousand good soldiers were collected and equipped, and the command was offered to the brave old Talbot, who, notwithstanding the weight of nearly eighty years, accepted it joyfully. At his approach to Bordeaux the nobles of the country crowded to his honoured standard—the people caught the flame of insurrection—and in a brief space of time the red cross of England was again raised in nearly every town in Guienne. Charles, at the moment, was engaged in a senseless war with the Count of Savoy; but these startling events recalled him from the neighbourhood of the Alps to the hills of Gascony. Having failed in his attempts to win over the people by promises of better government, he advanced against the towns on the Dordogne and the Garonne with fire and sword. Some of them he took by assault; and in these cases his troops were even more merciless than is usual on such occasions. In the summer following he laid siege to the important town of Castillon. Talbot determined to relieve this place. On the 20th of July, between

night and morning, he surprised and cut to pieces a considerable force, drove in the outposts, and fell upon the French in their intrenchments. Their position was strong, and defended by bombards that discharged stone shot; but Talbot had nearly



BOMBARD.—Froissart MS. Bib. Royale, Paris.

carried it when the Count of Penthievre came up with another army. The English withdrew from the works, formed in good order, and even then did not despair of fighting their way back to Bordeaux; but their brave "octogenarian chief" was slain, and his son was killed in attempting to save him; and then the troops fled. About 1000 men were made prisoners. There was no second army—there was no Talbot to prolong the struggle. The French army soon appeared before Bordeaux, which, after a bold resistance of nearly two months, was compelled by famine to capitulate on the 10th of October.³

A.D. 1454. The uneasiness shown by parliament at the increasing incapacity of the king, and at the power of the queen and the Duke of Somerset, brought about the recall of the Duke of York to the council; and this measure was soon followed by the committal of Somerset, who was sent to the Tower at the end of the year 1453. On the 14th of February, 1454, parliament was opened by the Duke of York, as lieutenant or commissioner of the king. For some time the court had endeavoured to conceal Henry's real condition; but the lords were now resolved to ascertain it, and an accidental circumstance afforded them a good reason for forcing the privacy of Windsor Castle. Kemp, Archbishop of Canter-

¹ *Paston Letters; Whthamstede; Rot. Parl.*

² The inveterate dislike and contempt of the Aquitanian provinces for France and Frenchmen, and their attachment to England, were both of old standing, and had their root in very various causes. The influence of the Duchess Eleanor, Henry II.'s queen, in preserving her own vassals from falling away from the Anglo-Norman rule, was powerfully seconded by natural feelings and material interests pervading the whole southern provinces of France, from Marseilles to Bayonne. "By a singular destiny," says Thierry, "while Normandy, the old land of the kings and nobles of England, became to them a hostile territory, Aquitaine, from the Bay of Rochelle to the Pyrenees, seemed not unwilling to remain subject to their authority. It has already been seen how the latter country was preserved under the Anglo-Norman dominion by the influence of Henry II.'s widow, the Duchess Eleanor. After her death, the Aquitanians remained true to her grandson, through fear of becoming direct vassals of the King of France, now, as master of Poitou, their immediate neighbour. Pursuing a policy 'has' was thought wise

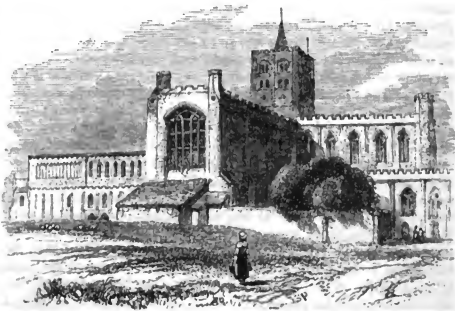
in the middle ages, they would rather, setting aside all other considerations, have for their lord paramount a distant king, as in that case the country was commonly allowed to govern itself according to its own local customs, and by a native administration—advantages hardly to be expected under a sovereign whose immediate domains lay close at hand." The industrial and commercial interests of Languedoc, also, favoured a connection between that province and England, for the wools of England were transported across the country from Bordeaux to the seats of the woollen manufacture on the Rhone and its tributaries, the returns being probably made in the silks, spices, &c., of the East, imported at Marseilles, and in the drugs and sweetmeats of Montpellier.

Had we but sufficient ground upon which to proceed, it would be a curious subject of inquiry how far intercourse with the peaceful and industrious Albigenes in the early part of the thirteenth century may not, through this channel, have first transmitted Lollard opinions into England.

³ *Monstrelet; A. Thierry, Hist. de Guyenne; Hall.*

bury and chancellor of the kingdom, died; and as it was usual for the House of Lords to confer personally with the sovereign on such high occasions, a deputation of twelve peers went to Windsor, and would not be refused entry into the castle. They found Henry incapable of answering them or understanding them: in the words of their report to the house, "they could get no answer nor sign from him, for no prayer nor desire," though they presented themselves to him three several times. This report of the deputation was, at their prayer, entered on record in parliament, and was reasonably considered as authentic a testimony as could be procured of their sovereign's infirmity (of which there was no kind of doubt in the country); and after adjourning two days, they "elected and nominated Richard, Duke of York, to be protector and defender of the realm of England." York, still advancing no hereditary claim to the crown, accepted of the humbler office, with all the limitations put upon it by parliament; but a weighty circumstance probably this time contributed to his moderation. Queen Margaret had been delivered of a son about a year before, and, though the outcry seems to have been almost universal that this was no child of Henry, the legislature could not entertain the popular clamour, but recognized the infant Edward by creating him Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester. In accepting this post as protector, York took care to obtain the most explicit declarations from the peers that he only followed their "noble commandments." In about nine months Henry recovered his memory and some degree of reason—perhaps as much as he had usually possessed. The court instantly claimed for him the full exercise of royalty, and York at once gave up the protectorate. The first use made of this resumed authority by the king was to liberate the Duke of Somerset.¹ This step and some others, which showed that it was the intention of the court to restore the unpopular minister, irritated a great part of the nation, and induced York once more to take up arms. He retired again to Ludlow, where he was joined by the Duke of Norfolk, the Earls of Warwick and Salisbury, and other men of rank. Again Henry went, or was car-

ried, with an army, towards Ludlow; but this time the duke, instead of avoiding him by taking a different road, anticipated his movements, and met him near to the capital with an army equal to his own. On the 22d of May, as the royalists were about to continue their march from St. Alban's, they saw the hills in their front covered with armed men, who were moving forward, and who did not stop till they came near to the barriers of the town. The duke sent a herald into the town, professing great loyalty and affection for the king, but demanding the person of the Duke of Somerset. It was replied by or for the king, that he would rather perish in battle than abandon his friends. Upon this, battle was joined. York was kept in check at the barriers, but another way into the town was pointed out; and, winding round part of the hill on which it stands, and crossing some gardens, the Earl of Warwick entered St. Alban's, and attacked the royalists in the streets. York then forced the barriers, and after a very short contest, the royalists gave way, rushed out of the town, and fled in the greatest disorder.² The Duke of Somerset, the Earl of Northumberland, and the Lord Clifford were slain: the Duke of Buckingham, Lord Sudeley, the Earl of Stafford, and the unfortunate king were wounded—all by arrows. The Duke of York found Henry concealed in the house of a tanner: his wound, though in the neck, was not serious. He was treated with mildness and outward respect; his conqueror conducted him to the noble abbey of St. Alban's, where they prayed



ABBAY OF ST. ALBAN'S.—From an old drawing in the British Museum.

together before the shrine of England's first martyr. When parliament met in the month of

¹ *Rot. Parl.*; *Rymcr*; *Whithamsted*; *Paston Letters*.

² The number of the Lancastrians killed in this affair has been absurdly exaggerated in most of our old histories. One of the *Paston Letters*, written immediately after the fight, says that only six score were slain.

July, it did little else than renew the protestations of allegiance to Henry and his son. After a prorogation, parliament met again on the 12th of November, when the Duke of York was appointed by commission to open the proceedings as lieutenant of the king. The commons, thereupon, sent up a message to the lords, stating, that as the Duke of York had been appointed to represent the king on this occasion, so "it was thought by the commons, that if the king hereafter could not attend to the protection of the country, an able person should be appointed protector, to whom they might have recourse for redress of injuries, especially as great disturbances had lately arisen in the west through the feuds of the Earl of Devonshire and Lord Bonville." The new Archbishop of Canterbury, in his quality of chancellor, said that the subject would be taken into consideration by the lords. Two days after, the commons repeated their request—refusing to proceed with any other business until it should be granted. York, therefore, was again declared protector; and he was to hold his authority till discharged of it by the lords in parliament. Still, however, parliament respected the rights of the infant prince, and it was declared in this session, as in the preceding year, that the protectorate should cease, in all cases, as soon as Edward attained his majority.¹ The ostensible reason for superseding Henry was his acknowledged incapacity, derived from physical maladies attended by mental derangement. There is no positive proof that he was worse than he had been a few months before; but if he were no better, the step need not surprise us. It happened to him, as to his reputed grandfather, the unhappy Charles VI.; being known to suffer fits of insanity, people could never count with any certainty on his lucid intervals, or put any trust in a king who was alternately declared to be sane or insane according to the rise or fall of a party. The House of Commons and the people would certainly have gone farther in the way of revolution; but the prelates, with one or two exceptions, and most of the lay lords, were still averse to a change of dynasty. The duke gave some of the most important offices to his tried friends. No acts of vengeance were committed: it was considered that the Somerset faction had suffered sufficiently in the deaths of the lords in the affair of St. Alban's. Not a drop of blood was spilt, not a single attainer passed.

Queen Margaret was not idle during this second short protectorate, and the powerful party of the court was put in motion. When parliament met, after the Christmas recess, in 1456, Henry, to the surprise of most people, attended,

and demanded back, and received from the lords, all his authority as king. No doubt was raised touching his malady, and York resigned the protectorate without a struggle—apparently without a murmur. All the officers he had appointed were dismissed and replaced by persons devoted to the queen. Then York thought it time to look after the personal safety of himself, his sons, and adherents. He retired to his estates, where he kept his vassals on the alert; and most of the great lords of his party did the same. This was the more necessary, as the families and friends of Somerset and Northumberland, and the other lords who had fallen at St. Alban's, openly expressed their determination to take a sanguinary vengeance.

In the end of February a great council was held at Coventry, and a sort of pacification was there effected between the Yorkists and the court party, the duke and his friend Warwick being compelled to give fresh assurances and oaths of fidelity. The king, who was no doubt sincere, whatever may have been the feelings of his wife and the courtiers, then endeavoured to reconcile York and his friends with the avengers of Somerset and Northumberland. London was chosen, by mutual consent, to be the scene of this great peace-making. After some days spent in deliberation, the king, who had assumed the character of umpire, gave his award, signifying that the Duke of York and the Earls of Warwick and Salisbury should build a chapel for the good of the souls of the lords they had killed at St. Alban's; that both those who were killed there and those who had killed them should be held loyal subjects; that the Duke of York should pay to the widow and children of the Duke of Somerset the sum of 5000 marks; that the Earl of Warwick should pay to Lord Clifford the sum of 1000 marks, and that the Earl of Salisbury should release Percy Lord Egremont from the damages he had obtained against him for an assault, upon condition of Percy's giving securities to keep the peace for ten years. This award was accepted; the court came into the city; and king, queen, Duke of York, and all, walked lovingly together in procession to St. Paul's.²

This was on the 25th day of March. In the month of May, Warwick, who had been allowed to retain the command at Calais, engaged, with great bravery, but without a due regard to the laws of nations, a strong fleet belonging to the Hanse towns, captured five or six ships, and carried them into Calais. The powerful Hanseatic league complained to the English court, which

² *Whethamstede: Rot. Parl.* Long accounts of the procession to St. Paul's are given in *Hall, Stow, and Holinshed*. The Duke of York and the queen walked hand in hand. The great quarrel was between these two.

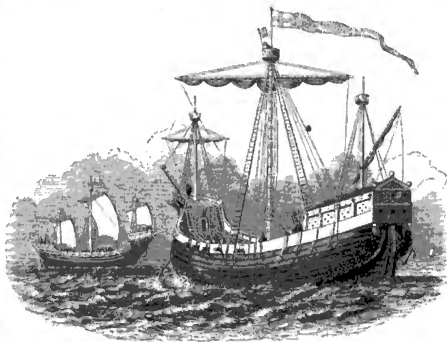
¹ *Rot. Parl.*

called upon Warwick for explanations. Warwick presented himself at Westminster; but in a few days he fled, alleging that his life was aimed at by the malice of the courtiers, who had set on men wearing the king's livery to assassinate him.¹ He joined his father, the Earl of Salisbury, and soon after they had a conference with the Duke of York and his friends. He then hastened over to Calais, where he was so popular, that his recall or dismissal by the government of Henry would have been but an idle ceremony. During the winter months he collected some veteran troops who had served in the French wars. In England the Yorkists were not less active; and as the court was raising an army as fast as the embarrassment of its finances would permit, it became evident that a fierce conflict was inevitable. The Yorkists asserted, as before, that they only armed for their own security. In the month of September, 1459, the Earl of Salisbury moved from Middleham Castle in Yorkshire, to join his forces to those of Duke Richard, who lay in the Welsh marches. At Bloreheath, near Drayton, in Shropshire, he found himself in presence of a Lancastrian army, commanded by Lord Audley, who had thrown himself between the earl and the duke with the view of preventing their junction. The Lancastrians were far superior in number; but Salisbury, by superior generalship, and the better discipline of his troops, gained a complete victory. Two thousand of the Lancastrians were slain, and Lord Audley himself was included in the number.

Salisbury joined the duke at Ludlow Castle, and Warwick, the true hero of these unhappy times, appeared there soon after with the fine troops he had raised at Calais.² The Lancastrians were not unprepared: 60,000 men had been collected from different parts, and Henry was at Worcester with this force. After some fruitless negotiations, the Lancastrians advanced from Worcester against their enemies, who, notwithstanding the comparative smallness of their numbers, boldly awaited their attack. The positions occupied by the Yorkists showed the military science

of Warwick and his father Salisbury. As the Lancastrians approached, they were cannonaded with some effect; the lines of the enemy were imposing; and it was resolved to put off the battle for that day. During the night, Sir Andrew Trollop, who was marshal of the Yorkist camp, and who had the immediate command of most of the men brought from Calais, deserted with all his veterans to the standard of Henry. This defection was so important that it finished the campaign: the Yorkists broke up from the intrenched camp near Ludlow, and retreated in different directions without being followed.

All this happened on the 13th and 14th of October, 1459. On the 20th of November a parliament met at Coventry, and attainted the Duke of York, his duchess, his sons, the Earl and Countess of Salisbury, their son the Earl of Warwick, the Lord Clinton, and many others. The Duke of York had got safely to Ireland, where he was still popular. The Earl of Warwick had retired to his sure asylum of Calais, conducting with him his father, the Earl of Salisbury, and the young Earl of March, the Duke Richard's heir. The court appointed the Duke of Somerset to the command of Calais; but when that obnoxious nobleman appeared before the port, the batteries opened upon him, and he was glad to escape to Guisnes. While he lay there, the

WAR-SHIPS OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.³

mariners of his fleet deserted to a man, and went over to their great favourite, Warwick, carrying all the ships with them. This gave the "king-maker" the command of the Channel, and after taking two small fleets, fitted out by the Lancas-

¹ As Warwick was leaving the court, one of his retinue was struck by a servant of the royal household, and a dreadful affray followed. It is not proved that there was a design to murder the earl; but it is quite clear that the parties were in such a state that any accident must bring them to a collision.

² *Whittonsted; Hall: Stow.*

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³ The nearer vessel is restored from the ship of Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, Cotton MS. Julius E. IV.; the distant from Prolsart MS. in the British Museum.

trians, he sailed to Dublin.¹ From Ireland he returned to Calais, and then, crossing the Channel, he landed in Kent towards the end of June, 1460. He only brought 1500 men with him; but manifestoes had been previously circulated, and the men of Kent crowded to his banner. As he approached Canterbury, the archbishop, who had been promoted during the first protectorate of the Duke of York, went out to meet him and welcome him. The Lord Cobham and all the knights and gentlemen in the neighbourhood soon joined his army, which was swelled to 30,000 men before he reached Blackheath. On the 2d of July, the city of London welcomed him as a friend and deliverer; and he rode through the city accompanied by his father and Edward the heir of York, to whose beautiful person and promising appearance all eyes were turned. Five bishops followed in the train of Warwick, who, without losing time, continued his march into the midland counties. He found the Lancastrians at Northampton, occupying an intrenched camp, not unlike that which he and his friends had formed at Ludlow in the preceding year. There were other points of resemblance between these two affairs, for Lord Grey de Ruthyn now deserted the Lancastrians as Sir Andrew Trollop had deserted the Yorkists. The former, however, were not so fortunate in their retreat: they lost 300 knights and gentlemen, besides the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Shrewsbury, and the Lords Beaumont and Egremont.² The unhappy Henry was taken prisoner a second time, but Margaret escaped with her son Edward, and, after many adventures, got into Scotland. The victors marched back to the capital and summoned a new parliament, to meet at Westminster. This parliament repealed all the acts passed at Coventry the year before, alleging that that parliament had not been duly and freely elected. Then the Duke of York, who had come over from Ireland, entered London with a splendid retinue. From the city he rode to Westminster, where he dismounted and entered the House of Lords. It was an exciting moment: he walked straight to the throne and laid his hand upon the gold cloth which covered it; but there he paused—looked round—and did not seat himself on the throne. He had, however, at last made up his mind to claim it. His friend, the Archbishop of Canterbury, asked him if he would not visit the king, who was in the palace hard by? The duke replied that Henry ought rather to wait upon him—that he was subject to no man in that realm—but, under God, was entitled to all sovereignty and respect. The peers maintained a dead silence, and the duke, leaving the house, took possession of

the royal palace as his own.³ In less than a week—on the 16th of October—the duke sent a formal demand of the crown to the lords, requiring their immediate answer. The lords told him that they refused justice to no man, but that they could give no answer without the advice and consent of the king. They, however, were forced to attend to the duke's paper, in which he traced his descent, and claimed as the representative of Roger Mortimer, whose right he maintained was according to all law preferable to that of a descendant of Henry of Bolingbroke, who had entered upon the thrones of England and France against all manner of right. Many of the great lords had attained to their greatness under Henry of Bolingbroke, his son, and grandson, whom it was now proposed to declare usurpers; and the Yorkists had irritated the tenderest susceptibilities of many of the lords by their repeated threats of resuming the estates and grants of the crown. At the same time, no doubt, they felt some sympathy for the inoffensive king, who, now that the queen was away, was pitied by the people at large. Indeed, a notion had gone forth that Henry was very likely to become a saint, and to be canonized, like his predecessor Edward the Confessor, whom he resembled in many respects. As the Duke of York would not brook delay, the lords waited upon Henry on the following morning. The captive king, or those who advised him, made a spirited reply, reminding the lords that he, as an infant, had inherited the crown which had been worn with honour by his father and his father's father—that he himself had been permitted to wear it without challenge for nearly forty years, and that the lords and princes had repeatedly sworn fealty to him. The lords were then requested to make search for arguments and proofs against the duke's right. The lords, greatly embarrassed, wished to have the opinion of the judges, but the judges asserted that such high matters could be decided only by the princes of the blood and the parliament, and refused to attend. The upper house then summoned the king's serjeants and attorneys, who were obliged to attend against their will, the lords holding them as bound by their office to give advice to the house. The lords deliberated and voted with an appearance of perfect freedom, just as if Warwick had not been nigh at the head of a victorious army; and, on the 23d of October, they presented their objections to Richard's title. These were—1. The duke's oaths of fealty and the oaths they had all taken to Henry; 2. Many acts of parliament passed since the accession of the house of Lancaster; 3. That entails had been made of the crown on the male line only, whereas he claimed

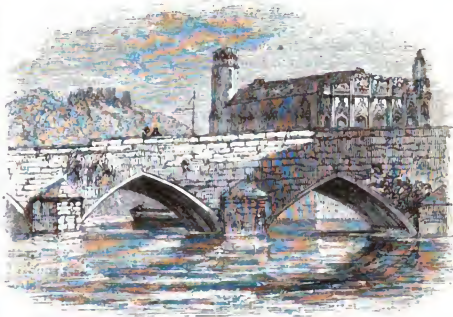
¹ *Whetham.: Paston Letters.*² *Whetham.: Sow; Hall.*³ *Whetham.: Holt: Rot. Parl.*

through a female. The other two objections were thoroughly ridiculous; they referred to York not having borne his proper coat-of-arms, and to a declaration made by Henry IV., which everybody knew to be utterly false.

The duke's counsel had an easy task in replying to these objections. Nothing was of much weight except the oaths, and these the duke offered to refer to the consideration of the highest spiritual court. The lords were compelled to acknowledge that the hereditary law was wholly in favour of York. At the end of this curious inquiry, they suggested a compromise, which York had the moderation to accept. Henry was to retain the crown during his life; but at his death it was to devolve to Richard, and to be vested in him and his heirs, to the exclusion of Prince Edward, the son of Margaret of Anjou.¹

But there was a powerful party whose voices were not heard in these deliberations, and the energetic Margaret was at large exciting them to take up arms for her son. Soon the gentle hills of England glittered again with hostile lances; and hostile bands, collecting from all quarters, advanced to meet in two great armies, the one under the Duke of Somerset, the Earls of Northumberland and Devon, and the Lords Clifford, Dacres, and Nevil; the other under the Duke of York, the Earl of Salisbury, and other lords. They met, on the last day but one of the year, at Wakefield, in Yorkshire, where Richard imprudently gave battle with forces very inferior in number. The onslaught was terrific; the men on both sides fought with savage fury, for the people had entered into the delicate questions of right and legitimacy, and their passions were worked up to frenzy. For a time the Yorkists maintained the conflict with a good hope of victory, but a sudden charge in their rear, made by some troops of Borderers who had been brought up by Queen Margaret, proved fatal to them. The duke himself was slain; and of 5000 men who had followed him to Wakefield, 2000 remained upon the field. The Earl of Salisbury was pursued and taken during the night: he was carried to Pontefract Castle, where he lost his head. York's second son, the Earl of Rutland, a beautiful boy only twelve or thirteen years old, was stopped at Wakefield bridge, as he was flee-

ing with a priest "called Sir Robert Aspoll, who was chaplain and schoolmaster to the young Earl." The poor boy fell on his knees to pray for mercy, but as soon as he was known, Lord Clifford,



WAKEFIELD BRIDGE AND CHAPEL.—FROM AN OLD VIEW IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

whose father had been killed by the Yorkists at St. Alban's, plunged his dagger into his heart, vowing, by God's blood, that he would do the like to all of kin to York; and then the savage bade Aspoll go on and tell his mother, the duchess, what had happened. England was not yet accustomed to such deeds, and a cry of horror ran through the land. Margaret vented what spite she could upon the lifeless body of Duke Richard; by her orders his head was stuck over a gate of the city of York, and a paper crown was put upon it in cruel mockery. Nearly all the officers and persons of note died fighting at Wakefield, where no quarter was given; but a few knights and esquires who escaped from the field were taken and executed by order of the queen at Pontefract and other places. This vindictive woman was mad for blood, and her fury was but too well seconded by such of the Lancastrians as had lost friends and relations in the war.

A.D. 1461. Edward, Earl of March, now

Duke of York, was lying at Gloucester when he received news of the death of his father, brother, and friends: he had raised a body

¹ Wakefield bridge was built in the reign of Edward III. It has eight arches. Leland notices it in his *Itinerary* as "a fair bridge of stone built over the Calder;" "and on the east side of the bridge," he says, "is a right goodly chapel of our Ladye." The chapel, which was removed not long since, stood upon the site of a chapel built by Edward III. (1327-77), which appears to have been pulled down and rebuilt by Edward IV. (1461-83), in memory of his father. The architecture is in the florid Gothic style of the fifteenth century. As the endowments were withdrawn at the dissolution it fell into decay, and was for some time used as the counting-house of a corn-factor. It is now set up in the grounds of a gentleman in the neighbourhood of Wakefield.

¹ *Rot. Parl.: Whetham.; Hall.*

of troops to reinforce the army in the north, but, being too late for that operation, he moved towards the south-east, with the intention of throwing himself between the queen's army and the capital, within the walls of which was the main strength of his party. The fate of Duke Richard, which was proclaimed in manifestoes, greatly irritated the vassals of the house of Mortimer, and thousands who had not moved before, now left the Welsh marches and followed the standard of his son. Upon this Edward was encouraged to proceed directly towards the queen; but he found an enemy sooner than he expected, for a great force of Welsh and Irish had been detached under Jasper Tudor, King Henry's half-brother, and a dreadful conflict took place on the 1st of February, at Mortimer's Cross, near Hereford. Edward gained a complete victory: 3600 of his enemies were left on the field; Owen Tudor, the second husband of Catherine of France, was taken, and, with eight other Lancastrians of rank, was beheaded at Hereford a few days after, as a retaliation for the queen's executions at Wakefield, Pontefract, and other parts in Yorkshire. Jasper, Owen Tudor's son, had the good fortune to escape out of the battle.

Before Edward could join him in the east, the Earl of Warwick was attacked and routed by the queen, who had followed the high northern road with good hopes of reaching London. At the town of St. Alban's, which was held by the Yorkists, she experienced a severe check; but, turning that position, she fell upon the army of Warwick, which occupied the hills to the south-east of the town. The combat was prolonged over the undulating country that lies between St. Alban's and Barnet: and the last stand was made by the men of Kent upon Barnet Common. At night-fall, Warwick found himself beaten at all points; and so precipitate was his retreat, that he left King Henry behind him at Barnet. The queen and her son found this helpless man in his tent, attended only by the Lord Montague, his chamberlain. In this running fight the Yorkists lost nearly 2000 men, and on the following day the Lord Bonville and the brave Sir Thomas Kyriel, who had been made prisoners, were executed in retaliation for the beheading of Owen Tudor and his companions at Hereford. On the 17th of February King Henry was freed again from the hands of his enemies: five days after, a proclamation was issued in his name, stating that he had consented to the late arrangement respecting the succession to the crown only through force and fear. Edward, "late Earl of March," was declared a traitor anew, and rewards were offered for his apprehension.

But Edward was now in a situation to proclaim traitors, and to put a price upon other men's

heads himself. His victory at Mortimer's Cross produced a great effect. As he marched eastward, every town and every village reinforced him, and when he joined the Earl of Warwick and collected that nobleman's scattered forces, he had an army more than equal to that of the queen. The favour of the Londoners, the cruelties of the queen, and the conduct of the undisciplined troops which she had brought from the north, made the balance incline wholly to the side of the Yorkists. It appears that Margaret and her party had no money, and that their troops subsisted by plunder. Wherever they stopped they laid the country bare, making free by the way with whatever they could carry off. After the battle, they not only plundered the town of St. Alban's, but also stripped the rich abbey.¹ At the same time the Londoners were told that Margaret had threatened to wreak her vengeance upon them for the favour they had so constantly shown to her enemies. She sent from Barnet to the city, demanding supplies of provisions; and the mayor, not knowing as yet that Edward was at hand, loaded some carts with "lenten stuff" for the refreshing of her army; but the people would not suffer them to pass, and, after an affray, stopped them at Cripple-gate. During this disturbance some 400 of the queen's horse, who had ridden from Barnet, plundered the northern suburbs of the city, and would have entered one of the gates, had they not been stoutly met and repulsed by the common people. A day or two after, on the 25th of February, the united forces of Edward and Warwick appeared in view, and were received as friends and deliverers. The northern army was in full retreat from St. Alban's, and Edward, who was a stranger to the scruples and indecision of his more amiable father, was fully resolved to seize the throne at once. He rode through the city like a king and a conqueror; and he was carried forward to his object by a high stream of popularity and the enthusiastic feelings of the people, who could not sufficiently admire his youth, beauty, and spirit, or pity his family misfortunes.

The Lord Falconberg got up a grand review of part of the army in St. John's Field; and a great number of the substantial citizens assembled with the multitude to witness this sight. Of a sudden, Falconberg and the Bishop of Exeter, one of Warwick's brothers, addressed the multitude thus assembled, touching the offences, crimes, and deceits of the late government—the long-proved incapacity of Henry—the usurpation and false title through which he had obtained the throne; and then the orators asked if they

¹ The plunder of the abbey entirely changed the worthy abbot's politics, and, from a zealous Lancastrian, Whetnhamster became a Yorkist.

would have this Henry to reign over them any longer. The people with one voice cried "Nay, nay." Falconberg or the bishop then expounded the just title of Edward, formerly Earl of March, and drew a flattering, but not untrue picture of his valour, activity, and abilities. Then they asked the people if they would serve, love, and obey Edward; and the people of course shouted "Yea, yea;" crying "King Edward! King Edward!" with much shouting and clapping of hands. On the following day, the 2d of March, a great council, consisting of lords spiritual and temporal, deliberated and declared, without any reference to the authority of parliament, which never met till eight months after, that Henry of Lancaster, by joining the queen's forces, had broken faith and violated the award of the preceding year, and thereby forfeited the crown to

the heir of the late Duke of York, whose rights by birth had been proved and established. On the 4th of March, Edward rode royally to Westminster, followed by an immense procession. There he at once mounted the throne which his father had only touched with a faltering hand; and from that vantage ground he explained to a favourable audience the doctrine of hereditary right and the claims of his family. The people frequently interrupted him with their acclamations. He then proceeded to the Abbey church, where he repeated the same discourse, and where he was again interrupted by shouts of "Long live King Edward!" On the same day he was proclaimed in the usual manner in different parts of the city.¹

At the time he took these bold steps Edward was not twenty-one years old.

CHAPTER V.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.

EDWARD IV.—ACCESSION, A.D. 1461—DEATH, A.D. 1483.

Edward IV., on his accession, prosecutes the war—He defeats the Lancastrians at Towton—His coronation—His claims confirmed—Queen Margaret's exertions, in Scotland and France, to restore her party—They rally and are defeated—Henry VI. imprisoned in the Tower—Edward IV. marries Lady Elizabeth Gray—Indignation of Edward's supporters at the marriage—Rapacity of the new queen's relations—Rupture between Edward and the Earl of Warwick—Marriage of the Duke of Clarence with Warwick's daughter—Disturbances in England—Quarrels between Edward and Warwick—Warwick and Clarence obliged to leave England—Reconciliation between Warwick and Margaret of Anjou—Warwick resolves to restore Henry VI.—Unexpected landing of the earl in England—Flight of Edward to the Continent—Henry VI. led back from prison to the throne—Edward's sudden return—His pacific professions on landing—His welcome in London—Battle of Barnet, and defeat and death of Warwick—Landing of Queen Margaret in England—Her total defeat by Edward at Tewkesbury—Atrocious murder of Prince Edward, son of Henry VI.—Sanguinary proceedings of the victors—Death of Henry VI. in the Tower—Quarrels between the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester—Edward sends a defiance to the King of France—He invades France—Interview between Edward and King Louis—Edward's campaign turned into jollity and revel—His inglorious return to England—Continuing dissension among Edward's brothers—Clarence accused of sorcery and treason—His mysterious death in the Tower—Disturbances in Scotland—The Duke of Gloucester invades Scotland—Indecisive results of his campaign—Louis of France violates his engagements to Edward—His politic aggressions on Burgundy—Death of Edward IV.



INSTEAD of staying in London to enjoy the pageant and festivity of a coronation, Edward was obliged to take the field instantly, and face the horrors of a war which became more and more merciless. The Lancastrians, after their retreat from St. Albans, had gathered in greater force than ever behind the Trent and the Humber; and, by the middle of March, they took up ground in the neighbourhood of the city of York, being, horse and foot together, 60,000 strong. Their chief commander was the Duke of Somerset, who acted in concert with Queen Margaret; for Henry still lay helpless at York, and the Prince Edward, Margaret's son, was only

eight years old. Instead of awaiting their attack in the southern counties, the Yorkists determined to meet them on their own ground in the north. This resolution was adopted by the advice of the Earl of Warwick, who set out at once with the van of the army. Edward closely followed him; and, partly through good-will to him and his cause, and still more from an anxious wish to prevent a second visit from the northern army, the men of the south flocked to his advancing banner, and by the time he reached Pontefract Castle, he was at the head of an army of 49,000 men.

England had never before witnessed such a

¹ *Whetnam's: Stone: Hall.*

campaign as this. There was no generalship displayed; the ordinary precautions and manoeuvres of war were despised, and Yorkists and Lancastrians moved on in furious masses, with no other plan than to meet and strike. They met in full force at Towton, on the 28th of March, and began a general combat in the midst of a terrible snow-storm. They fought from nine o'clock in the morning till three in the afternoon, when the Lancastrians, who were more numerous than their adversaries, but not so well armed and equipped, were driven from the field, upon which they left 28,000 dead—afar greater number than had fallen in battle on the side of the English during the whole French war. Edward, who had none of the generous or merciful feelings of youth, had ordered that no quarter should be given. The Earl of Northumberland and six northern barons died fighting; the Earls of Devonshire and Wiltshire were taken prisoners and beheaded as traitors. The Duke of Somerset, the commander-in-chief, escaped with the Duke of Exeter to York, whence they fled rapidly to the Scottish

borders, carrying with them Queen Margaret, her son, and her husband. The previous battles of the Roses sink into insignificance when compared with this mighty slaughter: the loss on both sides had hitherto usually ranged between the moderate numbers of three hundred and five or six thousand; but at Towton there perished, between Yorkists and Lancastrians, thirty-eight thousand men.¹

Edward entered York a very short time after the flight of Henry, and having decapitated some of his prisoners, and stuck their heads upon the walls, from which he took down the heads of his father and young brother, he continued his march as far north as Newcastle. The people submitted to the conqueror, whose hands were yet reeking with the blood shed at Towton; but the Scots, who had contracted a close alliance with Henry, were disposed to give him further trouble. But Edward, confident in his officers, and impatient for his coronation, soon left the

army and returned to London. On the 29th of June he was crowned at Westminster with the usual solemnities; and he then created his brother George Duke of Clarence, and his brother Richard Duke of Gloucester.

The Scots, who had been gratified by the gift of their old town of Berwick, laid siege to Carlisle, and assisted Margaret in making an incursion into the county of Durham: but both these operations were unsuccessful. Henry, who was

carried about by the Lancastrians, had a narrow escape from being made prisoner near Durham; and the Scottish army before Carlisle was defeated with great loss by Lord Montague, one of Edward's commanders. By the time the new king assembled his first parliament, which was not till the 4th of November, all opposition had disappeared, and there was no armed force on foot in England, except such bands of his victorious army as he could afford to keep embodied. As the chiefs of the Lancastrian party were all proscribed, or about to be so, as some of the peers were absent, and others intimidated, and as the

House of Commons and the city of London were declared and enthusiastic Yorkists, no opposition was to be apprehended. An act was passed to declare Edward's just title. No allusion was made to the mental derangement or incapacity of Henry, or to any of those demerits in the late government which might have justified this revolution. The position assumed was the high ground of legitimacy. After stating Edward's right by descent, the act proceeded to declare the three kings of the Lancastrian line tyrants and usurpers, and to recite how, upon the 4th day of the month of March last past, Edward had "taken upon him the realm of England and lordship of Ireland, and entered into the exercise of the royal estate, dignity, and pre-eminence, having on the same 4th day of March, moved Henry, late called Henry VI., son to Henry, son to the said Henry, late Earl of Derby, son to John of Gaunt, from the occupation, intrusion, reign, and government of the realm."² The act thus confirmed Edward's



• EDWARD IV.—From a rare print by R. Elstrach.

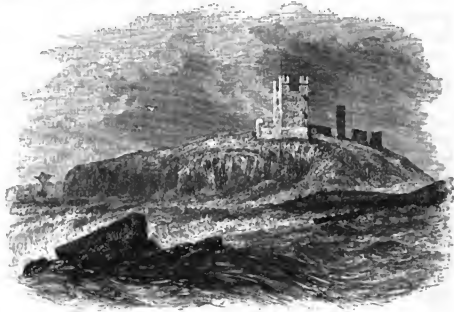
¹ Paston Letters; Cont. Hist. Croy.

² Rot. Parl.

title, and fixed the commencement of his reign from the 4th of March, the day on which he had been proclaimed. The other proceedings of the parliament were in keeping with this act: the grants made by the three Henries were resumed, with certain exceptions, and bills of attainder were passed against the expelled king, the queen, Prince Edward, the Dukes of Somerset and Exeter, the Earls of Northumberland, Devonshire, Wiltshire, and Pembroke, the Lords Beaumont, De Roos, Nevil, Rougemont, Dacres, and Hungerford, and 150 knights, esquires, and priests. Considering the fearful thinning the party had undergone on the bloody field of Towton, this proscription must have included most of the great heads of the Lancastrian faction. As usual in such cases, the loyalty of the Yorkists was gratified and enlivened with gifts of the forfeited estates. Before the dissolution Edward made a gracious speech to the commons, thanking them for the "tender and true hearts" they had shown unto him, and promising to be unto them a "very right wise and loving lord."¹

If the deposed Henry had been left to himself, he would have found peace, and as much happiness as he was susceptible of, within the walls of some religious house; but Margaret was as resolute and as active as ever, and nothing was left to the proscribed nobles but their desperateswords. The queen, on finding her intrigues in Scotland counteracted by the money and the large promises of Edward, passed over to France, to see what assistance might be obtained from family affection, and gratitude for past services. The Duke of Brittany, pitying her forlorn condition, gave her a little money; but Louis XI., who had succeeded in the preceding year to his father Charles VII., was a most cunning, cautious prince—one that never gave anything without an equivalent, immediate or prospective, and who had even less family affection than the generality of kings. Louis explained how poor he was, how distracted the state of his kingdom; but when Margaret spoke of delivering up Calais as the price of his aid, he turned a more ready ear. He was not, however, in a condition to do much; and all that the fugitive queen obtained from him was the sum of 20,000 crowns, and about 2000 men, under the command of Peter de Brezé, seneschal of Normandy, who, it ap-

pears, raised most of the men at his own expense. Such a reinforcement was not likely to turn the tide of victory. Margaret, however, returned to England, and threw herself into Northumberland, where she was joined by the English exiles and some troops from the borders of Scotland. She even obtained some trifling successes, taking the castles of Alnwick, Bamborough, and Dunstanburgh; but she was obliged to flee when the Earl of Warwick advanced with 20,000 men: the French got back to their ships, all but 500, who were cut to pieces at Holy Island. A storm assailed her flying ships; the vessels that bore her money and stores were wrecked on the coast, and she and De Brezé reached Berwick in a wretched fishing-boat. This was in the month of November. In December, Warwick reduced Bamborough and Dunstanburgh; or rather those places surrendered, on condition that the Duke of Somerset, Sir Richard Percy, and some others, should be restored to their estates and honours, upon taking oaths of allegiance to Edward; and that the Earl of Pembroke, the Lord de Roos, and the rest of the garrisons of the two places should be allowed to retire in safety to Scotland. Alnwick Castle was garrisoned by more determined men; and an attempt was made by a Lancastrian



DUNSTANBURGH CASTLE.²—Finden's Ports and Harbours.

force to relieve it; but Warwick got possession of it by capitulation early in January.

A.D. 1463. Edward gave Alnwick to Sir

John Ashley; and this circumstance converted Sir Ralph Gray from a very violent Yorkist into a very violent Lancastrian;

² Dunstanburgh Castle is not recorded earlier than the beginning of the fourteenth century, when it was rebuilt by Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, who likewise owned Pontefract Castle. It was taken and dismantled by Edward IV., but its extensive ruins still inclose an area, nearly square, of about nine acres. There is no appearance of the keep, the remains consisting only of the outworks. Dunstanburgh Castle is situated six miles north-east from Alnwick.

¹ Rot. Parl.

for Gray had expected to get Alnwick for himself. This kind of sudden political conversion became very prevalent. Somerset and Percy got back their lands, and their attainders were reversed in parliament. King Henry was now conveyed for safety to one of the strongest castles in Wales. Margaret sailed once more from Scotland, to solicit foreign aid. She landed at Sluis, in Flanders, attended by De Brezé, the Duke of Exeter, and a small body of English exiles. Philip, Duke of Burgundy and Lord of Flanders, with all the adjoining country, was the same Duke Philip that had so long been the ally of the Lancastrians, and that had repeatedly sworn oaths of fealty to Henry; but the whole political system of his early life had changed, and in his old age he had become cautious and reserved. He had no wish to quarrel with the predominant faction in England; his subjects of Flanders were intolerant of all measures likely to interrupt their trade with the English; the duke therefore gave Margaret some money to supply her immediate wants, and sent her with an honourable escort to her father in Lorraine, counselling her to wait events and be patient. But patience was a virtue little known to Margaret of Anjou, who, though she remained some years on the Continent, never remitted her endeavours to raise up enemies against Edward, and stir the people of England to fresh revolts.

A.D. 1464. As early as the month of April the Lancastrians were again in the field. The Duke of Somerset, in spite of his recent submission, flew to the north, where Percy had raised the banner of King Henry, who had been brought from Wales to give the sanction of his presence to this ill-arranged insurrection. The Lord Montague, brother to the Earl of Warwick, scattered their forces or prevented their joining: he defeated Percy on the 25th of April, at Hedgley Moor, near Wooler; he surprised Somerset on the 15th of May, at Hexham. Percy died fighting; the Duke of Somerset and the Lords de Roos and Hungerford were taken and beheaded; and their deaths were followed by a series of executions at Newcastle, Durham, and York. Sir Ralph Gray, who had been out in this affair with the Lancastrians, was taken by the Earl of Warwick in the castle of Bamborough some weeks after, and carried to King Edward, who, during the short, murderous campaign, had been detained at Doncaster by an illness. Edward treated Gray with the utmost severity; his knightly spurs were stricken off by the king's cook; his coat-of-arms was torn from his body, and another coat, reversed, put upon his back: he was sent bare-foot to the town's end, and then he was laid down on a hurdle, and drawn to a scaffold, where his head was struck off. King

Henry lurked for a long time among the moors of Lancashire and Westmoreland. About a year after the battle of Hexham he removed into



PERCY'S CROSS ON HEDGLEY MOOR.—Scott's Border Antiquities.

Yorkshire, where he was recognized by some persons of the opposite faction, or, as some say, betrayed by a monk. In the month of July he was seized in Waddington Hall, as he was sitting at dinner, by the servants of Sir James Harrington, who, with his associates, the Tempests, Talbots, and other Yorkists of those parts, forwarded the royal prisoner with a good guard to the capital. As the captive king rode through Islington, he was met by the Earl of Warwick, who lodged him safely in the Tower.

The destruction of the greatest of his enemies, the flight of Queen Margaret, the captivity of her husband, the truces and treaties he had concluded with Scotland, with the King of France, with the Duke of Burgundy, the Duke of Brittany, the Kings of Denmark, Poland, Castile, and Aragon, and the congratulations of the pope on his accession, seemed to prove that Edward's throne was safe and unassailable; but a sudden passion for a beautiful woman—the least dishonourable and ungenerous passion he ever indulged in—shook the throne until it fell; and he, in his turn, became, for a season, a fugitive in foreign lands. Jacquetta, once Duchess of Bed-

¹ This monument, to commemorate the death of Sir Richard Percy, stands on Hedgley Moor, in Northumberland, about sixty paces east of the road which runs from Morpeth to Wooler. It consists of a stone pillar fixed in a pedestal, having the arms of Percy and Lucy cut upon it in relief.

ford, was still living with her second husband, Sir Richard Woodville, or Wydeville. One day Edward paid this lady a visit at her manor of Grafton, near Stony-Stratford. By accident or design, Jacquetta had with her at the time of this visit, her beautiful daughter Elizabeth, who was widow of Sir John Gray, a Lancastrian, who had been slain in the second battle of St. Alban's, and whose estates had been forfeited. This young widow threw herself at the feet of the young and amorous sovereign, imploring him to reverse the attainder of Sir John Gray, in favour of her innocent and helpless children. Whether the effect of this touching appeal was foreseen or not, it seems quite certain that the experienced Jacquetta contrived to turn it to the best account for the advantage of her daughter, and that it was through her ingenious manœuvres that the impetuous Edward was induced to contract a private marriage with Elizabeth at Grafton on the morning of the 1st of May, 1464. The fears of Edward induced him to keep this union a profound secret for some months; but on the 29th of September, having prepared his friends and gathered around him the relations and connections of his wife, who, notwithstanding their having been all of them Lancastrians, were not slow in changing their politics when Elizabeth became queen, he summoned a great council of the prelates and lay lords to meet in the royal abbey of Reading. There the king's brother, the Duke of Clarence, and the Earl of Warwick, who are generally supposed to have been incensed at the unequal and impolitic marriage, took the fair Elizabeth by the hand, and introduced her to the august assembly, by which she was welcomed as their good and right queen. In the month of December following, Edward summoned another great council at Westminster, which settled upon his wife 4000 marks a-year. Early in the following year he began to make preparations for her coronation; Jacquetta, who was come of a princely line, suggested or seconded an invitation which Edward sent to her brother James of Luxemburg; and James came over with a retinue of 100 knights and esquires to do honour to the coronation of his niece. On Saturday, the 25th of May, Elizabeth was paraded in a horse-litter through the streets of London, being most richly attired, and escorted by thirty-eight new-made knights of the Bath, four of whom were citizens of London; and on Sunday she was crowned at Westminster. The feasts, the tournaments, and public rejoicings which followed were unusually magnificent.

Up to this time Edward had left most of the offices and emoluments of government to the great family of the Nevils, to whom he indisputably owed his crown. Warwick, the eldest

brother, was chief minister, general, and admiral; he held, besides, the post of warden of the West Marches, chamberlain, and governor of Calais—the last the most profitable of all. The second brother, the Lord Montague, after his victories at Hedgley Moor and Hexham, had received the title and forfeited estates of the Percies, Earls of Northumberland, and he had the wardenship of the East Marches besides. The youngest brother, whom Edward had found Bishop of Exeter, had received the seals as chancellor on the 10th of March, 1461, six days after Edward's accession; and he had very recently been raised to the archiepiscopal see of York. Other members of the family had found most liberal provisions in the spoil and estates of the Lancastrian families; and while Edward had employed himself in the pursuit of pleasure, the Nevils had had their own way in the council. But now the Woodvilles, the Grays, all the relations and connections of the new queen, rushed to the table with an enormous and indiscriminating appetite, every man, in right of consanguinity, seeking a title, an estate, a place, or a rich wife. The court had great influence in such matters; and as the fortunes of the family had taken a turn by an unexpected marriage, they seem to have determined to pursue the system, and actually contracted five or six profitable alliances in a very short time. In one of these matches they clashed with the Nevils. Warwick had solicited the hand of the heiress of the Duke of Exeter for his own nephew; but by the superior influence of Elizabeth, this young lady was contracted to Thomas Gray, her eldest son by her former marriage. The Nevils were incensed at this measure; and other things trenching on their monopoly soon followed. The queen's father, now created Earl Rivers, was made treasurer in the place of their friend Lord Mountjoy; and, shortly after, the hitherto insignificant husband of Jacquetta was made lord high constable, in lieu of the Earl of Worcester. Other great families were irritated by the queen absorbing five heirs of dukes or earls for her five unmarried sisters. For a time the history of this reign is nothing but a scandalous chronicle of match-making and match-breaking, and selfish family intrigues.

In this year a marriage was negotiated for Edward's sister, Margaret of York, whose hand was solicited by Charles, Count of Charolois, heir to Philip, Duke of Burgundy, and by Louis XI. of France, Charles' deadly enemy, for one of his sons. This Count of Charolois, who, in a very few months, succeeded to his father, and who obtained the name of Charles the Rash, had always been the declared friend of Henry VI. and the Lancastrians; but he changed, like other men, on seeing

Edward firmly established, and courted his alliance, in the hope that he would assist him against Louis. Edward inclined to these proposals, and was in this probably seconded by the nation, which considered the trade with Flanders as a primary object, and which never was well disposed to French marriages and alliances; but Warwick, who hated the Count of Charolois, insisted that it would be more honourable and advantageous to marry Margaret to the French prince. Edward yielded, or pretended to yield to his arguments, and commissioned the great earl himself to go over to France and negotiate the alliance. Warwick went with his usual magnificence; and the astute Louis, who beat all his contemporaries in king-craft, received him with the honours usually paid to a sovereign prince. The first interview took place at La Bouille, on the Seine, five leagues from Rouen, on the 7th of June. Warwick then proceeded to the capital of Normandy. "The queen and princesses came likewise to Rouen; and the king remained there with the Earl of Warwick the space of twelve days, when the earl returned to England." During the whole or the greater part of the time that Warwick stayed at Rouen the King of France lodged in the next house, and he visited the earl at all hours, passing through a private door with a great air of mystery. This looks like one of the usual mischievous tricks of Louis, who must have known that the best way to weaken and distract the English government was to provoke suspicious and a rupture between Edward and Warwick. The earl arrived in London on the 5th of July, and he was soon followed by the French king's ambassadors, the Archbishop of Narbonne and the Bastard of Bourbon, who, it appears, were charged to put the finishing hand to the treaty of alliance. But another more prevailing bastard had been before them. Under pretence of performing a joust with Edward's wife's brother, Anthony Woodville, who, by marrying the heiress of the late lord, had become Lord Scales, Anthony, Bastard of Burgundy, had crossed over to England while Warwick was absent in France. According to the chronicler, this visitor performed his deeds of arms much to his credit; but the encounter did not last long — "for as it was done to pleasure the King of England, he would not suffer the combat to continue fierce any time, so that it seemed rather for pastime."¹ Indeed, Messire Anthony had come on another errand than to get his bones broken in Smithfield, where the joust was held. He was commissioned by the Count of Charolois to press the match with Margaret; and he had obtained the promise of Edward, who overlooked

the commission he had given Warwick to treat with King Louis. If afterwards any obstacle arose, it was removed by the sudden death of Duke Philip, which happened at Bruges, on the 15th of July, and which left to the count, his heir, the succession of states and territories which exceeded in wealth, if not in extent, the whole kingdom of France as then possessed by Louis. Such a suitor was sure to prevail over a weak young French prince with nothing but a narrow and uncertain appanage. But weighty as were these considerations, they did not prevent the proud Earl of Warwick from considering himself juggled, insulted, and disgraced; and as the king, who had resigned himself to the counsels of the queen's relations, took no steps to soothe his irritation, he soon retired, in the worst of humours, to his castle of Middleham. Edward, upon this, pretended to be in danger from treasonable attempts: he no longer moved anywhere without a strong body-guard of archers, and he or his court circulated reports that Warwick had been won by Louis, and that that king considered him as secretly disposed to restore the line of Lancaster. The Nevils were now expelled from court; but the youngest of the brothers, George, Archbishop of York and chancellor, notwithstanding the family resentment, put himself forward as an arbitrator and peace-maker; and chiefly by his means a reconciliation was effected in the beginning of the following year.²

A.D. 1468. Warwick presented himself again at court and in the capital, where he was hailed by the people. He appeared with the king and queen in some public pageants; but he could not tolerate the abridgment of his influence. The Woodvilles and the Grays, on the other hand, thought that he was still too powerful; and Edward, who desired a life of ease and pleasure, was annoyed by the stern interference of the man who had made him a king. It was soon understood that all this was likely to end in another field of Towton.

The Duke of Clarence, second brother to King Edward, was considered as next male heir to the throne; for Edward, as yet, had only daughters by his marriage with Elizabeth. The duke's position probably made him an object of suspicion and dislike to the queen, and, at the same time, of ambitious speculation to Warwick, whose society he much affected. The earl had a daughter, the fair Isabella, who, it appears, inspired the young prince with a sincere, and, for a time, uncalculating passion. Edward and the queen's party endeavoured to prevent the union; but, in spite of all opposition, the Duke of Clarence married the Lady Isabella at Calais, in the month of

¹ Monstrelet, *Contin.*² *Ibid.*³ Worcester; Rymer.

July, 1469. While the Earl of Warwick and his brother, the Archbishop of York, were engaged abroad with this ceremony, an insurrection of the farmers and peasants of Yorkshire broke out, and assumed a very alarming character; and it appears that Warwick's other brother, the Earl of Northumberland, who was on the spot, did little to crush it. The rallying words of the insurgents varied several times; but at last they fixed in a general cry for the removal of the queen's relations—the taxers and oppressors—from the council. Edward advanced as far as Newark; but his army was weak and unsteady, and he fled, rather than retreated, to Nottingham. From Nottingham Castle he wrote letters with his own hand to Calais, beseeching his brother Clarence, Warwick, and the archbishop to come immediately to his assistance. These personages did not appear for some weeks, and in the interval a royal army, under the command of the Earl of Pembroke, was defeated at Edgecote, on the 26th of July. Pembroke fell in the battle, and it is said that 5000 of his men perished with him. The insurgents, in a hot pursuit, overtook and captured in the forest of Dean the Earl Rivers, the father, and Sir John Woodville, one of the brothers of the queen; they carried these victims to Northampton, and there cut off both their heads. The Earl of Devon, whose folly and pride had been the real cause of the wretched defeat at Edgecote, was also taken and beheaded. The court believed that the insurgents in these executions acted under orders received from Clarence and his father-in-law Warwick.¹ These great personages, with the Archbishop of York, now arrived in England, and being joined by the Archbishop of Canterbury, they repaired in a very friendly manner to Olney, where they found Edward in a most unhappy condition; his friends were dead or scattered, fleeing for their lives or hiding themselves in remote places; the insurgents were almost upon him. A word from Warwick sent the rebels quietly back to the north; but the king was scarcely freed from that danger ere he found that he was a prisoner in the hands of his pretended liberators, who presently carried him to the strong castle of Middleham. Thus England had two kings, and both prisoners.

At this remarkable crisis the Lancastrians rose in arms in the marches of Scotland; and, after some trifling successes in those parts, meditated an advance into the south. Warwick had at this moment no notion of restoring Henry. In conjunction with the parliament, he summoned all loyal subjects to the standard of King Edward,

and immediately marched northward to meet these new insurgents. The murmurs of the army compelled him to release his captive; and at York Edward was presented to the troops as a free and happy king. Warwick then went on and dispersed the Lancastrians: he took their leader prisoner, and brought him to Edward, who ordered his immediate execution. Soon after—but not before Warwick and his associates had exacted sundry grants and places—Edward was allowed to return to London, where, for the first time since his leaving Olney, he became really free. Then family treaties were signed, pledges given, and the most solemn oaths interchanged—each party binding itself to forgive and forget all that had passed. Edward was to love his brother Clarence as before; and even the insurgents of Yorkshire and other parts were included in an amnesty.²

In the month of February, when A.D. 1470. this family peace had lasted about twelve weeks, the Archbishop of York gave an entertainment to the king, the Duke of Clarence, and the Earl of Warwick, at his manor of the Moor, in Hertfordshire. As Edward was washing his hands previous to supper, an attendant whispered in his ear that an armed band was lurking near the house. Without his supper, and without any examination as to the correctness of this report, the king got secretly to horse, and, riding all night, reached Windsor Castle. The Duchess of York, the mother of the king, and the friend of Warwick, laboured to dispel these jealousies and animosities, and another hollow reconciliation was brought about. But then there broke out an insurrection among the commons of Lincolnshire, who complained of the extortions and oppressions of the purveyors and other officers of the royal household. Although he believed that this new disorder was their own work, the king was obliged to permit the Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick to take the command of some forces destined for its suppression. Edward, however, marched from a different point with a more numerous army; and, after some faithless and savage deeds, he came up with the insurgents before Clarence and Warwick could reach them, and beat them in a sanguinary battle, which was fought on the 12th of March, at Erpingham, in Rutlandshire. The common insurgents were permitted to depart; but all the leaders who had not fallen in battle were sent to the block. The king then turned openly against his brother Clarence and Warwick, who, it was said, would have joined the insurgents on the following day. After some military manoeuvres and long marches, the duke and the earl found

¹ It seems, however, probable that the unfortunate men were sacrificed by the spontaneous fury of the people. The Earl of Devon was beheaded at Bridgewater.

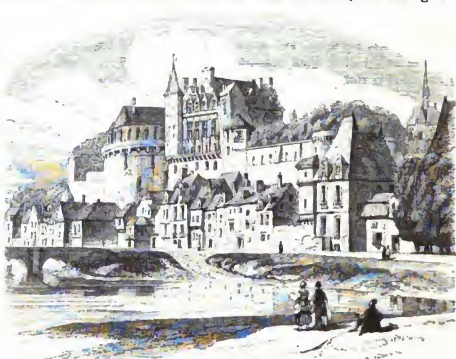
² *Cont. Hist. Croyl.; Rot. Parl.; Paston Letters.*

it necessary to disband their forces, and listen to conditions which the king offered by proclamation from the city of York. These terms were not very harsh, if they had been honourably meant; but they were not, and this was well known. Warwick, therefore, turned from the north, fled into Devonshire, and, with his wife, daughter, and several other ladies, his son-in-law Clarence, and a considerable number of friends, embarked at Dartmouth, and made sail for Calais. But when, after a tedious navigation, he reached his old place of refuge, he found the artillery of Calais pointed against his ships, and, on seeking an explanation, learned that a Gascon knight, whom he had left there as his lieutenant, was advised of all that had recently passed in England, and was resolved to keep the place for King Edward.

Warwick then sailed away for the coast of Normandy, to seek a temporary asylum with his cunning friend King Louis, who was right glad to see him as he was; for, in the preceding year, as soon as Warwick had made his peace with Edward, it had been resolved to join the Duke of Burgundy, who was at war with the French, and to send a great English army to the Continent. It was in the month of May that Warwick, Clarence, and their families landed at Harfleur, where the Lord-admiral of France received them all with great respect, showing much gallantry to the ladies. Their vessels were admitted into the harbour, though they were numerous enough to excite some suspicion. After a short time, the ladies with their retinues were honourably escorted to Valogne, where lodgings had been prepared for them by order of the French king. Though a truce had been concluded, Louis was exasperated against his nominal vassal Charles the Rash, who, since his marriage, had become wholly English and Yorkist: he wore on all occasions the blue garter on one of his legs, and the red cross on his mantle, which, adds the chronicler, plainly showed how fierce an enemy he was to his liege lord the King of France. When the Duke Charles heard of the honourable reception given to the fugitives, and of Warwick's men being allowed to sell the captured ships and goods of his subjects in Normandy, he became still more furious, and, by way of reprisal, seized upon all the French mer-

chants who had gone to the fair of Antwerp. Louis, who was prepared for a war, cared little for all this, and gave frequent audience to the fugitives at Tours, Amboise, Vendôme, and other places. He was happy in his own way; for never did sovereign so delight in political manoeuvre and intrigue, and never was intrigue more difficult than the one he had now upon his hands.

In the month of June, in the château of Amboise the fallen Lancastrian Queen Margaret



THE CHÂTEAU OF AMBOISE.—From *France Monumentale et Pittoresque*.

and her son the Prince of Wales met (at first by secret appointment) their old enemy the Earl of Warwick. It was a scene for Shakspeare. Warwick had accused the queen of an attempt to murder him, and he knew her to have been the person that had sent his own father, his friends and associates, to the block. Margaret had cursed the name of Warwick for fifteen long years of misfortune and humiliation. Through that nobleman's means her husband was a prisoner, and she and her son, after suffering the extremity of privation and peril, were exiles and wanderers, dependent on the stinted bounty of relations or political friends. But even the vengeance and hatred of Margaret of Anjou could give way to higher considerations, and, when Warwick joined in cursing Edward of York, and engaged to restore the Lancastrian line, either in the person of her husband or son, she took him to her heart as a friend and brother. The great earl, however, did not engage to do all this without driving another of his hard bargains. Margaret's son, Prince Edward, married the Lady Anne, Warwick's second daughter; and thus, though he destroyed the prospects of Isabella, Duchess of Clarence, he still provided, and in a

more direct manner, that one of his children should be Queen of England. "An unaccountable match this," exclaims Comines, "to dethrone and imprison the father, and then marry his daughter to the son; but this was by King Louis' adroit management." "It was no less surprising," continues the chronicler, who wrote of state matters with the knowledge of a statesman and diplomatist, "that he should delude the Duke of Clarence, brother to the king whom he opposed, who ought, in reason, to have dreaded and endeavoured to prevent the restoration of the house of Lancaster; but affairs of this nice nature are to be managed with great craft and artifice, and not without." Up to this point it seems pretty evident that Warwick's scheme was to place his first son-in-law, the Duke of Clarence, upon the throne instead of his brother Edward; but this plan would never have found favour in the sight of King Louis, whose assistance was indispensable, and even the all-prevailing Warwick might have doubted whether the Yorkists, to whom he must have addressed himself in this case, would have been mad enough to divide against each other, and endanger a revolution which had been effected with such difficulty. The Lancastrian party, on the contrary, weakened though it was, was quite ready for another desperate plunge into the vortex; and Warwick, who was determined to recover his ascendancy and vast property, and to be revenged on him whom he considered the ungrateful king of his own making, by whatsoever means that offered, did not despair, when allied with Margaret and her son, of making that party believe in the sincerity of his conversion, though he had slaughtered their relations and friends in the field and on the scaffold.

The Duke of Clarence was at this time not much more than twenty-one years old, and, judging from all that is recorded of him, he must have conjoined a weak bad head to a very indifferent heart. He was not, however, so far gone in fatuity as to be insensible to Warwick's startling alliance—perilous to the whole house of York—or to be blind to his own false position; and now an excellent negotiator came to him from his brother's court in the person of a fair lady. Comines, who was actively engaged in some of these transactions as friend, agent, and confidential minister of the Duke of Burgundy, and who had gone to Calais to keep the lieutenant-governor "true to his principles," tells us, that one day a lady of quality passed through that town into France to join the Duchess of Clarence. "But," he adds, "the secret business to be managed by this lady was to implore the Duke of Clarence not to contribute to the subversion of his own family, by going along with

those who were endeavouring to restore the house of Lancaster—to remember their old insolences, and the hereditary hatred that was between them, and not to be so infatuated as to imagine that the Earl of Warwick, who had married his daughter to the Prince of Wales, and sworn allegiance already, would not endeavour to put that prince upon the throne to the exclusion of all the Yorkists. This lady managed the affair with so much cunning and dexterity, that she prevailed with the duke to go over to King Edward's party, the duke desiring first to be in England. This lady was no fool nor blabber; and being on her way to join her mistress the Duchess of Clarence, she, for that reason, was employed in this secret mission rather than a man." This mission appears to have been the sole precaution taken by Edward or his court at this crisis. "The king seemed never concerned at anything, but still followed his gallantries and his hunting; and nobody was so great with him as the Archbishop of York and the Marquis of Montague, both brothers to the Earl of Warwick: these swore to be true to him against all enemies whatsoever, and the thoughtless king put an entire confidence in them."¹ His brother-in-law, Charles the Rash, was both prudent and active on this occasion: he got ready a strong fleet to blockade Harfleur and the mouth of the Seine; he sent Edward word of the very port where Warwick designed to land; and, as the sea was an uncertain element, and the earl might break his blockade and escape his ships, he repeatedly warned him to take care of himself, and put his kingdom in a posture of defence. But Edward only laughed at these fears: he said he wished his adversary were landed; and only begged the duke to keep a good look-out at sea, so as to prevent the earl from again escaping into France, when he, Edward, should have beaten him in battle by land.

Warwick did not make him wait long. The Duke of Burgundy's fleet, which lay in battle array at Havre, was dispersed by a storm: as soon as the weather cleared Warwick set sail with a fair wind, and on the 13th of September landed safely on the Devonshire coast. Edward at the moment was in the north, whither, it appears, he had been drawn by a feigned revolt headed by some of the Nevils. The great earl had not been landed above five or six days before the whole country flocked to his standard. "Fully furnished on every side by his kindred and friends, he took his way towards London, where he expected to find more open friends than privy enemies."² The capital, indeed, had been greatly excited by one Doctor Gohard, who had preached at St. Paul's Cross in favour of the king in the Tower; and, in the neighbourhood,

¹ Comines.² Hall.

the men of Kent had taken up arms. As London seemed secure, and as news was brought that Edward had retraced his steps to Nottingham, Warwick soon changed his direction, and marched straight towards the Trent, summoning every man between the ages of sixteen and sixty to join him. Edward, in the mean time, found that the men he summoned did not come, and that those who were with him began to desert. One day, as he sat at dinner, news was brought him that the Marquis of Montague, Warwick's brother, and several other persons of quality, had mounted their horses and caused the soldiers to toss their bonnets in the air, and cry "God bless King Harry!" Edward was at this moment in Lincolnshire, near the river Welland: he instantly armed himself, and posted a battalion of his guards at a neighbouring bridge in order to prevent the passage of the enemy, for Warwick's van was within half a day's march of him. The Lord Hastings was with Edward with a body of 3000 horse; but Hastings had married a sister of the Earl of Warwick, and, while the king had probably no great confidence in him,¹ the soldiers possibly had no great affection for the queen's brother, Earl Rivers, who was also in attendance. Edward, at all events, determined to flee; and as his bravery was always conspicuous, we must conclude that resistance was hopeless.

It happened that his quarters were at no great distance from the sea, and a small ship that followed with provisions for his army lay at anchor with two Dutch vessels hard by, apparently in the Wash.² He had but just time to get on board these vessels, with a few lords and knights, and about 300 men. Before leaving the rest, they were exhorted to go and join the Earl of Warwick, pretending great friendship, but at the same time to retain secretly in their hearts their old affection and allegiance to King Edward. The three vessels presently weighed anchor: not one in twenty of Edward's followers knew where they were going, and they were all without any clothes except the warlike gear they had on their backs, and no money had they in their pockets.³ Edward sailed directly for Holland. The Easterlings, who joined the calling of privateers to that of merchants, and who at times appear to have been pirates as lawless and cruel as the corsairs of Tunis or Algiers, were then at war both with the English and French: they had many ships in the narrow seas, and had done the English much prejudice this year already. Eight of these Easterlings gave chase to Edward's weak squad-

ron. Edward ran his ships ashore on the coast of Friesland, near the small town of Alkmaar. Grutuse, the governor or stadtholder of Holland, Friesland, and Zealand, was at that time in Alkmaar, and he, by his prompt protection, saved the whole party from captivity—for the Easterlings had brought their ships close in shore, and only waited the turn of the tide to board the three vessels. "The king," says Comines, "having no money, was forced to give the master of his ship a gown lined with martens, and to promise to do more for him another time; and sure so poor a company was never seen before; yet the Lord de la Grutuse dealt very honourably by them, giving them clothes, and bearing all their expenses till they came to the Hague, to which place he safely conducted them." From the Hague the governor despatched news to the Duke of Burgundy, Edward's loving brother-in-law, "who," adds the chronicler, "was much surprised when he heard it, and would have been much better pleased if it had been news of Edward's death, for he was in great apprehension of the Earl of Warwick, who was his enemy, and now become absolute in England." On the other side, King Louis, whose many agents soon carried him the intelligence, was overjoyed, and, being a religious sovereign, he gave orders that the nobles, the clergy, and the good people of Paris should make processions in honour of God and the Virgin Mary, and continue them for three days, with praise and thanksgiving for the great victory which Henry of Lancaster, lawful King of England, had gained over the foul usurper, the Earl of March, as also in gratitude for the happy peace that would now subsist between the two countries. Processions were afterwards performed in all the principal towns in Louis' dominions.

Warwick was now possessed, in appearance, of all the power in England. From the neighbourhood of the Welland he turned back upon London, which he entered in triumph on the 6th of October, in company with Clarence—for as yet this son-in-law concealed his hostile projects. Warwick went directly to the Tower, and released King Henry, whom five years before he had himself committed to that prison. "When he imprisoned him he went before Henry, crying 'Treason! treason!' and 'Behold the traitor!'—but now he proclaimed him king, attended him to his palace at Westminster, and restored him to his royal title; and all this in the presence of the Duke of Clarence, who was not at all pleased with the sight."⁴ A great number of persons of the first rank, who were in King Edward's interest, and who afterwards did him good service, took sanctuary in different religious houses. The

¹ Hastings, however, remained true to Edward, accompanied him in his flight, contributed to his return, and continued to serve him faithfully, with the exception of taking "bricks from France."

² Hall says that Edward embarked at Lynn on the Wash.

³ Comines; Hall.

⁴ Comines.

queen, with her mother Jacquetta and her three daughters, had fled to the sanctuary of Westminster, where, being in great want of all things neces-



REMAINS OF THE SANCTUARY, WESTMINSTER.¹—Smith's Antiquities of Westminster.

sary, Queen Elizabeth was shortly after delivered of her first son. Save that of the Earl of Worcester, who was hated for his severity by the people, no blood was shed in this rapid revolution. We are left in the dark as to the proceedings of the parliament which met in the month of November, for its acts were erased from the rolls at the subsequent counter-revolution. It is stated, however, on good authority, that an act of settlement entailed the crown on Henry's son Edward, Prince of Wales, and, in case of that prince's death, on the Duke of Clarence. Warwick, of course, would take care to attain his enemies and reward his friends: this "king-maker," in fact, was in all essentials king, and the imbecile Henry was still a captive, and in all probability a more unhappy one than he had been in his undisturbed prison in the Tower.²

But if Edward had lost a crown
A.D. 1471. like a game at cards, he regained

it with equal rapidity. On the 12th of March, about five months after his flight from the Wash, he appeared with a fleet off the coast of Suffolk, having been assisted in secret by the Duke of Burgundy, who played as double a part in this business as might have been expected from his great rival Louis XI. He had issued a proclamation forbidding any of his subjects to join Edward, but, underhand, he sent him 50,000 florins, with St. Andrew's cross, furnished him with three or four great ships of his own, which he had equipped for him at Vere, in Walcheren, and hired secretly fourteen Easterling ships, all well armed—"which supply was very great, considering the times."³ As Edward's troops, however, did not exceed 1200 men, he was deterred from landing in the Wash, on the shores of which was assembled a Lancastrian army, but, bearing to the north, he sailed into the Humber, and landed on the 16th of March at Ravenspur, the place where Henry of Bolingbroke had disembarked when he came to dethrone Richard II. Finding the people in the north not very favourable, he veiled his designs; and even at York he only engaged the citizens to assist him to recover his honour and estate as Duke of York, solemnly swearing not to attempt to recover the crown.⁴

A few oaths cost nothing in these times, and, in the present case, the necessity for dissimulating soon passed. At Pontefract, Warwick's brother, the Marquis of Montague, who already repented of the revolution he had helped to make, opened a correspondence instead of fighting, and permitted Edward's weak column to march within sight of his quarters, where a great force was collected. As soon as the Yorkists crossed the Trent they were on their own ground, and the people flocked from all sides to the standard of Edward, who then re-assumed the royal title. In the neighbourhood of Coventry he found himself in presence of a Lancastrian army, under the command of the Earls of Warwick and Oxford and the Duke of Clarence: now was the moment for the latter to act, and, making his men put the White Rose of York over their gorgets, he went over with colours flying to his brother Edward. Upon this sudden manœuvre of his son-in-law, Warwick found himself compelled to decline the battle which was offered to him, and then Edward threw himself fearlessly between his enemies and the capital, which had forgotten the sermons of Doctor Go-

¹ This noted sanctuary was one of those exempted from suppression by Henry VIII. The church belonging to it was supposed to have been of the time of Edward the Confessor. It was destroyed about a century ago; but some remains survived, and were discovered on the demolition of some buildings with which the vestiges had been incorporated.

² *Cont. Hist. Crogl.*; *Fabyan*; *Hall*; *Comines*.

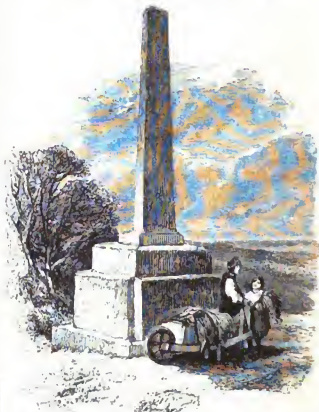
³ *Comines*.

⁴ We are indebted to the Camden Society for the publication of a very curious *Historie of the Arrivall of Edward IV.* in *England*, which throws much light upon the short and extraordinary campaign that commenced at Ravenspur. This history is also valuable as confirmatory of the narrative of Hall and other old writers.

dard and the roast-meats¹ of the Earl of Warwick, and was once more all for King Edward. Comines attributes the enthusiastic reception he met with in London to three things especially:—the first was, he says, the great number of his partizans in sanctuary within the walls, and the recent birth of a young prince; the next, the great debts which he owed to the richest of the merchants, who could only hope for payment through his restoration; and the third was, that the ladies of quality and rich citizens' wives, whom he had formerly delighted with his gallantries, forced their husbands and relations to declare themselves of his side. Whatever were their motives, it seems certain that the return of the White Rose of York was hailed with enthusiasm by the citizens. But Edward had short time to enjoy these demonstrations: the Lancastrian army had collected in one mass, and Warwick was advancing upon the capital by the high north road. After passing only two days in London, Edward took the field. He found Warwick's force drawn out in order of battle on Barnet Common, only twelve miles from London. About 40,000 Englishmen prepared to draw the sword and bend the bow against each other—the two armies, it appears, being nearly equal in number. But it was late in the day, and the eve of Easter Sunday, and so the battle was delayed till the morrow. Edward slept this Saturday night at Barnet; the Earl of Warwick lay to the northward of that town. The Duke of Clarence sent to make an offer of his mediation, but this was indignantly rejected by his father-in-law. "Go tell your master," cried the proud earl to the messenger, "that Warwick, true to his oath, is a better man than false perjured Clarence, and will settle this quarrel by the sword to which he has appealed." At an early hour on the following day, battle was joined. "Both sides fought on foot, and the king's vanguard suffered extremely in this action; the earl's main battle advanced against his, and so near, that the king himself was engaged in person. The Earl of Warwick's custom was never to fight on foot; but now, at the opportunity of his brother the Marquis of Montague, he sent away his horses. The conclusion of all was, that the earl, the Marquis of Montague, and several other brave officers were killed."²

This battle of Barnet lasted from four o'clock

in the morning till ten, during which time there was a thick mist, raised, as was once generally believed, by Friar Bungay, a great magician. There is a mist of another kind, and one which we cannot now clear, hanging over nearly the whole history of the battle, which, notwithstanding the time it lasted and the statement of Comines, we are disposed to believe was much less fierce and murderous than most of the preceding conflicts.³ The results, however, are well authenticated. Of all the great Lancastrian lords who had fought on the side of the king-maker, not one escaped except the Earl of Oxford, who joined Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke, who was in arms for King Henry in Wales. Edward lost Lord Cromwell, Lord Say, and the son of Lord Berners, with Sir John Lisle, Thomas Parr, and John Milwate, who were esquires to his brother Richard, Duke of Gloucester. The common dead were buried on the same plain, half a mile from Barnet, where a chapel was erected for the good of their souls.⁴ The body of the "king-maker,"



OBELISK NEAR BARNET TO MARK THE SPOT WHERE WARWICK FELL.—From a sketch by J. W. Archer.

with that of his brother Montague, was carried,

both parties amounted to more than 1000.—*Paston Letters*. Some historians make the amount of the slain 10,000!

¹ Stow says that this chapel, which marked the field of battle, was standing in his time. *Lysons* (see *Engravings of London*) gives it as his opinion that the battle was not fought on Barnet Heath, but rather to the south-east, about East Barnet; but he quotes no authority, and all tradition is strongly opposed to his opinion. The conflict seems really to have taken place on the elevated plain to the north of the town of Barnet, and is probably marked with sufficient accuracy by the modern stone column at the end of the common, where the highroad forks.

¹ One of the secrets of Warwick's popularity lay in his kitchen and buttery. His hospitality was as boundless as his wealth. "When he came to London," says old Stow, "he held such an house, that six oxen were eaten at a breakfast, and every tavern was full of his meat; for he who had any acquaintance in that house, he should have had as much boiled and roast as he might carry on a long day."

² *Comines*.

³ Sir John Paston, who, along with one of his brothers, fought in the battle on the Lancastrian side, says, in a letter to his mother, written on the Thursday following, that the killed of

to London, and lay naked in the church of St. Paul's for the space of three or four days, that all men might see the end he had met with. King Henry, who had been taken in London, defenceless and helpless, was sent back to his old apartments in the Tower. But Margaret of Anjou, who was as active and resolute as ever, called the victorious Edward again into the field only five days after the battle of Barnet. Many circumstances had detained her on the Continent, and it was her fortune to land at Plymouth with her son Prince Edward and a body of auxiliaries, chiefly French, on the very day on which Warwick was defeated and slain. In part, probably, on account of their old antipathy to the French queen, who now came surrounded with Frenchmen, and in part because they were weary of this civil war, the people opposed her progress, and, by securing the bridges and fords of the river Severn, prevented her joining the forces under the Earl of Pembroke in Wales. On the 4th of May, King Edward, with his brothers Clarence and Gloucester, fell upon her on the left bank of the Severn, near Tewkesbury. Her troops had thrown up some intrenchments, from which they had repulsed the Yorkists; but the Duke of Somerset, who commanded her army, had the folly to quit this position, and, sallying forth, he ordered the mass of his troops to follow him, which some did, and others did not. Those who sallied were driven back with dreadful loss, and those who stayed behind were suspected of treachery, for no general was now sure of his officers. Somerset rode up to the Lord Wenlock, who had remained behind the intrenchments, and knocked out his brains with his battle-axe. The banner of the audacious Richard, Duke of Gloucester, was already within the Lancastrian lines; Edward and Clarence now followed, and the affair of Tewkesbury terminated in panic, confusion, and murder. Margaret of Anjou, who had survived so many catastrophes and escaped from so many battles, remained a prisoner at last, and with her was taken her son, the Prince of Wales, who was now in his eighteenth year. "What brought you to England?" cried the ungenerous Edward. "My father's crown and mine own inheritance!" replied the royal youth. Edward brutally struck him on the mouth with his gauntlet, and then Clarence and Gloucester, or their attendants (or, according to an earlier account which does not mention Clarence and Gloucester, Edward's servants) despatched him with their swords in the king's tent.¹ The Duke of Somerset, with the grand-prior of St. John's, Sir Humphrey Audley, Sir Gervais of Clifton, Sir William Gainsby, Sir William Cary, Sir Henry Rose, Sir Thomas Tres-

ham, and seven esquires, escaped from the field, and took sanctuary in a church in Tewkesbury. This sacred kind of asylum had long been respected, and to this principle and feeling Edward had recently owed the preservation of his wife, his children, and his best friends, whom the Lancastrians had permitted to live undisturbed in the sanctuaries they had chosen in London and Westminster. But the king and his brothers were regardless of these circumstances, and Edward broke into the church at Tewkesbury sword in hand. A priest bearing the sacrament threw himself between the savages and their victims, and would not move till the king promised to pardon all who had taken sanctuary there. These men, who might have escaped, tarried in the church, trusting in the royal pardon, from Saturday the 4th of May till Monday the 6th, when they were dragged from the foot of the altar and beheaded.

Margaret of Anjou lived for five years the prisoner² of her conqueror, was then ransomed by Louis XI., and died in France about eleven years after the fight at Tewkesbury. The death of her husband, which immediately followed Edward's return to London, probably did not much affect her. The triumphant party had now evidently made up their minds to show no mercy; but that event was probably precipitated by a desperate attempt made on the 14th of May, by Thomas Nevil, the Bastard of Falconbridge, Warwick's vice-admiral, to release Henry from his confinement and proclaim him once more. On the 21st of May King Edward entered London in great pomp with 30,000 men, and on that evening, or the following morning, King Henry was found lifeless in the Tower. The best of the contemporary chroniclers, though he does not name the murderer, hints clearly that he *was murdered*, and that the deed was done or ordered by Edward, or by his brother Clarence, or Richard, Duke of Gloucester, or some other member of the royal house of York. "May God," he exclaims, "grant time for repentance to the person, whoever he was, who laid his sacrilegious hands on the Lord's anointed!"³ The dead body, surrounded by guards and torches, was exhibited to the people in St. Paul's, and afterwards quietly buried in the abbey of Chertsey. But this unhappy prince was not allowed rest even in the

¹ She was at first confined in the Tower of London, afterwards at Windsor, and then at Wallingford. All that Edward would allow for the support of herself and servants was a pittance of five marks per week.

² *Cont. Hist. Croyl.* Fabyan, who was living in London at the time, says, "Of the death of this prince (Henry VI.), divers tales were told; but the most common fame went, that he was sticked with a dagger by the hands of the Duke of Gloucester, which, after Edward IV., usurped the crown, and was king, as aforesaid shall appear."

¹ *Cont. Hist. Croyl.*; Fabyan; *Hill, Stoe.*

grave. A few years after, Gloucester, then Richard III., was made uneasy by the popular belief that miracles were wrought at his tomb, and he ordered his bones to be removed—some say to Windsor: then, on the fall of Richard, Henry VII. wished to bring them back to Westminster, but it appears that they could not be found.

The episodes to the lamentable history of the fall of the house of Lancaster are numerous, and, in some respects, exceedingly romantic. Some of the leaders, like the Duke of Exeter, appear to have been secretly assassinated; others, like the Earl of Oxford, were shut up in different castles; and others, like the Earl of Pembroke, the late king's half-brother, and uncle to Henry VII., escaped to the Continent, where, for the most part, they lived in extreme poverty. Some Lancastrians, whose learning and abilities were worth purchasing—as Dr. Morton, and Sir John Fortescue, lord chief-justice to Henry VI., and the greatest English lawyer of his time—obtained the reversal of their attainders, together with fresh employments from the Yorkists.

Now seemed the "glorious summer" of the house of York. The young Prince Edward, who had been born in the sanctuary of Westminster during his father's flight into Holland, was created Prince of Wales, and recognized as lawful heir to the crown—not in parliament—but in a great council of prelates and lay lords. The Lancastrians as a party were annihilated. There was nothing to disturb the tranquillity of the Yorkists but the base and selfish passions of the three royal and most legitimate brothers. The Duke of Clarence, the second brother, it will be remembered, had married the Earl of Warwick's eldest daughter, Isabella, and, in her right, he now demanded the entire property of his deceased father-in-law; but Richard, Duke of Gloucester, the youngest brother, was eager to divide the great prize with him, and therefore proposed to marry Anne, Warwick's younger daughter, and widow to Prince Edward, whom the brothers between them had murdered at Tewkesbury. Clarence, to defeat this project, concealed the young lady; but Gloucester had far too much activity and cunning to allow himself to be duped by so miserable a manœuvre—he soon found out the Lady Anne in London, where it is said she was disguised as a cook-maid, and, getting possession

of her person, he lodged her, for present security, in the sanctuary of St. Martin's. Richard then appealed to Edward and the council, and was allowed to marry the Lady Anne; but Clarence swore that he would not "part the livelihood with him." The loving brothers pleaded each his cause in person before the king in council, and every man, says the monkish chronicler, admired the strength of their respective arguments. In the end, but not until the whole capital had been agitated as if by the approach of another civil war,¹ the king composed these differences, allotting a handsome portion to the Lady Anne, and leaving all the rest of the property to the elder sister, Isabella, the wife of Clarence. As it has been remarked,² the greatest sufferer in this adjustment was the widowed Countess of Warwick, who was mother to both the ladies, and who had brought the mass of the property into the family; for Clarence and Gloucester got the whole between them, and the countess was reduced to absolute want.

A.D. 1475. After some curious negotiations with the Duke of Brittany and his brother-in-law the Duke of Burgundy, who was finding himself overmatched by the policy and craft of Louis XI., Edward contracted an alliance offensive and defensive with the two dukes; and in order, we presume, to give a startling effect to his beginning, he sent a herald to demand from the French monarch the immediate surrender of his kingdom, which he claimed on the old grounds. Comines says, that this was only a letter of defiance,³ and that it was written in such an elegant style, and such polite language, that he could scarcely believe any Englishman wrote it. When Louis had read the letter to himself, he withdrew into another room, and, sending for the herald that brought it, he told him that he had a wonderful respect and affection for his master, King Edward, whom he knew in this matter to be set on and deluded by the Duke of Burgundy, a weak and treacherous ally. "Besides which," continues Comines, who had changed sides, and was now in the service of Louis, "the king used several good arguments to induce the herald to persuade his master to a peaceful accommodation, secretly putting 300 crowns with his own hands into his pouch, and promising him 1000 more when the good peace should be

¹ Sir John Paston, writing to his brother on the 17th of February (1471), says:—"Yesterday, the king, the queen, my Lords of Clarence and Gloucester, went to Shene to pardon; men say, not all in charity; what will fall men cannot say. The king entreth my Lord of Clarence for my Lord of Gloucester; and, as it is said, he answereth, that he may well have my lady, his sister-in-law, but they shall part no livelihood, as he saith; so what will fall can I not say." On the 15th of April, 1473, he writes: "The world seemeth queasy (uneasy) here; for the most part that be about the king have sent hither for their harness,

and it is said for certain that the Duke of Clarence maketh him big in that he can, showing as he would but (only) deal with the Duke of Gloucester; but the king intendeth, in eschewing all inconvenience, to be as big as they both, and to be a stiffer (stickler) between them; and some men think that under this there should be some other thing intended, and some treason conspired; so what shall fall can I not say."—*Paston Letters*.

² Walpole, *Hist. Doubts*.

³ He states, however, that Edward demanded the French crown as "his inheritance."

concluded; and then, in public, his majesty ordered that a piece of crimson velvet, thirty ells long, should be presented to the said herald, who was gartered king-at-arms.¹ His chivalrous occupations did not render him insensible to a good bribe. Garter promised to do what he could, and advised Louis to open a correspondence with the Lord Howard or the Lord Stanley, two of Edward's favourites and ministers, whom he knew to be averse to the war.

Having prolonged a truce with Scotland, and concluded a matrimonial treaty with that court, and being most abundantly furnished with money by means of repeated grants voted by parliament, and of benevolences—an unheard-of species of imposition first introduced in the present period—Edward collected a fine army of 16,000 or 18,000 men. With this force he landed at Calais, on the 22d of June. The first check to this mighty enterprise proceeded from his brother-in-law of Burgundy, who had agreed to join him in force, but who, having wasted his resources in one of his rash expeditions in another direction, came to the rendezvous with a mere handful of troops. Edward, irritated at this circumstance, and still more at seeing that Duke Charles and his subjects entertained the greatest jealousy of the English, refusing them admittance into the towns of Artois and Picardy, soon inclined his ear to the skilful negotiators of Louis and to the lords of his own council, who, through conviction or bribery, recommended an immediate peace with the French king. The English army lay inactive for nearly two months at Peronne, where all

ward. The French diplomatists promised whatever was asked, and agreed, among other things, to pay 50,000 crowns for the release of Margaret of Anjou. One day the King of France sent the King of England 300 cart-loads of the best wines of the kingdom; and a few days after, the two sovereigns agreed to a personal interview on a bridge thrown across the Somme at Picquigny, near Amiens, there being a strong barricade of wood between them—for Louis was very suspicious, and he knew the old story of the bridge of Montereau, in which his own father had figured. Comines and another agent were sent to survey the river and neighbourhood. "On the one side, by which our king was to come," says this historian, "was a fine open country; and on the other side, indeed, was the same, *only* the King of England, to come to the river, was obliged to pass a causeway about two bow-shots long, with marshes on both sides of it, which might have been of very dangerous consequence to the English, if our intentions had not been honourable. And certainly, as I have said before, the English do not manage these matters with so much cunning and policy as the French do, let people say of them what they will, but proceed more ingeniously, and with more frankness; but one must be patient with them, and take care not to quarrel." The barricade in the midst of the bridge is described as being made of strong grating or lattice-work, such as lions' cages are made of, the space between the bars being no wider than to admit a man's arm. On the 29th of August, in the morning, the two kings

appeared on opposite sides of the river. Louis went first to the grating, attended by about twelve persons of the greatest quality in France, among whom were John, Duke of Bourbon, and the cardinal, his brother. "The King of England advanced along the causeway, very nobly attended, there being in his train his brother the Duke of Clarence, the Earl of Northumberland, Lord Hastings, his chamberlain, his chancellor, and other peers. He was dressed in cloth of gold, and he wore upon his head a black velvet cap with a large *fleur-de-lis* made of precious stones. In



BELFRY AND MARKET-PLACE, PERONNE.—FROM *Voyages dans l'Ancienne France*.

the preliminaries were settled, and where the money of Louis was made to circulate freely among the corrupt ministers and courtiers of Ed-

ward, he was a prince of a most noble, majestic presence; his person graceful and erect, but now a little inclining to fat. When he came within a short distance of the railing he pulled off his

¹ *Coincidence*.

cap, and bowed to within a foot of the ground; and Louis, who was leaning against the barrier on the other side, bowed in the like manner. They embraced through the holes of the grating; and the King of England making another low bow, the King of France said, "Cousin, you are right welcome; there is no person living I was so ambitious of seeing, and God be thanked that this interview is upon so good an occasion." The King of England returned the compliment in French; and Comines tells us that his French was very good. When the compliments and ceremonies were over, they proceeded to business, and, in the end, a missal and a crucifix, said to contain some of the wood of the true cross, were brought to the grate, and the two kings, putting one hand on the book and the other on the crucifix, swore religiously to observe the present treaty. When the two kings had sworn, "our king," continues Comines, "who had always words at command, told the English king, in a jocose way, that he should be right glad to see him at Paris; and that if he would come and divert himself with the gay ladies there, he would assign for his confessor the Cardinal of Bourbon, who he knew would grant him easy absolution for any peccadillos in the way of love and gallantry. The King of England was much pleased with this railery, and made his majesty several smart repartees—for he knew that the cardinal was a gay man with the ladies, and a boon companion." After a few words spoken in secret to one another, the lords being sent to a distance, these gracious sovereigns shook hands through the grating, and departed, each his own way, Louis riding back to Amiens, and Edward to his army. The King of England was accommodated out of the King of France's stores with whatever he wanted, to the very torches and candles. The minute relater of these events expressly tells us that Richard, Duke of Gloucester, and some other Englishmen of high rank, were not present at the interview of Picquigny, as being averse to the whole treaty, and esteeming it dishonourable to their country; but he adds that they recollected themselves after the treaty was signed, and went into Amiens to King Louis, who splendidly entertained them, and generously presented them with plate and some fine horses. Louis, while thus buying and bribing, hated, feared, and despised Edward, all in a breath; and his caution, timidity, and contempt are hit off, as if involuntarily, by his confidential agent. During their ride back to Amiens he told Comines that he was rather uneasy at the readiness with which Edward had accepted his invitation to Paris. "Certes," said he, "our brother of England is a very fine king, and a warm admirer of the ladies; he might chance to find some dame at

Paris so much to his taste as to tempt him to return; his predecessors have been too often in Paris and Normandy already, and I have no great affection for his company on this side the Channel, though ready to hold him as good friend and brother on the other side of the water." "Nor," continues Comines, "ought any man to wonder, considering the mighty mischiefs which the English had brought upon France, and the freshness of their date, that the King of France should be anxious to send them home again, and to do all he could, by money or otherwise, to keep them in a good humour." That same evening, as they were going to supper, Lord Howard, who was to remain some time with the court, made Louis quake again, by telling him in his ear, with great glee, that it should go hard, but he would find a way to induce his master to go to Paris to be merry a while with him. "Though this proposition was not in the least agreeable to the king," adds Comines, "yet he dissembled pretty well, and fell a washing his hands, without giving a direct answer to the Lord Howard; but he whispered me, that he feared his forebodings were coming to pass. After supper, they fell upon the same subject again; but the king put them off with the greatest gentleness and wisdom imaginable, pretending that his expedition against the Duke of Burgundy would require his immediate presence in a different part of France." In private, Louis expressed his opinion of Edward in pretty strong terms; but if he perceived that his words were overheard by any save his most confidential friends, he fell into a tremor and trepidation, and took great pains to prevent his words from being repeated.¹ Some of his friends, and the chivalry of France generally, considered the treaty of Picquigny as very dishonourable to the nation; but he let them talk on, and felt himself a happy man when he saw Edward's back fairly turned, and heard that he and his army were on the other side of the Channel. If the French thought it disgraceful to buy, the English thought it disgraceful to be bought; and as they had given immense sums for carrying on the war, and had flattered themselves with recovering Normandy, Anjou, Maine, and Guienne, at the very least, they were greatly incensed at the transactions of Picquigny, though all the corruption of Edward's ministers and courtiers was not revealed to them, and but few understood the fact that both the king and his cabinet had become pensioners to France. The principal articles of the treaty of Picquigny were, that Louis should pay instantly (which he did) the sum of 75,000 crowns; that he should pay Edward an annuity of 50,000 crowns; that he

¹ For some very amusing instances, see Comines.

should marry his son, the dauphin, to Edward's eldest daughter Elizabeth, or, in case of her death, to her sister Mary—such marriage to be concluded when the parties were of proper age; and that a peace or truce for seven years, at least, should be secured, together with a free trade between the two countries. Following their master's example, the Lord Hastings and the chancellor got pensions of 2000 crowns each; and Louis agreed to distribute annually 12,000 crowns more among the Marquis of Dorset, the Lord Howard, Cheney, the master of the horse, Sir Thomas Montgomery, Thomas St. Leger, and some others of the profligate courtiers.

On the whole, the country seems to have been tranquil for some years, till the house of York became suddenly involved in one of the darkest tragedies. It was impossible for a nature like Edward's to forget conduct like that of his brother Clarence; and that weak-headed prince appears to have accelerated his fate by fresh imprudence, and the betrayal, on all occasions, both public and private, of a provoking suspicion and jealousy of his brothers, the king and the Duke of Gloucester. In 1476 Clarence's wife, Isabella, died after an illness of two or three months; and one of her female attendants was condemned and executed for poisoning her. About the same time the Burgundian duke, Charles the Rash, was killed at the battle of Nancy, and, leaving no heirs male, his immense estates fell to his daughter Mary. Taking advantage of his opportunity widowhood, Clarence immediately proposed himself as a husband to this great heiress, whose step-mother (Clarence's sister) seconded his suit. But as soon as Edward heard of this negotiation, his jealousy took the alarm; he opposed it with all his might, and caused it to miscarry. Clarence, who had not been guarded in his expressions before, could now put no restraint upon his tongue. The court, probably well informed of all this incontinent man did and said, soon made him feel its vengeance. At first they attacked him through the sides of his friends. One Stacey, a priest in his service, was accused of having recourse to damnable magic (much like that laid to the charge of Eleanor Cobham, the wife of the unfortunate Duke Humphrey) to hasten the death of the Lord Beauchamp, by the slow melting of certain images. Being put to torture, that he might be forced to confess who were his setters on and accomplices, he named Thomas Burdett, a gentleman of Clarence's household, and one to whom the duke was greatly attached. These unfortunate men, it appears, were tried in a hurried manner by the judges and some temporal peers, convicted, and executed. They both died protesting their innocence. Clarence, who was too late to save their

lives, presented himself in the council, which for some time he had rarely attended, to prove that his servants had met with an unjust doom; and for this attempt, which was called an interference with justice, his brother, the king, in a public manner committed him to the Tower. Everything was conducted in a public manner except the execution. A parliament was summoned on the 16th of January, 1478, when the king appeared in person to prosecute his own brother Clarence, who was brought to the bar of the lords. The charges were monstrous, and for the greater part absurd; but Edward had witnesses to swear to them all, and the impossible part of the guilt was probably that which made the greatest impression. Clarence was accused of dealing with the devil by means of conjurors and necromancers; of having plotted to dethrone the king and disinherit the king's children; of having given to his servants large sums of money, venison, &c., that they might assemble and feast the king's subjects, in order to induce them to believe that Thomas Burdett had been wrongfully executed, and to spread a rumour that the king himself was notoriously guilty of the black art and dealing with the devil, and secret poisoning, and was, besides, a bastard, without right to the crown. After all this, it was charged that Clarence had induced divers of the king's subjects to be sworn upon the sacrament to be true to him and his heirs; that the duke had engaged to restore the confiscated estates of the Lancastrians; that he had gotten and preserved an act under the great seal of Henry VI., late king, whereby he, Clarence, was declared next heir to the crown in case of the death of Edward, Prince of Wales, and that the duke had ordered his retainers to keep themselves ready to take up arms for him and his rights at an hour's notice. None of the peers spoke in his behalf; but Clarence, it appears, vehemently denied every charge. His reply, however, has not been preserved; for, during the greater part of this tyrannical reign, nothing was inserted or allowed to remain on the rolls of parliament that was displeasing to the king. The duke was found guilty, and received sentence of death on the 7th of February. Soon after, the House of Commons were induced to appear in the lords, and petition for the immediate execution of this sentence.¹ But, notwithstanding these high sanctions, it was not thought proper to execute the sentence in an open manner, or, indeed, to allow that it had been executed in any way. On the 18th of February, or, according to some authorities, on the 11th of March, it

¹ About the same time an act was passed, reversing, as illegal, the judgment passed upon the female servant accused of poisoning the Duchess of Clarence.

was whispered that the duke had died in the Tower, upon which people speculated in their usual manner as to the mode of his death; the most popular belief—which there is nothing either to prove or disprove—being, that his brothers had secretly caused him to be drowned in a butt of Malmsey wine. Suspicion rested on Richard, Duke of Gloucester, on account of their old enmity, and because Richard kept fair with the queen, and profited by Clarence's forfeiture.

A.D. 1480. In this year the voluptuous life of the king was somewhat disturbed by a war with Scotland; but, though greatly irritated, Edward did not take the field: he intrusted the command to his brother Richard, who had an indefatigable activity, a good military reputation, and the favour of the army. At the northern court, brothers were intriguing against brothers, and the king, James III., whose tastes and habits were little suited either to overawe his boisterous nobles or to secure their willing obedience, was tottering on his throne; yet, notwithstanding these auspicious circumstances, the English made no impression upon Scotland. Richard of Gloucester failed in an attempt upon Berwick; and for two years the war was little more than an alternation of those raids on the borders of the two countries, which no truce or peace had ever yet prevented. But matters took a different turn when the Duke of Albany, the brother of King James, returned from a short exile in France, and laid claim to the crown, pretending that his brother was a bastard. On coming to the English court, Albany proposed that Edward should lend him a good army, and, in return for such assistance, he offered to surrender Berwick, to acknowledge himself the vassal of England, to renounce all alliance with Louis of France, and to marry one of Edward's daughters, if the church would permit—for he had two wives already. Without pausing at the consideration that Albany was pursuing that very line of conduct for which only four years before he had procured sentence of death against his own brother Clarence, Edward joyfully listened to the traitor Albany, and concluded a treaty with him in the month of June, 1482, at Fotheringay. The army was again intrusted to Gloucester, who marched to Berwick and invested that town. Richard had upwards of 20,000 men; and Albany, who co-operated, had a Scottish force, and a party within the walls of Berwick. The gates of the town were opened, but the castle defied the enemy; and King James, having assembled his barons, marched towards the Borders. As that sovereign lay at Lauder, his nobles, headed by Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, commonly called, after this event, "Archibald Bell-the-Cat," burst into the royal

tent at an early hour between night and morning, carried off the chief favourite, Robert Cochran, together with five more of the king's habitual associates, and hanged them all over the bridge of Lauder. Upon this summary execution, James fled, or was carried a prisoner, to the castle of Edinburgh. The army disbanded, and the road to the capital was left open to the Duke of Gloucester and Albany, who appeared there in the month of July. The presence of an English army seems to have made some of the great lords sensible of the madness of their conduct: and the Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Bishop of Dunkeld, Lord Evandale, the chancellor, and the Earl of Argyll, collected a small army of patriots, and posted themselves at Haddington, between Edinburgh and the English borders. These noblemen summoned all true Scots to their standard, but, at the same time, opened negotiations with the Duke of Albany, who, on the 2d of August, concluded a treaty, the principal clauses of which were, that he, on his part, would be a true and faithful subject to his brother, and that the court should restore to him all his estates and honours, and grant to him and his adherents a pardon for all past offences. There was, however, a third party to conciliate: this was the King of England, who obtained the town and castle of Berwick, and the restitution of certain sums of money which he had paid to James on a now exploded treaty for a marriage between his daughter Cecily and the son of the Scottish king. The Duke of Gloucester returned into England; and his companion, the Duke of Albany, liberated his brother from the castle, rode with him to Holyrood House on the same horse, and slept with him in the same bed—for these things in Scotland, as in France, were considered the best proofs of a perfect reconciliation.

By the treaty of Picquigny, the dauphin was to marry Edward's eldest daughter as soon as she was of proper age. By the usage of the times, a princess was marriageable at the age of twelve; but Elizabeth was now sixteen, and yet the French court never sent to claim her. Edward had been told repeatedly that Louis would not keep to this family engagement; but he believed, or pretended to believe, that that sovereign would not dare to insult him in so tender a point. But the old fox of France was now in a very different position from that in which he stood when he was fain to bribe, and fawn, and flatter through the grating on the bridge at Picquigny: his consummate craft had reduced his factious nobles to obedience; his great rival the Duke of Burgundy was in his grave, and he had cut off the head of the Duke of Brittany, that other ally of the English. While princes were disputing for the hand of Mary, the daughter of Charles the Rash (whom

Clarence had wanted to marry), Louis had seized most of the territories which belonged to that orphan, and now he saw an opportunity of giving a colour to that appropriation, and of rounding his kingdom, by means of an union with the house of Burgundy. In the month of February, 1482, the Duchess Mary, who was holding her court in the rich city of Bruges, went out to fly her hawks at the herons which abounded in that neighbourhood. In following the sport, her palfrey, in taking a leap, burst the girths of the saddle, and she was thrown with great violence against the trunk of a tree. She died in consequence of the injury she sustained in the month of March. She was only twenty-five years old. She left three children by the Duke Maximilian of Austria: Philip, born in 1478; Margaret, called "*Margot la gente demoiselle*," born at the beginning of 1480; and Francis, born at the end of 1481. Her old persecutor King Louis was in a very languishing state of health at the time; but the joy he felt at the death of his fair neighbour and kinswoman revived him wonderfully, and he instantly prepared to take advantage of the event. With all their turbulence, the people of Flanders had entertained some respect and affection for the fair Mary of Burgundy; but they had none for Maximilian, whom they considered not as their prince, but only as the husband of their duchess, whose authority or influence was terminated by her death. Louis opened a secret correspondence with the people of Ghent, and then demanded the hand of the "*gente demoiselle*" for his son the dauphin, the affianced of the Princess Elizabeth of England. Maximilian, the father of the infant, was averse to the match; but Louis expected this, and had provided against

it. The citizens of Ghent, who had all three children in their custody, forced a consent, and delivered up Margot to the agents of the French king, who settled upon her, as her marriage portion—which she was to convey to his son, the dauphin—all the broad and rich provinces which he, Louis, had gained from her mother Mary by fraud and by force of arms. The infant Margot, thus affianced at the age of three years, was carried into France to be "nourished and brought up." As long as it was necessary, Lord Howard, the English ambassador, was bribed, and Edward was amused with fine assurances; for, if the English had supported the Duke Maximilian at the proper time, they might have defeated the project—the last great achievement of the greatest politician of his day. But now the veil was dropped; the contract of marriage was confirmed publicly at Paris, and great rejoicings and feastings were held in that city. Edward felt himself duped, insulted, and disgraced, and he vowed that he would punish the old traitor Louis, and carry such a war into France as had not yet been seen in that country.¹ The excess of his rage is supposed to have hastened his death; but, from the dissolute life he had led for twenty years Edward was not likely, under any circumstances, to reach an old age. He died, after an illness of a few weeks, on the 9th of April, 1483, in the twenty-first year of his reign, and the forty-first or forty-second year of his age. He was exposed on a board, naked from the waste upwards, in order that people might see he had not been murdered. The body was buried with great pomp in the new chapel at Windsor.

¹ *Comines; Barante.*

CHAPTER VI.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.

EDWARD V.—ACCESSION, A.D. 1483—DEATH OF RICHARD III., A.D. 1485.

Proceedings of the Duke of Gloucester on the death of his brother, Edward IV.—His plots against the queen's relatives—He denounces Lord Hastings, and causes him to be executed—The queen's relatives executed—Penance of Jane Shore—The children of Edward IV. declared illegitimate—Richard, Duke of Gloucester, appointed king—He commences his reign as Richard III.—He causes his nephews to be murdered in the Tower—The Earl of Richmond set up against Richard III.—The Duke of Buckingham adopts Richmond's cause—Insurrection and execution of Buckingham—Richard III. seeks his niece Elizabeth in marriage for his son—On his son's death he endeavours to obtain her for himself—The Earl of Richmond prepares to invade England—Unpopularity of King Richard—The Stanleys league against him—Richmond lands in England—Battle of Bosworth—Richard III. defeated and slain—Henry, Earl of Richmond, proclaimed king—Affairs of Scotland—Reign of Robert III. of Scotland—Dissensions in his family—His son Robert starved to death—Duke of Albany becomes regent—James, Prince of Scotland, taken prisoner by Henry IV.—Duke of Albany's regency in Scotland—His alliance with France—James, Prince of Scotland, liberated—His reign in Scotland as James I.—His vigorous and strict administration—Conspiracy against him—He is assassinated—James II., his son, a minor, succeeds him—Troubles during the minority of James II.—Rebellion of the Douglasses—Sudden death of James II. at Roxburgh—He is succeeded by James III.—Feeble character of James III.—Factions among his family and courtiers—Execution of his favourites at Lauder Bridge.



HEN Edward expired at London, Richard, Duke of Gloucester, was in the marches of Scotland at the head of an army devoted to his service; the Prince of Wales, a boy of thirteen,

was at Ludlow Castle, with his maternal uncle, the Earl of Rivers; and Edward's second son, who was only eleven years old, was in London with his mother. It is apparent that all eyes were from the very beginning fixed with doubt upon the powerful uncle, whose first movements, however, were calculated to remove suspicion from the public mind. Upon receiving the news of his brother's death, he rode southward to York, which city he entered with a retinue of 600 knights and esquires, all clad, like himself, in deep mourning. His first care was to order a grand funeral service in the cathedral; his second to collect all the nobles and gentlemen of that neighbourhood, who swore fealty at York to his nephew, Edward V. Richard himself was the first to take this oath; he then wrote to the widowed Queen Elizabeth and to her brother the Earl Rivers, assuring them of his loyalty and affection. When he again put himself in motion, it was observed that the number of his followers was greatly increased; but, as he asserted that this force was only meant to give security and dignity to his nephew's coronation, the circumstance did not awaken any great suspicion. But though they had been sworn friends and confederates, the queen-mother had her misgivings, and the fear and imprudence of Elizabeth contributed not a little to the ruin of her children. She had written to her brother, Earl Ri-

vers, to bring up the young king to London, with an escort of 2000 armed horsemen, and she had attempted to collect another army against the advice of the council. At this moment, the Marquis of Dorset, her son by her first marriage, had possession of the Tower, other Woodvilles and Grays had commands in different places, and the young princes were both in the hands of the queen's relations, who, unrestrained by the frightful executions made by Warwick on the insurgents, were ambitious and daring. On his death-bed, Edward, foreseeing evil consequences to his children, had patched up a reconciliation between his wife's relations and their rivals, the Lords Howard, Hastings, and Stanley, and they had all embraced, and sworn oaths of mutual forgiveness and future friendship. But we have seen the value of such ceremonials: the Howards, the Stanleys, and the rest of the great lords hated the aspiring family as much as ever, and the instinct of self-preservation alone would have excited a lively alarm at seeing the whole power of the state divided among them. The queen-mother, too, disregarding the precedents which established as a principle of the constitution that the right of regulating regencies belonged to parliament alone, betrayed, or at least she was suspected of a design to assume the regal power during the minority of her son, and this the great lords knew would lead to an administration composed exclusively of her relations, who had most of them the passion of revenge to gratify, as well as the passion of ambition. Before Richard began his march from the Borders, the most violent altercations took place at the council-board. The Lord Hastings was so irritated that he threatened

the queen. But the greatest of the malcontents was the Duke of Buckingham, a prince of the blood.¹ Richard, it appears, sent secret emissaries to Buckingham from York, and probably this adroit plotter did not forget Hastings and other lords. He so calculated time and distance that he arrived from the north at the town of Northampton on the same day (the 22d of April) that his nephew, young Edward, travelling from the north-west, reached Stony-Stratford, only ten miles distant. The Earl Rivers and the Lord Richard Gray rode back to Northampton to salute the Duke of Gloucester on the part of the king. Richard received them with much courtesy, and invited them to sup with him; but immediately after their arrival there came another visitor of higher rank, and whom he received with a more sincere welcome. This was the Duke of Buckingham, who brought with him a retinue of 300 horse. The two dukes, the earl, and the lord spent the evening together in a pleasant convivial manner, but after supper the two latter retired to quarters assigned to them in Northampton, and, while guards were placed over them, and all the outlets from the town secured, Gloucester and Buckingham remained in secret debate. On the following morning the Duke of Gloucester continued his progress to Stony-Stratford, riding a-head in company with the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl Rivers, and the Lord Gray, and still maintaining a friendly appearance with the two latter. As soon, however, as he was within the town, and found the young king within his grasp, he changed his tone, accused Rivers and Gray of estranging the affections of his nephew, and ordered them both under arrest. Then, accompanied by the Duke of Buckingham, he waited on the king. The two dukes bent their knees and saluted the poor boy as their sovereign, but in the next minute they arrested Sir Thomas Vaughan and Sir Richard Hawse, two of his favourite servants, and ordered all the rest of his attendants to disperse immediately. All this part of the story is somewhat obscure; it is not explained very clearly whether the 2000 horse that came from Ludlow retired at this order or joined the dukes; but it appears pretty certain that the Earl Rivers, Lord Richard Gray, Vaughan, and Hawse were immediately conveyed northward under a strong guard to Pontefract Castle, and that from this moment young Edward remained a prisoner in the hands of Gloucester and Buckingham.²

The news was soon carried to London: the queen-mother received the tidings "a little before the midnight following, and that in the sor-

est wise; that the king, her son, was taken, her brother, his son, and her other friends arrested, and sent, no man wist whither, to be done with God wot what," and in "great heaviness," at the dead of night, she fled to her old sanctuary at Westminster, taking with her her second son, the Duke of York, and her five daughters. Meanwhile the Lord Hastings assured the people that the two dukes were loyal and acting for the public weal. From the fate he met with we must conclude that Hastings was a dupe, or that though he was ready to go to a certain length in order to displace the queen-mother and her relations, he was not prepared to abandon the cause of the children of his deceased master. He, however, obeyed the summons of the dukes, and went from London to meet them. Rotherham, Archbishop of York and chancellor, went to the queen-mother and endeavoured to comfort her and soothe her alarms; he delivered to her a friendly message which he had received from Hastings. Elizabeth suspected the faith of this nobleman, and she exclaimed—"A woe worth him, for he is one of them that goeth about to destroy me and my blood!" The archbishop replied—"Madam, be of good cheer, for I promise you if they crown any other king than your son whom they have now with them, we shall on the morrow crown his brother whom you have here with you." He then delivered the great seal to Elizabeth and departed home again, as day was dawning, by which time "he might in his chamber window see all the Thames full of boats of the Duke of Gloucester's servants, watching that no man should go to sanctuary, nor none should pass unsearched."³ Then, continues the contemporary historian, "was great commotion and murmur as well in other places about, as specially in the city, the people diversely divining upon this dealing." The Archbishop of York, whose intellect seems to have been confounded, presently repented of so hastily delivering up the great seal to the queen-mother, "(to whom the custody thereof nothing pertained), and he sent secretly for the seal again, and carried it with him, after the customable, to a meeting of the nobility and gentry. The Lord Hastings, whose truth towards the king no man doubted nor needed to doubt, attended this meeting, and asserted again that the Duke of Gloucester was sure and fastly faithful to his prince, adding that the Earl Rivers and the Lord Richard, with the other knights, were, for matters attempted by them against the Duke of Gloucester and Buckingham, put under arrest for their surety, not for the king's jeopardy, and that they should soon be examined by all the other lords of the king's council

¹ This weak man was a lineal descendant of Thomas of Woodstock, the youngest son of Edward III.

² *Cont. Hist. C. 104*; *Sir Thomas More; Hall*.

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³ *Sir Thomas More*.

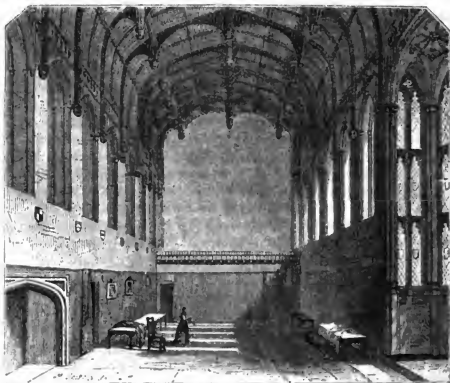
indifferently" Hastings recommended peace and good order in the city, in order that the king's coronation might not be disturbed, for which ceremony he said the dukes were coming up. He admitted, however, "that matters were likely to come to a field, but that, if they did, though both parties were in all other things equal, yet should the authority be on that side where the king himself was." With these persuasions of the Lord Hastings, "whereof," says Sir Thomas More, "part himself believed, of part he wist the contrary," London was somewhat quieted. The adherents of Gloucester and Buckingham spread the report through the city that proofs had been obtained of the horrible plotting of the queen's relations to destroy the two dukes and others of noble blood, to the end that they might alone govern the young king at their pleasure; and they even exhibited to the populace barrels filled with arms, which they said the traitors had privily conveyed to destroy the noble lords withal. The common people were very well satisfied with this kind of proof, and said, "it were alms to hang the traitors."

It is quite evident that the queen-mother had no party in London, that her relations were most unpopular, and that the peaceful and wealthy citizens longed for the arrival of the two dukes in order that tranquillity might be restored. At the approach of the young king, Edmund Shaw, goldsmith, then mayor, with William White and John Matthew, sheriffs, and all the other aldermen, in scarlet, together with 500 of the citizens, clad in violet, and all gallantly mounted on horseback, rode out to meet him as far as Hornsey Wood, where they received him right reverently.¹

There is a difficulty in fixing precise dates to these rapidly succeeding events, but it appears to have been on the 4th or 5th of May that Gloucester arrived in London, riding bare-headed before his nephew, who was shown to the people attired and attended as became a king. At first the royal boy was lodged in the palace of the bishop, but a great council was summoned, and, at the motion of the Duke of Buckingham, it was agreed to send the young king to the Tower, as the place of greatest safety. The lords in council

then fixed the 22d of June for the coronation; summoned fifty lords and gentlemen to attend and receive the honours of knighthood, which were usually distributed before that ceremony; appointed the Bishop of Lincoln chancellor, in the place of the Archbishop of York; changed a few other officers of the crown, and gave the post of protector to the Duke of Gloucester, who thereupon styled himself "brother and uncle of the king, protector and defensor, great chamberlain, constable, and lord high admiral of England."²

Richard took up his residence in Crosby Place, Bishopsgate, where the majority of the council



GREAT HALL, CROSBY PLACE, BISHOPSGATE.—From a drawing by J. W. Archer.

attended him late and early. At the same time, a minority, composed of Lord Hastings and others, met in the Tower; but they seem to have had the garrison of that place against them. Hastings vainly thought that he was secure, and that he could outwit the cunning Gloucester. On the 12th of June he told Lord Stanley, who was uneasy at the proceedings at Crosby Place, that he kept his secret agent there, who was sure to inform him of all that was doing. On the following day the protector suddenly entered the Tower, and took his seat at the council-table.

¹ Sir Thomas More; *Cont. Hist. Engl.*; Fabynn; Rymer.

² This fine specimen of the domestic architecture of the fifteenth century was built by Sir John Crosby, sheriff in 1470. The chief parts of the mansion surrounded three sides of a small deep quadrangle. The great hall, which still remains, is a magnificent apartment 54 ft. long, 27 ft. wide, and 40 ft. high. It has a beautiful bay window and a highly enriched timbered roof. Henry VIII. bestowed this mansion, in 1542, on Antonio Bonvicini, a rich Italian merchant. In the reign of Elizabeth it was appropriated to foreign ambassadors. Here Sully lodged when on embassy to England, in the reign of James I.

Shakespeare has helped Sir Thomas More to make this scene immortal. More says that Richard presented himself on Friday the 13th of June, about nine in the morning, "in a very merry humour. After a little talking with them, he said unto the Bishop of Ely, 'My lord, you have very good strawberries in your garden in Holborn; I request you let us have a mess of them.' 'Gladly, my lord,' quoth he: 'would to God I had some better thing as ready to your pleasure as that!' and then, withal, in all haste, he sent his servant for a mess of strawberries. The protector set the lords fast in communing, and thereupon, praying them to spare him for a little while, departed thence, and soon after one hour, between ten and eleven, he returned into the chamber amongst them all, changed, with a wonderful sour angry countenance, knitting the brows, frowning and fretting, gnawing on his lips, and so set him down in his place." Soon after, he asked what those persons deserved who had compassed and imagined his destruction. Lord Hastings answered that they deserved death, whoever they might be; and then Richard affirmed that they were that sorceress his brother's wife (meaning the queen) and others with her. "And," said the protector, "we shall see in what wise that sorceress, and that other witch of her council, Shore's wife, with their affinity, have by their sorcery and witchcraft wasted my body." On saying this, he plucked up his doublet sleeve to his elbow upon his left arm, when the arm appeared to be withered and small, "as it was never other." The lords, of course, perceived that this matter was but a quarrel, and they were all silent except Hastings, who said, "Certainly, my lord, if they have so heinously done, they be worthy heinous punishment." "What!" quoth the protector, "thou servest me, I ween, with ifs and with ands! I tell thee they have so done, and that I will made good on thy body, traitor!" "And therewith," continues More, "as in a great anger, he clapped his fist upon the board, a great rap. At which token one cried 'Treason!' without the chamber. Therewith a door clapped, and in came there rushing men in harness as many as the chamber might hold. And anon, the protector said to the Lord Hastings, 'I arrest thee, traitor!' 'What! me, my lord!' quoth he. 'Yes, thee, traitor!' quoth the protector. Another let fly at the Lord Stanley, which shrunk at the stroke, and fell under the table, or else his head had been cleft to the teeth; for as shortly as he shrank, yet ran the blood about his ears. Then were they quickly bestowed in divers chambers, except the lord-chamberlain (Hastings), whom the protector bade speed, and shrive him apace, 'for by Saint Paul,' quoth he, 'I will not to dinner till I see thy head off.'"

Whatever were the charges brought forward by Richard, it seems certain that the Lord Hastings was instantly seized by a body of armed men, who, rushing into the council-chamber, crying "Treason! treason!" at a signal given by Richard, hurried him to the green by the side of the Tower chapel, stretched his neck over a log of wood which happened to lie there, and cut off his head; and that the Lord Stanley, the Archbishop of York, and the Bishop of Ely were arrested at the same time, and shut up in separate cells in the Tower. On the very day upon which these things happened in London, the Earl Rivers, the Lord Gray, Sir Thomas Vaughan, and Sir Richard Hawse were beheaded at Pontefract Castle, without any form of trial. The execution was public; but the victims were prevented from addressing the people by an armed band, that was directed in person by Sir Richard Ratcliffe, one of Richard's boldest adherents, who is described as "a man that had long been secret with him, having experience of the world and a shrewd wit, being short and rude in speech, and as far from pity as from all fear of God." The Earl Rivers, who thus perished, was an accomplished man; he was fond of literature—he encouraged literary men, and first introduced to the notice of Edward IV. William Caxton, the first English printer.

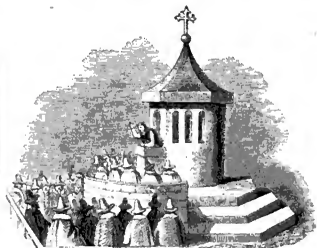
These executions, it should appear, produced no reaction. On the 16th of June, only three days after, the protector, with my lord-cardinal the Archbishop of Canterbury, and several other prelates and lay lords, proceeded to the sanctuary at Westminster, to demand the person of the Duke of York, whose presence at the coronation was said to be indispensable, and whose abiding in sanctuary was held to be dangerous and dishonourable, as causing slanderous rumours to be spread and suspicions to be cast on the protector. The cardinal undertook to persuade the queen-mother with gentle words, for Richard was quite ready to disregard the sacred rights of church and sanctuary. According to the best authority, Elizabeth at last yielded rather to the conviction of the uselessness of all resistance, than to the arguments of the cardinal-archbishop, and, calling for her beautiful boy, she embraced him and delivered him over to them, and then burst into tears, as though she felt her child was lost. Richard carried the poor boy to the Tower, and secured him there with his brother.

The "pleasant vices" of the late king were now made scourges for his innocent progeny, and the dissoluteness of the whole court had disposed the minds of many people to look with a favourable eye upon any prince or minister that should present himself as a reformer of morals. Stories were circulated, both new and old! the late king was

again said to be a bastard; and his children were made equally illegitimate in reports which stated, with much circumstantiality, that the marriage of Elizabeth Woodville was altogether illegal. Among the many mistresses of Edward was none so conspicuous as Jane Shore, whom he had seduced from her husband, a young and wealthy citizen, and to whom he continued attached to the time of his death. "Many," says More, "the king had, but her he loved: whose favour, to say the truth (for sin it were to belie the devil), she never abused to any man's hurt, but to many a man's comfort and relief; where the king took displeasure she would mitigate and appease his mind; where men were out of favour she would bring them in his grace; for many that had highly offended she obtained pardon; of great forfeitures she got men remission. . . . A proper wit had she, and could both read well and write. As if it were in a virtuous anger, not for covetousness" (it appears, however, that Richard kept the goods or the money), "the protector sent into the house of Shore's wife (for she dwelt not with her husband) and seized all her plate and jewels, to the value of 2000 or 3000 marks, and then sent her to prison." She was delivered over to the ecclesiastical court to be punished according to canons which had long been a dead letter, at least about court. "Every man," says More, "was surprised to see the matter so suddenly and so highly taken; and for this cause, that Duke Richard, as a godly, continent prince, clean and faultless of himself, sent out of heaven into this vicious world for the amendment of men's manners, he made the Bishop of London put her to open penance." With no clothes on but her girdle, bare-footed, and carrying a lighted taper in her hand, Jane Shore was compelled to walk through the crowded streets of the city on a Sunday. The exhibition had the double effect of fixing the attention of the people on the immoralities of the late king, and of displaying in a striking light the moral rigour of the new protector.

This scene was followed by a sermon preached by Dr. Shaw, the brother of the lord-mayor, upon the text—"The multiplying brood of the ungodly shall not thrive, nor take deep rooting from bastard slips."¹ The doctor proceeded boldly to show that the two young princes in the Tower were illegitimate, inasmuch as Edward their father, in the very beginning of his reign, before he knew Elizabeth, the widow of Sir Thomas Gray, had clandestinely married Eleanor, the widow of the Lord Boteler of Sudeley. He afterwards took up the scandal which had been propagated by the Duke of Clarence, and by the Duke of Burgundy

before him, expressing his learned doubts whether Edward, the late king, were in reality the son of his reputed father Richard, Duke of York, seeing that there was no resemblance between them. But then he went on to tell the great crowd that attended him—for he was holding forth at Paul's Cross, and was a very popular



ST. PAUL'S CROSS.—From a print by Holtar.

preacher—that the lord-protector, that right noble prince, was the very image and plain express likeness of that royal duke. It had been previously arranged that Richard should appear in the sermon-ward just as Dr. Shaw drew this striking comparison, but either he came too slow or the preacher went on too fast: he appeared at length, and then the doctor repeated his similitude; but the words lost the air of an inspiration, and the people, instead of shouting "Long live King Richard!" as they ought to have done, stared at each other in silent astonishment. The protector then pretended to be displeased with the preacher, who sneaked away.

On the Tuesday following (the 24th of June) the Duke of Buckingham, who went hand-in-hand with the Duke of Gloucester, presented himself on the hustings at the Guildhall, and there, supported by a number of lords, knights, and citizens, he eloquently harangued the Londoners. He spoke of the tyranny, extortion, and lust of the late king—of the numbers he had reduced to beggary by benevolences—of the honest families he had disgraced by his illicit amours. He went over the whole sermon of Dr. Shaw, and told the people that Richard was the only true issue of the Duke of York, and that the lords and commons of the north had sworn never to submit to a bastard. It appears that the more respectable citizens, among whom, however, Richard had a very strong party, required time for deliberation; but many of the poorer sort now threw up their bonnets, and cried "Long live King Richard!"

¹ *Wisdom of Solomon*, iv. 3.

² This cross was erected about 1450, and remodelled in 1503.

On the next day a great deputation from the citizens, headed by Shaw the mayor, and accompanied by the Duke of Buckingham and many lords and gentlemen, waited upon the protector, who was lodging in Baynard's Castle. Richard, it is said, affected to be alarmed, and at first declined receiving them; but soon Buckingham was admitted to present an address, which was styled the "Consideration, election, and petition of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, of this realm of England." In this remarkable document, of which a copy has been preserved in the rolls of parliament, the former allusions to the illegitimacy of the late king and his brother Clarence were suppressed, but Edward's marriage with Eleanor Boteler was insisted upon; and "as Edward (the discourse proceeded) during his life and Elizabeth lived together sinfully and damnably in adultery, against the law of God and of his church, so it appeareth evidently and followeth that all the issuing children of the said King Edward be bastards." Then, to get rid of the children of the Duke of Clarence, Richard's elder brother, the attainer for treason against that prince was quoted; and, finally, Richard was invited and pressed to take the crown as his by right of birth, and by lawful election of the three estates of the land.

The protector hesitated; spoke of his want of ambition; his warm affection for the young princes, his nephews, for whom he yet trusted to preserve the crown. "Not so," said Buckingham; "the free people of England will never be ruled by a bastard; and if you, the lawful heir, refuse the crown, they know where to find another who will gladly accept it." Upon this, Richard modestly replied, that it was his duty to submit to the will of his people; and that, since they would have him for their king, he would take upon himself the royal estate of the two noble realms of England and France—the one to rule from that day forward, the other (meaning France), with their good help, to subdue and get again as soon as might be.¹ This is commonly reckoned the last day of the brief nominal reign of Edward V.

RICHARD III.

On the 26th of June, the day following the scene acted at Baynard's Castle, Richard proceeded to Westminster, where he seated himself between the great Lord Howard and the Duke of Suffolk upon the marble seat in the hall, telling the admiring people that he commenced his reign in that place, because it was his first duty as a king to attend to the laws and the doing of justice. He

then rode back to the city, and was received at St. Paul's by a grand procession of the clergy and the joyful shouts of the people. Ten days after, on the 6th of July, he was crowned in Westminster Abbey with his wife Anne, the daughter of Warwick. Neither lords spiritual nor lords temporal started the least difficulty: the Archbishop of Canterbury, with his clergy, anointed the usurper. There was a very full attendance of peers and peeresses; and while the Duke of Buckingham bore the train of the king, the Countess of Richmond did the like office for the queen. The ceremony was followed by promotions, donations, and acts of mercy. The Lord Howard was made earl marshal, and received the title of Duke of Norfolk: his son was created Earl of Surrey. Of the prisoners made in the council-chamber in the Tower on the day of Lord Hastings' execution, Lord Stanley was received into favour, the Archbishop of York was set at liberty, and the Bishop of Ely was released from the Tower, to be more gently guarded by the Duke of Buckingham in his castle at Brecknock.

Richard did not call a parliament, but he held a long conference with the lords who had attended his coronation, and whom he charged to be strict in preserving the peace, and putting down all crimes and disorders in their several counties. In a few days he began a royal progress through the kingdom, and wherever he stopped, he listened to petitions and administered justice in person. His course lay through some of the pleasantest parts of England, and the fine summer season disposed the people to enjoy the splendour and parade of the court. Everywhere he was received with acclamations—in the north with enthusiasm. From Warwick he went by Coventry, Leicester, Nottingham, and Pontefract, to York, where he and his queen were again crowned to gratify his northern adherents.²

But while all was sunshine at York, a dark cloud arose in London, that threatened a tempest in the south. Meetings were held by the friends of the queen-mother in different parts, and it was resolved to make an attempt to liberate the princes from the Tower. Their healths were drunk in secret; but the poor boys were already dead, and their fate had probably been hastened by these friends—for nothing was likely to escape the quick and suspicious eye of their uncle and his numerous agents. We venture to repeat the old story as told by Sir Thomas More; for, in spite of the scepticism of a few modern writers, it has not only consistency and probability, but

¹ Rotherham, Archbishop of York, here officiated, and set the crown upon his head. *Sir Thomas More: Cont. Hist. Chron.* Drake, *Eborac.* Rouse. Rouse, who was living an eremitical life at Guy's Cliff at the time of this splendid royal progress, saw Richard at Warwick, and describes his personal appearance.

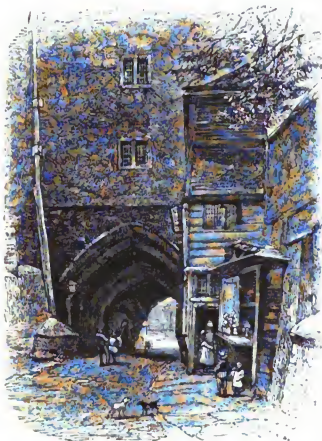
² *Sir Thomas More.*

also some remarkable evidences in its favour. In the course of his progress, Richard despatched from the neighbourhood of the town of Gloucester one John Green, "whom he specially trusted," with a letter to Sir Robert Brackenbury, governor of the Tower, ordering that the said Sir Robert should, "in some wise, put the two children to death." Brackenbury refused the commission, as something too horrible and dangerous to himself. Green returned with this answer to Richard, who, being then at Warwick, despatched Sir James Tyrrel, his master of the horse, with a commission to get, and keep for twenty-four hours, all the keys and the command of the Tower. One night, apparently in the month of August, Tyrrel, accompanied by Miles Forest, "a fellow fleshed in murder before-time," and John Dighton, Tyrrel's own horsekeeper, "a big, broad, square, and strong knave," ascended the staircase which led

hasty view of the dead bodies, which were then, by his orders, carried down and buried by the two murderers "at the stair-foot, meetly deep in the ground, under a great heap of stones."² Honours and rewards were immediately bestowed upon Tyrrel, Forest, Dighton, Green, and Brackenbury.

It was not King Richard's intention to reveal that the children were dead; but when the insurgents were up in arms he permitted the fact to be divulged. The news disconcerted the conspirators; but these men had gone too far ever to expect mercy from such a king, and they resolved to raise up a new competitor for the crown in the person of one who was not a prisoner in the Tower, but an exile in France—who was not an innocent, helpless boy, but a man in the vigour of life,³ and crafty, cool, and sagacious, as became one that had studied his politics in the school of Louis XI.

This was Henry, Earl of Richmond, the grandson of Owen Tudor and Catherine, the widow of Henry V. Richmond was considered as representing the line of Lancaster by right of his mother Margaret Beaufort, who was daughter of a Duke of Somerset, and a great-grand-daughter of John of Gaunt. Some princes or princesses might have been found in Spain or Portugal among the descendants of John of Gaunt, who were nearer representatives of that house; but the eyes of the legitimatists on this side did not reach so far; and the Yorkists could not very consistently recognize the rights of a line of princes whom they had voted usurpers. It was, therefore, proposed that Henry, Earl of Richmond, should marry the Princess Elizabeth (formerly affianced to the dauphin), eldest daughter of the late king, and now, by the death of her brothers, the representative of the more legitimate house of York. Elizabeth, the queen-mother, whose sanctuary was still respected, found means of corresponding with the managers for this new revolution; and she entered warmly into the project of the marriage. The Dowager-countess of Richmond, who had married Lord Stanley, became a party to the contract, as representative of her son, the exile Henry; and the Marquis of Dorset, with several members of the Gray and Woodville families, and many other noblemen who had hitherto pursued very different politics, united against Richard, and entered into the scheme. The best explanation of the conduct of the Duke of



THE BLOODY TOWER, TOWER OF LONDON.¹—From a sketch by H. G. Huie.

to the chamber where the young princes lay sleeping together. While Tyrrel waited at the door, Miles Forest and John Dighton entered the room, and smothered the children in the bed-clothes as they lay, keeping the pillows and feather-bed hard upon their mouth. When the deed was done, Tyrrel stepped into the chamber to take a

¹ The Bloody Tower forms the gateway of the inner ward of the Tower of London. Tradition points out the room over the archway as the place where the children of Edward IV. were murdered, hence the name.

² Sir Thomas More. The continuator of the *History of Croyland*, another contemporary, says simply that the children were reported to have died in the Tower, though it was uncertain by what kind of violent death. A little more light will be thrown on this mysterious transaction in our narrative of the reign of Henry VII.

³ Henry was nearly thirty years old when he ascended the throne.

Buckingham who had done more than any man to place Richard upon the throne, is, that he was a fool and something worse. The more detailed explanations usually given are, that though made constable of the kingdom, justiciary of Wales, governor of all the royal castles in Wales, and steward of the royal manors in Hereford and Shropshire, and though he had obtained from Richard what had constantly been refused to him by Richard's brother and predecessor, the whole or the greater part of the immense inheritance of Humphrey de Bohun, which he claimed in right of descent, Buckingham was still dissatisfied, and was, therefore, induced to listen to the acute reasoning of his prisoner Morton, Bishop of Ely, who was an implacable enemy of King Richard, and (next to Richard) the most adroit statesman in the country, and to the earnest persuasions of his own wife, who was sister to Queen Elizabeth. It is certain that indignation and horror at the murder of his wife's nephews in the Tower had nothing to do with Buckingham's sudden change; for he engaged to put himself at the head of an insurrection before that event was known; and by letters rashly written, and imprudently delivered, he called upon his friends to join him in placing upon the throne the legitimate king, Edward V., whom he (Buckingham,) on the 24th of June last past, had proclaimed a bastard at Guildhall. When that plan fell to the ground, he entered eagerly into the other, and was among the first to invite the Earl of Richmond into England. The astucious Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, who had fled into France after the battle of Tewkesbury, had gone through many perils adventures, and had occasionally suffered poverty and want. But now the French court and the Duke of Brittany, hoping much from his gratitude if he should become King of England, agreed to furnish him with some ships, men, and money.¹

King Richard obtained the first hint of what was intended from the answer which Henry sent to the invitation of his friends in England. This was within a few days of the 18th of October, the time fixed for a general rising. He summoned all his loyal subjects to meet him at Leicester. The summons was readily attended to in the north, and a good army gathered round his standard. On the appointed day the insurrection broke out, and Henry Tudor was proclaimed at Exeter by the Marquis of Dorset; by the Bishop of Salis-

bury at Devizes; by the gentlemen of Kent at Maidstone; by the gentlemen of Berkshire at Newbury; and by the Duke of Buckingham at Brecknock.

Richard hit all the leaders at once by a remarkable proclamation, in which, maintaining his tone of morality, he called them all traitors, adulterers, and bawds, and said that their object was, the letting (hindrance) of virtue and the damnable maintenance of vice. At the same time, he set a price upon the heads of Buckingham, Dorset, and their confederates. Henry appeared with a fleet off the coast of Devonshire; but none of the confederates were there to meet him, and it did not accord with his prudence to attempt a landing with the small force he had brought. While he was sailing back to St. Malo, Buckingham, who moved from Wales too late, and who, when he did move, proceeded like an idiot, was blundering along the right bank of the Severn, seeking in vain for a passage across that river. The people of Herefordshire, Worcester, and Gloucestershire, who had no great affection for him and his Welsh army, broke down or defended all the bridges; and the fords, it is said, were rendered impassable by the autumnal rains. In a very short time the Welshmen, finding that the duke had made no arrangements for feeding them, and that they could not maintain themselves by plunder, deserted almost to a man, and returned to their mountains. Buckingham fled and concealed himself; and the news of his miserable failure induced the rest of the insurgents to disperse. Richard, without drawing a sword, marched all the way from Leicester to Salisbury, where Buckingham, his captive, having been betrayed by one of his own servants, a man named Banister, meanly implored to see him. Richard would not grant him an interview, but ordered his head to be struck off in the market-place, which was done immediately. The king then continued his march into Devonshire; but this was scarcely necessary, for the Marquis of Dorset and his friends had already taken flight for Brittany. He executed a few insurgents, the most conspicuous of whom was St. Leger, a knight, who had married Richard's own sister, the Duchess of Exeter; and then he returned to London to meet a parliament which had, at length, been summoned.²

This, which was Richard's only parliament, met on the 11th of November, and was so far from showing any dissatisfaction, that it proceeded at once to confirm the celebrated petition which had been presented by Buckingham and the citizens at Baynard's Castle the day before the protector changed himself into a king; and

¹ Edward IV. had kept the De Bohun inheritance to himself.

² "The Earl of Richmond," says Comines, "told me, not long before his departure from France, that from the time he was five years old, he had always been a fugitive or a prisoner. He had endured an imprisonment of fifteen years, or thereabouts, in Brittany, by command of the late Duke Francis, into whose hands he fell by extremity of weather, as he was escaping out of England with his uncle the Earl of Pembroke."

³ Rot. Parl.: Rymer; Cont. Hist. Croyl.; Drake, Eborac.; Hall; Stow.

it declared him the lawful sovereign by birth, inheritance, free election, consecration, and coronation, and entailed the crown on the issue of his body, beginning with his son Edward, now declared Prince of Wales. It voted a bill of attainder, in the usual form, against the traitors who had attempted to disturb the lawful government. This bill was much less severe than might have been expected. The Countess of Richmond, Henry's mother, who had taken a most active part in the late attempt, was pardoned at the earnest entreaties of her second husband, the Lord Stanley—a man who seems to have been a match even for Richard in craft and duplicity, and who now, and indeed to the last moment, persuaded him that he had renounced all former notions, and had become his truest friend and servant. In the address or petition presented at Baynard's Castle, was the following strong passage, expressive of the feelings with which the rapacity and misgovernment of Edward IV. had filled the citizens: "For certainly, we be determined rather to adventure and commit us to the peril of our lives and jeopardy of death, than to live in such thralldom and bondage as we have lived long time heretofore, oppressed and injured by extortions and new impositions against the laws of God and man, and the liberty, old policy, and laws of this realm, wherein every Englishman is inherited." Parliament now passed an act, which, after reciting in equally strong terms the grievances lately suffered, abrogated and for ever annulled all exactions under the name of benevolences—that equivocal and odious term introduced in the late arbitrary times. This was a boon to the nation, whose liberties were not directly impaired by the usurpation¹ of Richard.² His tenure was too precarious, and his reign too brief to allow him to become despot.

A.D. 1484. Richard felt that in spite of acts of parliament and all other instruments, whereby the children of his brother had been declared illegitimate, the whole party of the Yorkists were still inclined to consider the Princess Elizabeth as heiress to the crown. He was aware of the project of uniting her to Henry, Earl of Richmond, whose title was otherwise most defective, and he resolved to get the young lady into his power. He was startled by a circumstance which took place during the festival of

Christmas. The English exiles, with the Marquis of Dorset at their head, met Henry at an appointed place in Brittany, and after he had sworn to make Elizabeth his queen, they did homage to him as their legitimate sovereign. Richard opened an active and affectionate correspondence with his brother's widow, who was still with her daughters in the sanctuary at Westminster; and that vain, ambitious, heartless woman, tired of her long privations, and eager again for the pleasures of a court, listened to the proposals offered by the murderer of her children, brother, and nearest friends. Some precautions, however, she took; for Richard swore upon the host before some bishops and lords, and the lord-mayor and aldermen, that her life and the lives of her daughters should be in no peril; that they should all be treated as his kinwomen; and that he would grant an annuity to the mother, and marriage portions to the young ladies. After this, she left the sanctuary and went to court, where every possible attention was paid to her eldest daughter. Richard's design was, in this instance, transparent—it was to marry the Princess Elizabeth, whom he had called a bastard, but whom others called the lawful heiress, to his son, the Prince of Wales, a boy of eleven years. The plan, however, was defeated by the death of the young prince, who expired *suddenly* at Middleham Castle. For a time Richard was bowed to the earth by this unexpected calamity, but as soon as he recovered he evidently resolved to work out his scheme of ambition by marrying Elizabeth himself. Except for the poor boys who perished in the Tower, or in some other place, it is scarcely possible to feel the least sympathy for a single member of this abominable family. The Lady Elizabeth was kept constantly about the person of Richard's queen, and indulged in all the pleasures of the court, which did not always wear a puritanical gloom, for Richard found, that though his affectation of moral austerity might gain him friends in one direction, it made him lose friends in another. On a sudden Richard's wife Anne fell sick, and it seems to have been calculated that she should die. In the month of February (1485) Elizabeth, the mother, wrote to her son, the marquis, telling him to retire immediately from Henry, Earl of Richmond, as she had arranged a better plan for the family; and Elizabeth, the daughter (the worthy child of such a mother), wrote to Howard, now Duke of Norfolk, and in high favour with the king, to implore his good offices in forwarding her marriage with Richard, whom she called "her joy and maker in this world—the master of her heart and thoughts." She expressed her surprise that the queen should be so long in dying—the better part of February, she observed, was past, and

¹ Lord Campbell observes of the statute 1 Rich. III. c. 1, that "it is remarkable that this is the first statute in the English language, the statutes hitherto having been all in Latin or French, and it was taken as a precedent, for all statutes afterwards are in English. It is curious that in this reign, which we regard with so much horror, not only were laws given to the people of England for the first time since the Conquest, in their own language, but acts of parliament were for the first time printed."—Macpherson's *Annals of Commerce*, i. 704.

² Rot. Parl.: Cont. Hist. Croyl.

the queen still alive—would she never die? Anne died in March, and then the young Elizabeth, who had already worn robes similar to those of the queen, and who had appeared at court balls and festivals as the peculiar object of her uncle's attentions, expected to mount the throne. But when Richard opened his plan to his chief advisers, Ratcliffe and Catesby, they represented that such a marriage would be considered as incestuous by the clergy and the people; that it would confirm suspicions, already beginning to be entertained, that he had poisoned Queen Anne; and that such a conviction would assuredly deprive him of his friends in the north, whose attachment to him had mainly arisen out of their hereditary affection for the daughter of the great Earl of Warwick. Richard had counted on obtaining a dispensation for the marriage from the pope; but he was now made to feel that this, even if he had got it, would not be sufficient to screen him from popular indignation, and he resigned all thoughts of making the heiress his wife. His next step was to assert that he had never entertained any such project. He summoned a meeting in the great hall of the Temple, and there, before the commoners and the lord-mayor and aldermen, who had an unusually large share in state matters during this reign, he protested that he had never thought of such an event. In order to tranquillize the people of the north, he wrote a letter to the citizens of York, telling them how he had explained matters to the citizens of London, and requiring them to seize and send before the council all such persons as propagated false and malicious reports.

In the preceding summer Richard had adopted measures which drove Henry from Brittany, and well-nigh proved fatal to that rival. By means of money he converted Landois from a friend and ally into an enemy, and that Breton minister, with or without the consent of his master, the Duke Francis, engaged to seize the Earl of Richmond and send him a prisoner into England. Henry, being warned of this plot, fled with a few friends from Vannes, threw himself into a neighbouring forest, and, by pursuing unfrequented roads and using great speed, he gained the territories of the King of France.¹ There he was safe, for the French court considered Richard as an usurper. "This Richard," says Comines, "desired to live in the same friendship with our king as his brother Edward had done, and I believe would have had his pension continued; but our king looked upon him as an inhuman and cruel person, and would neither answer his letters nor give audience to his ambassadors." And though Louis XI., the king here alluded to, died seven

weeks after Richard's coronation, his son, Charles VIII., entertained the same sentiments. Henry was kindly received at Paris, and Charles even supplied him with some money and about 3000 Normans, whom Comines describes as "the loosest and most profligate fellows of all that country." "And thus," says the same writer, "did God of a sudden raise up against Richard an enemy without power, without money, without hereditary right (according to my information), and without any reputation, save what his person and deportment had acquired for him."

The real descent of his rival, his alliance with the French king, and the complexion of the army he was bringing into England, were all made the most of in a proclamation which Richard issued with the intention of exciting the prejudices of the people. He called him "One Henry Tudor, descended of bastard blood both by father's and mother's side, and who, therefore, could never have any claim to the crown of England, but by conquest." He asserted that this Henry Tudor, that he might achieve his false intent by the aid of the ancient enemies of England, had covenanted to give up in perpetuity to the crown of France all right to Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Guienne, and even Calais, and to dis sever the arms of France from the arms of England for ever; that he had promised and given away, to traitors and foreigners, archbishoprics, bishoprics, duchies, earldoms, baronies, and other inheritances of knights, esquires, and private gentlemen; that he intended to change and subvert the ancient laws and liberties; that he was coming with bands of robbers and murderers, and with rebels attainted by the high court of parliament, of whom many were known for open cut-throats, adulterers, and extortioners. He called upon his subjects, like true and good Englishmen, to arm for the defence of their wives, children, goods, and hereditaments, and he promised, like a diligent and courageous prince, to put his most royal person to all labour and peril necessary in their behalf. But he was without money, and he soon found that he could depend but little on his officers.

The last remnant of his popularity among the citizens of London appears to have been rent and destroyed by the exacting of some forced loans. As he and his parliament had for ever proscribed those practices of the late reign, he would not permit these extortions to be called "benevolences;" upon which the Londoners called them "malevolences."² The plan of his campaign was to intrust the defence of the sea-coasts to his friends, and to collect himself a great army in the centre of the kingdom. Most of these friends betrayed him; but, when he raised his own ban-

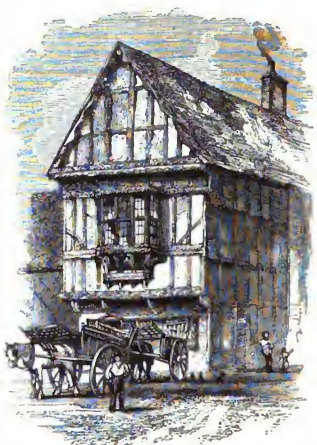
¹ *Dara, Hist. Bretagne.*² *Cont. Hist. Croyl.*

ner at Nottingham, the people of the north hastened to it, under the Earl of Northumberland. On the 7th of August Henry landed at Milford Haven with about 5000 men, of whom not above 2000 were English.¹ Richard moved southward to Leicester, where he was joined by the Duke of Norfolk, the Lord Lovel, and Brackenbury, who brought up the levies from the eastern counties, from Hampshire, and from London. Many other lords and sheriffs of counties, who had been summoned, did not appear, and the Lord Stanley, the husband of Henry's mother, was among the missing. Keeping up his deception to the last, Stanley sent to say how much he regretted his non-attendance, which was caused solely by the sweating sickness that confined him to his bed. But Richard, who probably knew by this time that Henry had been allowed to march undisturbed through Wales, and through the whole country where the influence of the Stanleys was greatest, determined to look after the Lord Strange, the son of Lord Stanley, who was in his camp. Strange attempted flight; was seized, interrogated, and made to confess that the Stanleys were in league with the invader—all of them except his father, who, he said, he knew would soon join King Richard. He was allowed to write to Lord Stanley to hasten his coming, but he was kept a close prisoner as hostage for his father. It was then arranged by the Tudor party that the Stanleys should march a little in advance of the invading force, as though they were retreating before it, and that they should only join openly on the field of battle, when it was calculated Richard's mind would be too much occupied to attend to Lord Strange.

Henry, after crossing the Severn, was joined by the Talbots and a few other families, but his force was still very inconsiderable as compared with the army under his bold and experienced rival. But Henry knew that not one man in ten would fight for Richard, and he continued to press forward. On the 21st of August he moved from Tanworth town to Atherston, where he was joined by swarms of deserters from the enemy. On the same day Richard marched

from Leicester and encamped near the town of Bosworth.

Early on the following morning Richard, with the crown on his head, mounted his horse, mar-



BLUE BOAR INN, LEICESTER.²—Antiquarian Repository.

shalled his troops, and advanced. Henry at the same time moved from Atherston: and the two armies soon met in the midst of the fine and spacious plain, nearly surrounded by hills, which commences about a mile to the south of Bosworth. "There," in the quaint language of a contemporary, "was fought a sharp battle, and sharper should it have been if the king's party had been fast to him: but many, towards the field, refused him, and rode over to the other party, and some stood hovering afar off, till they saw to which party the victory should fall."³ In fact, of all the lords that followed Richard scarcely one was

¹ "On his landing he (Henry) displayed a red flag, the old banner of the Cambrians, as if his design had been to excite that nation to take up arms and to render it independent of the English. That enthusiastic nation, over which the power of signs was always very great, without examining whether the dispute between Henry Tudor and Richard III. was not foreign to itself, rallied, by a sort of instinct, round its old standard. The *Red Dragon* was planted on the mountain of Snowdon, which the pretender appointed as the rendezvous for such of the Welsh as had promised him to arm in his cause. Not one of them failed to keep the appointed day; the bards themselves, feeling their ancient spirit rekindled, sang and prophesied in the style of the olden time, the victory of the *Kynmrys* over the *Saxon* and the *Norman* enemy. But it was never contemplated to free the Cambrians from the yoke of the foreigner; the single

fruit of the victory was to place a man with a little Welsh blood in his veins upon the throne of the Norman conquerors of Wales. . . . Henry VII. placed the Cambrian dragon in his arms, by the side of the three lions of Normandy. He created a new office of *pursuivant-at-arms*, with the title of *Rouge Dragon*, and by means of the archives of Wales, authentic or fabulous, traced his genealogy to Cadwallader, the last chief who bore the title of King of Britain; and from thence to Brutus, son of *Æneas*, the pretended progenitor of the Britons. But these frivolous acts of vanity, rather than of gratitude, were all that the new king did for the people whose devotion had given him victory and a kingdom."—Thierry, *The Norman Conquest*, conclusion, section ii.

² Tradition states that Richard lodged in this house on the night before the battle of Bosworth Field.

³ *Fabyan*.

true to him except the Duke of Norfolk and his son the Earl of Surrey. As he gazed along the enemy's lines he saw many a banner which, a few hours before, had been on his own side; and either immediately before the first attack, or very soon after, Lord Stanley appeared in the field with 3000 men, and joined his adversary. On looking back on his own lines he saw them wavering and broken by desertion, for whole bands at a time left their positions to fall into the rear or go over to Henry. Even the Earl of Northumberland, with the hardy men of the north, seemed inclined to keep aloof. Hesitation could only increase these evils: Richard gave the order, and the Duke of Norfolk, who led the van, began the attack by falling upon the advanced guard of the enemy, which was commanded by the old Earl of Oxford, who had recently been delivered from prison by Sir Walter Blount, once Richard's sworn friend, but who now, like so many other adherents, drew his sword for the Earl of Richmond. Norfolk's attack made a great impression, but no other leader seconded him. Of a sudden Richard put spurs to his horse, and, shouting "Treason!" galloped into the midst of the enemy. His quick eye had caught a glance of Henry, and, desperate as seemed his case, he hoped to retrieve it by his personal valour and his skill in the use of arms, if he could only engage his adversary hand-to-hand. He cut his way to Henry's standard; killed Sir William Brandon, the standard-bearer; made Sir John Cheney bite the dust; and was directing a deadly thrust at his rival, when a whole host closed upon him, threw him from his horse, and despatched him with many wounds. Then Lord Stanley picked up his crown, battered and blood-stained, and put it on the head of Henry. The Duke of Norfolk, the Lord Ferrers, Sir Richard Ratcliffe, Sir Robert Bracken-

bury, and a few other knights, shared the fate of their master. It is said that, in the battle and the flight, 3000 men perished; but, considering the way in which the affair was managed, and Henry's politic anxiety to reconcile parties, and to show himself a clement sovereign, it is probable that this number is somewhat exaggerated. The battle of Bosworth Field, which terminated the war of the Roses, and placed a new dynasty on the English throne, was altogether on a scale inferior to that of several preceding conflicts. Counting both armies, there were not 18,000 men on the field, and of these the greater part were never engaged. When the victorious party had finished shouting "Long live King Henry!" they picked up the body of King Richard, stripped it, and laid it across a horse behind a pursuivant-at-arms, who, thus mounted, rode a little in the rear of the new king into the town of Leicester. There the body was exposed for two or three days, "that all men might behold it;" after which it was buried with little reverence in the church of the Grey Friars.

Such was the fate of Richard III., who had reigned two years and two months. There is some uncertainty about his precise age, but it appears probable that he was only in his thirty-third year when he died.¹ The disputes which have been raised on every part of his history have been extended even to his personal appearance. It seems very certain that the portrait usually exhibited is an incorrect one: he was small of stature, had a sharp visage, and unequal shoulders—his right shoulder being a little higher than his left;² the other traits seem to have been put in by imagination. There is some evidence to show that, instead of being a monster of ugliness, he was almost as handsome in features as his brother³ Edward IV.⁴

¹ *Cont. Hist. Croyl.; Fabian; Hall; Buck, Life of Richard III.; W. Hutton, Battle of Bosworth Field.*

² So at least says House, the hermit of Guy's Cliff, who saw Richard whom he hated; at Warwick.

³ Walpole, *Hist. Doubts*. This appears to us one of the particulars in which the ingenious writer has best made out his case; and yet he can scarcely be said to have got rid of Richard's lump.

⁴ As we have now closed the reigns of the Plantagenets, which had continued so long and been so influential, this seems the proper place to introduce Mr. Hallam's remarks on the state of manners in England, as well as elsewhere, during the long period of their reign.

"All Europe was a scene of intestine anarchy during the middle ages, and though England was far less exposed to the scourge of private war than most nations on the Continent, we should find, could we recover the local annals of every country, such an accumulation of petty rapine and tumult, as would almost alienate us from the liberty which served to engender it. This was the common tenor of manners, sometimes so much aggravated as to find a place in general history, more often attested by records, during the three centuries that the house of Plantagenet sat on the throne." Mr. Hallam then quotes in a note this passage from Walsingham: "The same year 1352, certain evil-minded persons, enjoying the support of some of the magnates,

despising the youth of the king, and intending to disturb the kingdom, increased to such a multitude, and occupied the woods and desiles, so as to be a terror to the whole kingdom." Mr. Hallam proceeds: "Dissolcin, or forcible dispossession of free-holds, makes one of the most considerable articles in our law-books. High-way robbery was from the earliest times a sort of national crime. Capital punishments, though very frequent, made little impression on a bold and licentious crew, who had at least the sympathy of those who had nothing to lose on their side, and flattering prospects of impunity. We know how long the outlaws of Sherwood lived in tradition; men who, like some of their betters, have been permitted to redeem by a few acts of generosity, the just ignominy of extensive crimes. These indeed were the heroes of vulgar applause; but when such a judge as Sir John Fortescue could exult that more Englishmen were hanged for robbery in one year, than French in seven, and that if an Englishman be poor, and see another having riches, which may be taken from him by might he will not spare to do so, it may be perceived how thoroughly these sentiments had pervaded the public mind."

Mr. Hallam ascribes the frequent impunity of these robbers to the general want of communication facilitating escape, and to the extensive forests that harboured evil-doers—to the frequent purchase of charters of pardon—may, to the countenance of the nobility, for which he finds it difficult to account, but

The course of affairs in Scotland has been adverted to from time to time in the preceding pages; but it will be convenient to subjoin a brief summary of the history of that kingdom from the commencement to the close of the period, that the leading events may be seen at one view in their sequence and proper connection. The arrival of the fifteenth century found the throne of Bruce occupied by his great-grandson Robert III., who had ascended it in 1390;—a prince whom much amiability of nature, a genuine though a somewhat superstitious piety, and even intellectual tastes and accomplishments beyond the rude times upon which he was thrown, did not protect from the misfortunes and contempt that were the natural consequences of his extreme deficiency in all the more energetic and manly virtues. He had passed his fiftieth year before he obtained the crown; and for some years before his accession, the whole powers of the government, in the feeble old age of their father, had been left in the hands of his two younger brothers, the Earls of Fife and Buchan, whose very vices were fitted to win more admiration from their countrymen than his good qualities; for, although the one was a man of craft, the other of violence, both were equally unrestrained either by conscience or feeling, and in their respective ways of action equally unscrupulous and daring. The weakness of the new reign was sufficiently indicated from the first, by the Earl of Fife, afterwards created Duke of Albany, being permitted to continue, with the office of Custos or Guardian, ruler both of the kingdom and the king. From his timid brother, Albany never would have encountered any attempt to overthrow or limit his power: but Robert's eldest son, the Duke of Rothesay, showed himself, as he grew up to manhood, to be of a very opposite temper to his father. A strong party of the nobility as well as the national feeling rallied around the heir apparent; and in 1398, Albany found himself compelled to resign the post of regent to his nephew. The government was in the hands of Rothesay, when Henry IV. of England, in the close of the year 1400, made that inroad into the country as far as Edinburgh, which was attended with no results, but is memorable as the last expedition ever conducted by an English monarch in person against the northern kingdom. In bending, however, for the moment to the storm, and retiring from the

which may have arisen from the necessity of keeping on good terms with such outlaws and desperadoes.

Three things, not mentioned by Mr. Hallam, had probably much to do with this frightful demoralization:—1st. The substitution of a foreign clergy and rites for the old native Anglo-Saxon pastors and their vernacular instructions; 2d. Easy abolition for crime by priests; and 3d. The traditional feelings of antipathy on the part of the Anglo-Saxon population to the Normans, transferred naturally enough to all wealthy persons.

head of affairs, the dark and ambitious Albany had only stepped aside to lie in wait for an opportunity of regaining his position. The thoughtless character of Rothesay made him an easy prey to his designing uncle. His wild pursuit of pleasure, and neglect first of his wife, and then of the mistress for whom he had abandoned her, had already involved him with several powerful enemies, when, by means of artful representations conveyed to the old king of the licentious conduct of his son, he was induced, about the beginning of the year 1402, to give an order, under the royal signet, to Albany, to arrest the prince, and place him in temporary confinement. He was seized at Strathclyde, near St. Andrews, as he rode towards that city, and immediately lodged in the castle there, from which he was soon after transferred to a dungeon in the royal palace of Falkland, and there, it is believed, starved to death. The resumption by Albany of the office of regent immediately followed this horrid tragedy. Soon after, hostile operations against England were resumed: two Scottish armies were successively marched into that country, and were both defeated and dispersed—the first at the battle of Nesbit Moor, the second at that of Homildon Hill. In the latter, Lord Murdoch Stewart, Albany's eldest son, along with many other Scottish noblemen, fell into the hands of the victors. The following year, a numerous Scottish force again advanced towards the Border—this time under the command of Albany himself; but, although the regent gave out that his design was to avenge himself on the Percies for the disasters of the preceding campaign, there is every reason to believe that he was really in league with his former enemies, and was prepared to join their rebellion against King Henry IV., when the news of the result of the battle of Shrewsbury, which he received before he had entered England, at once induced him to return home and disband his army. The connection, however, that had been formed by the Scottish government with the disaffected party in England, was not broken off by the failure of the bold enterprise of Hotspur. Albany appears to have been again a party to the conspiracy of old Northumberland and Archbishop Scroop, in 1405, and to have, after its detection, actually raised another army for the invasion of England. At this moment, however, there was a truce between the two countries, and no hostile movement on the part of the Scottish regent had yet taken place when the remarkable event occurred of the capture, by an English vessel off Flamborough Head, of King Robert's second son, James, now the heir apparent, on his voyage to France. Robert III. survived the capture of his son rather more than a year, dying

at his castle of Rothesay, in Bute, on the 4th of April, 1406.

Immediately on the death of the king, a parliament met at Perth, and, after declaring James, now a captive in England, their lawful king, continued Albany in the regency. He was now in possession of whatever power belonged to the royal station, unlimited by even the form or shadow of participation. For some years after this, peace was preserved between the governments of England and Scotland. Meanwhile a formidable rebellion of the Lord of the Isles was suppressed by his defeat in the destructive battle of Harlaw, gained by the Earl of Mar, on the 24th of July, 1411, and by the treaty of Lochgillip, by which Albany soon after compelled the northern potentate to acknowledge himself a vassal of the Scottish crown, and to give hostages for his fidelity. On the 17th of May, in the following year, a new truce was concluded with England, to last for six years. In 1414, Albany at last succeeded in obtaining from Henry V. what he had long vainly endeavoured to extort from the more obdurate disposition or more cautious policy of the late king, the liberation of his son Murdoch. He was exchanged for the young Henry Percy, the son of Hotspur, who was not only re-admitted to his native country, but reinstated in all the forfeited honours of his family.

The Scottish regent made no such effort to procure the restoration of his captive sovereign as he had made to get back his son. It is supposed that it was an apprehension of not being able much longer to ward off the return of the king, if the two nations should remain at peace, that moved him suddenly, in September, 1417, to break the truce, and to commit what was long popularly remembered as the "Foul Raid," by marching towards the Border at the head of an army of 60,000 men, and, after beginning the siege of Roxburgh, immediately retreating in all haste on learning that an English force was on the way to meet him. The consequence was, that all the south of Scotland was laid waste by the avenging invaders.

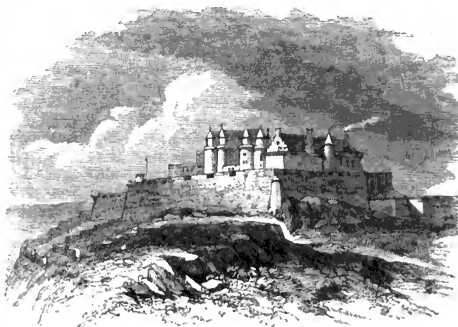
It is possible that this unfortunate attempt of the Scottish government may have been made at the instigation of the French court, with which a close alliance had always been maintained by Albany, even while at peace, or at least in peaceful intercourse with England. It was not until a short time after the "Foul Raid," however, that the Duke of Vendôme came to Scotland on an embassy from the dauphin; when it was agreed to send a body of Scottish troops to serve against the English in France. Seven thousand men were sent under the command of the Earl of Buchan (the regent's second son) and the Earl of Wigton. The services of these brave men in

a succession of bloody fields, till they were nearly all, together with 5000 more that had been subsequently brought over by the Earl of Douglas, swept away at Crevant and Verneuil, have been already commemorated. Long before these disastrous days, however, the state of affairs in Scotland had undergone a great change. The Regent Albany died at the palace of Stirling on the 3d of September, 1419, having reached the age of eighty years, during thirty-four of which he is said to have held the supreme power, under the nominal reigns of his father, brother, and nephew. He is properly to be regarded as the chief or leader of the feudal nobility, by whom he was raised up and supported against both the crown and the people, and whom, in return, he protected in all their local despotism and oppression. In the accounts of the old historians the feudal tyranny under which the country groaned during the whole period of the government of Albany is drawn in the darkest colours. The strongest proof of the closeness of the union that bound the one party to the other was given on the death of the old duke, when his son and heir Murdoch was suffered, as a matter of course, to assume the regency at the same time with his hereditary estates and honours. But Murdoch had neither the capacity nor the ambition of his father; he continued indeed to occupy the elevation to which he had been lifted by circumstances and accident, but all real power gradually fell from his hands, and his government at length became a mere anarchy. Things were in this state when the captive King of Scots, after the death of Henry V., whom he had accompanied on his glorious expedition to France, was at last permitted by the English government to return to his own country. His liberation was the result of negotiations which his friends in Scotland had long been pursuing, and which terminated in an agreement concluded at York on the 10th of September, 1423, by which it was stipulated that 40,000 pounds should be paid to England within six years, by half-yearly payments, under the name of compensation for the expenses of the maintenance of James during the eighteen years of his captivity. On the 24th of February following, the Scottish king espoused, at the church of St. Mary Overy, in Southwark, the Lady Joanna Beaufort, the daughter of the Duchess of Clarence, by her first husband the Duke of Somerset, and the descendant of Edward III. by both her parents. Tradition makes him to have fallen in love with this lady some years before, on beholding her from his prison in the Round Tower of Windsor Castle, an incident which is believed to have suggested his plaintive and elegant poem entitled "The King's Quhair." He arrived in Scotland on the 5th of April,

1424, and on the 21st of May was solemnly crowned, with his queen, in the usual venerated sanctuary, the abbey church of Scone.

The first great work to which James found it necessary to address himself, in the state to which his kingdom had been brought, was the reduction of the power of the nobility. The overthrow of that many-headed domination was indispensable, both for the security of his own position, and for the restoration of the blessings of order and good government to his people. Nor did he proceed timidly or by half measures towards an object, his success or failure in the complete attainment of which was to be his salvation or his ruin. "Let God but grant me life," he is said to have indignantly exclaimed when made fully acquainted with the universal violence and rapine that prevailed, "and by his help I shall make the key keep the castle, and the furze-bush the cow, throughout my dominions, though I should lead the life of a dog to complete it." A truce for seven years had been concluded with England, and James lost no time in taking advantage of this season of security from foreign hostility, to proceed with his work of internal reform. In a parliament which met at Perth five days after his coronation, a complete review of the manifold disorders of the kingdom was gone into, and numerous regulations were enacted for their correction. But legislation could in such circumstances only lop and somewhat repress the growth of the evil; its root lay too deep to be so reached. Having sedulously employed the interval in gaining over the instruments of his scheme, and making the other necessary preparations, James assembled another parliament at Perth, on the 12th of March, 1428, and on the ninth day after, suddenly ordered the arrest of Murdoch, Duke of Albany, his youngest son Alexander, and twenty-six of the other principal barons, their partizans, whom he had thus got into his power. Walter Stewart, Albany's eldest son, had been seized and placed in custody some time before. He was the first of the prisoners brought to trial, in a court held in the palace of Stirling, and over which the king himself presided, on the 20th of May. It is needless to add that he was condemned to die. He, his father, his brother Alexander, and Albany's father-in-law, the Earl of Lennox, now in his eightieth

year, were all executed on the Heading Hill, in front of Stirling Castle. All the estates of this once-powerful family being then declared forfeited to the crown, the other nobles who had



STIRLING CASTLE.—From an old view by Elphinstone.

been apprehended were set at liberty, and left to their reflections on the terrible example they had witnessed.

For several years after this, James continued to occupy himself, with the assistance of his parliament, which was usually summoned every year, in endeavouring to promote the improvement of his kingdom, and to remedy the mishaps of a long course of misgovernment, by means of a series of legislative enactments, still preserved, which comprehend the subjects of agriculture, commerce, foreign and domestic manufactures, the regulation of weights and measures, the police of the country, its defence against foreign hostility both by land and by sea, the administration of justice, and even the constitution of the supreme government, and which probably, taken altogether, furnish the most complete collection of materials that now exists for the illustration of the internal condition of any European country at this remote era. He also strengthened himself, and made provision for calling into activity

¹ Stirling Castle presents an assemblage of buildings erected at different periods, mostly altered and adapted to the uses of a modern garrison. The principal vestiges are a palace built by James V., a hall adjacent built by James III., and adjacent to this a royal chapel built by James III., and rebuilt by James VI. (I. of England). An area to the south-west of the castle, surrounded by an ancient wall, was formerly the royal park and gardens; a series of concentric polygonal mounds indicates a spot in the garden where some game now out of use and forgotten was played; a hollow called the valley was appropriated for jousts and tournaments, which were witnessed by the ladies from a pyramidal mound called the ladies' hill. The castle crowns a rocky eminence, which rises 220 ft. above the level of the plain, and terminates precipitously on the north-west side of the town.

the industry and resources of the country, by treaties of alliance or commerce with France, Flanders, and other foreign powers. The only part of his dominions in which the authority of the laws continued for some time to be set at nought, or imperfectly obeyed, was the Northern Highlands. Determined that the chiefs of that region should bow under the same sceptre which had already repressed the turbulence of the southern nobles, in the spring of 1427 he assembled a parliament at Inverness, and there ventured again upon the same bold expedient which he had adopted two years before at Perth. About fifty heads of clans, who had been summoned to give their attendance, were seized; of whom some were instantly condemned and executed, others were not put to death till after a more deliberate investigation, and others were only imprisoned for a time. Of the last-mentioned class was Alexander, Lord of the Isles. This potent chieftain, upon being set at large after a confinement of about two years, collected his followers, and rose in open revolt against the royal authority; but James instantly marched against him in person, and coming up with him near Lochaber, defeated and dispersed the rebel force. Alexander soon after threw himself on the royal mercy. Another Highland rebellion, which broke out in 1431, headed by Donald Balloch, a near relation of the Lord of the Isles, was met by the Scottish king with the same promptitude and spirit, and as successfully repressed. Balloch himself lost his life. About the same time another truce for five years was concluded with England.

If James had stopped at this point he might, perhaps, have succeeded in maintaining and consolidating the reforms which he had commenced with so much courage and ability. But his scheme for breaking the strength of the nobility, and re-establishing the royal supremacy, was yet far from being completed. The blood that had been shed had, after all, destroyed but one of the great families; many others still remained sufficiently powerful to be dangerous, even singly, and nearly irresistible if they should combine. On the other hand, the crown had been greatly impoverished and weakened during the regency, by many lavish alienations of the royal domains, that had helped to build up the greatness of the aristocracy. These grants James now determined to resume. By acts which did not perhaps in any case go beyond the letter of the law, but which were at the least very rigorous and harsh applications of it, several of the most eminent among the nobility were suddenly stripped of estates of which they or their predecessors had held undisturbed possession for many years. Meanwhile, having formed an intimate alliance with France, and sent his infant daughter Mar-

garet, in 1435, to that country to be betrothed to the dauphin (afterwards Louis XI.), he became involved through this connection in a dispute with the English government, which led him, in the course of the following year, to break the truce, and, marching with an army to the Border, to lay siege to the castle of Roxburgh. While he lay before Roxburgh, however, the queen suddenly made her appearance in the camp, and, apparently in consequence of something she had communicated, the king immediately raised the siege, disbanded his army, and returned to the north. This was before the middle of August. The conspiracy against his life was probably already arranged; but it would appear that the king's suspicions, if they had really been awakened, were again lulled, and he resumed his usual mode of life. On the approach of Christmas he repaired to Perth, and there, taking up his lodging in the great monastery of the Black Friars, spent the holy season in the midst of a numerous and brilliant court. The gay succession of revels and festivities had been prolonged far into the new year before the conspirators determined to strike their blow. The chiefs of the plot were Sir Robert Graham, Walter Stewart, Earl of Athole, and his grandson Sir Robert Stewart, who held the office of chamberlain in the royal household, and whom, it appears, it was the intention to proclaim king, as being the descendant of Robert II., and, as was pretended, his rightful heir and representative—Robert III. having, it was affirmed, been born out of wedlock. Both Graham and the Stewarts had been adherents of Albany, and both had also more recent injuries of their own to avenge. Graham, a man of the darkest and most determined character, took the conduct of the bloody enterprise. On the night of the 20th of February he proceeded, with his armed accomplices, towards the royal bedchamber, where James, standing in his night-dress, was still conversing with the queen and her ladies before retiring to rest. The noise of their tumultuous approach instantly struck alarm to the hearts of the king and those with him. He flew to the windows, but found them secured by immoveable bars. When they rushed to fasten the door, it was found that the bolts had been removed; in his extremity of despair, James then tore up one of the planks of the floor; and in this way, after replacing the board, dropped into a dark vault below, while an heroic woman, Catherine Douglas, making her arm a bolt for the door, held it till the bone was snapped in two. At first, the mode of the king's escape was not detected; but, on hearing a noise, which was occasioned by his attempt to come up from the vault, the assassins returned again to the chamber, and soon dis-

covered where he was concealed. Naked and unarmed as he was, he made a desperate defence when they sprung down upon him to despatch him; but Graham himself at last succeeded in giving him his death-stroke. His body, when examined, was found to be pierced with sixteen wounds.¹

Thus perished James I., in the forty-fourth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his actual reign. The conspirators gained none of their ulterior objects; on the contrary, although they escaped in the first instance, they were all eventually taken and put to death, every complicated refinement of torture being applied to deepen and prolong their dying agonies. The only son of their murdered king, an infant of six years old, was immediately crowned as James II. The early part of this reign is a scene of the most perplexed intestine confusion, of which the records are so imperfect as to make the whole nearly unintelligible. The principal personages that figure in the dark and troubled drama are Sir William Crichton, Sir Alexander Livingston, and the several mighty barons who successively became the heads of the house of Douglas. Both the royal infant and his mother were for some time constantly prisoners in the hands of one or other of the fierce and restless factions. As the boy grew up towards manhood, however, notwithstanding all the disadvantages under which his early years had been passed, he evinced his inheritance of no small share of the spirit and ability of his great father, and also of all the determination of the late king to be king in reality as well as in name. William, the fifth Earl of Douglas, and also Duke of Touraine in France, a youth of seventeen, had already been cut off, along with his younger brother, in 1440; the two were seduced by Crichton and Livingston, at that time in confederacy, to the castle of Edinburgh, where the king was, and then seized as they sat at dinner, and, after the briefest form of a trial, hurried to execution—a deed of perfidy which shocked even that unscrupulous age, and was long a theme of popular horror and execration. After a few years, however, nearly all the old power of that great baronial house was revived in the person of William, the eighth Earl of Douglas; he was the most formidable subject of the crown at the time when the king began to take the management of affairs into his own hands. James, though still very young, proceeded from the first with wonderful prudence and dissimulation. From among

the several competitors for the supreme power he selected Crichton, whom he made lord-chancellor, as his confidential adviser, along with the able and enlightened Kennedy, Bishop of St. Andrews, a prelate whose high birth, for he was first cousin to the king, added additional influence to his eminent rank in the church. The first blow was struck at the Livingstons; the principal heads of that faction, being assembled in 1449, in a sort of family convocation at the bridge of Inchbelly, near Kirkintilloch, were suddenly surrounded by the king's forces, seized, and thrown into prison. A few of them were afterwards executed, the rest made their submission, and the power of the faction was completely destroyed. The more united strength of the Earl of Douglas, whose great territorial possessions in the most important district of the kingdom made him almost a rival potentate, was not so easily thrown down: policy and force were alternately resorted to: at last the mighty earl was induced to visit the king in Stirling Castle. In a conversation between him and James warm words were uttered on both sides, till the king at last, giving way to his passion, drew his dagger and plunged it into the earl's throat. Some of the courtiers, rushing in from the adjoining apartment, soon despatched the defenceless man. This atrocity happened in February, 1452, when James was yet only in his sixteenth year. The consequences did not cease to be felt to the close of his reign. The open rebellion of the adherents of the house of Douglas that immediately followed was indeed speedily suppressed; but the new earl, James, the brother of him who had been murdered, never relinquished his vengeance while the murderer lived. By his intrigues with the faction of the Yorkists in England, after he had been driven from his own country, he was instrumental in fomenting those differences which eventually led James, soon after Margaret of Anjou and her son had taken refuge in his dominions, to raise an army, and set out at its head for the invasion of England. Marching directly upon Roxburgh, he proceeded to lay siege to that castle, which had now for more than a century been in the hands of the English. The siege had not lasted many days, when one of the cannons that were pointed against the fortress burst on being fired off as the king stood beside it, and killed him on the spot. This event happened about the end of July, 1460.

The death of James II. again placed the crown of his unfortunate country on the head of a minor, James, the eldest of his sons by his wife Mary of Guelders, whom he had married in 1449. The new king was only in his eighth year. The history of his reign is in great part a repetition of the same scene of turbulence and intrigue which

¹ Pinkerton, (*Hist. Scot.*, app. to vol. i. pp. 462-475), has published a contemporary narrative of this barbarous murder, and also of the execution of the regicides, which professes to be translated from a Latin original—probably the account published by authority at the time. Few stories, either in history or in fiction, can compete with the horrors of this grim chronicle.

filled the commencing years of the last. The families of the Boyds and the Hamiltons now enact nearly the same parts which had been before sustained by the Livingstons and the Douglases. James III., however, as he outgrew his boyhood, showed himself to be, in various respects, of a very different character from his father and grandfather. Without any of their energy and resolute qualities, he seems to have had some degree of the love of art and literature which distinguished the first James; but an indolent and unwarlike disposition, after all, had probably more to do with his fondness for privacy, than any strong devotedness to intellectual occupations. What little we know of his tastes and studies betrays the weakest and most frivolous character of mind. He early, also, manifested a baneful passion for favourites, no trace of which is to be found in the history of either of the two preceding kings. The Boyds first obtained possession of his person and his affections, in consequence of one of them having been employed to assist in his education. For some years their ascendancy at court placed the whole government of the country in their hands. Means, however, having been found to alienate the versatile and suspicious mind of their royal protector, they were, in the year 1469, not only suddenly hurled from favour and power, but pursued with a rancour on the part of the king, which did not rest satisfied till it had slaked itself in their blood. After the Boyds were thus swept away, the most conspicuous figures that appear on the scene are James' two younger brothers, who bore the titles of the Duke of Albany and the Earl of Mar. These two princes were both of a character altogether the opposite of that of the king, and as much the favourites of the warlike nobility, whom they resembled in tastes and habits, as he was their aversion and scorn. It is not at all improbable that they had, one or both of them, early begun to cherish the design of getting the government into their own hands, and that their existence, therefore, was not without danger to the royal power. They were attacked, however, by the king before they appear to have committed themselves by any aggression against the throne. Mar was arrested in 1480, on the insane charge of seeking to destroy the king's life by witchcraft (in which James was a devout believer). According to one account, he was immediately put to death by the royal order; another version of the story is, that he was seized with fever, and occasioned his own death by tearing off, in his delirium, the bandages that had

been tied round his temples after having been let blood by his medical attendant. Albany's career was much more protracted. After escaping to France, he returned from that country in 1482, and entered into a treaty with the English king, Edward IV., in which he boldly assumed the title of Alexander, King of Scotland, consenting to receive the crown from the gift of Edward as his lord superior. It was in consequence of this agreement that the Duke of Gloucester, afterwards Richard III., entered Scotland, as related in a preceding page, at the head of an army in the summer of the above-mentioned year. James also raised an army, and went forth to meet the invader. Meanwhile, however, the Boyds had been succeeded in the monopoly of the king's regards by a number of persons of the lowest rank, some of whom, indeed, are said to have been persons of talent and accomplishments, but whose ascendancy did not on that account the less disgust both the nobility and the whole nation. The most notorious of these favourites was a person of the name of Cochran, upon whom the infatuated king had lavished wealth and honours with the most profuse and senseless prodigality. We have already related how, when the army, on its march southwards, had reached the town of Lauder, this person, and about half a dozen more of the royal minions, were suddenly seized by a party of the nobility, headed by Archibald, Earl of Angus, and, without even the form of trial, hanged over the parapet of the bridge. The king himself was then shut up in the castle of Edinburgh, and the army was disbanded. After a short time a reconciliation was effected between the king and Albany, on which the former was released from imprisonment, and the latter appointed lieutenant-general of the kingdom. But, before many months had passed, another revolution had taken place, and Albany, driven from office, was again in rebellion. His resistance, however, was speedily put down, on which he fled once more to England. By this time Edward IV. was dead; but Albany and Richard had hitherto been good friends, and the latter at first showed some inclination to aid the duke's pretensions. The necessities of his own position, however, soon made him anxious for a termination of the war with Scotland; and, negotiations having been opened, a peace between the two countries, to last for three years, was concluded at Nottingham in September, 1484. Thus stood Scottish affairs at the close of the present epoch: the short remainder of the reign of James III. belongs to the next period of our History.

CHAPTER VII.—HISTORY OF RELIGION.

A.D. 1309—1485.

Decay of the influence of Rome—Its causes—Succession of the popes—Rivalry of popes and councils—Alliance of the crown and the church in England—Lollardism—Its origin and tenets—Its prevalence in England—Laws against it during the reign of Henry IV.—Martyrdom of Sawtre—William Thorpe arraigned for heresy—His examination and trial—Martyrdom of Badby—Persecution of Lollardism in the reign of Henry V.—Execution of Lollards—Persecution of them continued during the reign of Henry VI.—Charge of heresy against Reginald Pocock, Bishop of Chichester—His recantation and severe treatment—Divisions of the nation in regard to ecclesiastical matters—Opposition of the church to reform or concession—Increased strictness of canonical rule—Profligate lives of the clergy—Statute against the proselytism of the mendicant friars—Mode of preaching at this period—Ecclesiastical affairs of Scotland—Culdees—Condition of the Scottish church in the fifteenth century—Entrance of the doctrines of Wyckliffe into Scotland—Martyrdom of John Reaby—Of Paul Crawar—Increase of Lollardism in Scotland—St. Andrews erected into an archbishopric—Account of Patrick Graham and William Schevez, its first archbishops.



THE history of the Romish fabric of ecclesiastical polity during the fifteenth century exhibits the established authorities of the state still standing by the system as steadily as ever, but that hold on the affections and respect of the people, which was its real strength, manifestly loosened, and becoming weaker and weaker every day. The support it received from kings and their ministers was now, indeed, augmented in the direct ratio of the decline of that other and better strength, and of the growth of the popular alienation and hostility. Its pretensions as a rival power were no longer formidable, and at the same time its maintenance was felt to be the common cause of old establishments, all of which, whether of a spiritual or temporal character, seemed to be menaced by its danger.

One of the main causes which precipitated the decay of this once mighty dominion was undoubtedly the great schism which broke out on the death of Gregory XI., in 1378, and divided the Western church for half a century. The death of Gregory was followed in a few weeks by the election in the usual form, and by the unanimous votes of all the cardinals then in Rome, being sixteen of the twenty-two composing the sacred college, of the Archbishop of Bari, Bartholomew Pregnano, who took the name of Urban VI. It is alleged, however, and is probably true, that this choice was compelled by the threats of the populace. On this pretence, at least, the cardinals, five months after, stole away from Rome, and, assembling first at Anagni and then at Fondi, excommunicated Urban as an apostate and Antichrist, and announced as the pope of their free election Robert of Caneva, or Clement VII. The imperious and severe rule of Urban

probably drove them to a bold and rash act from which they would otherwise have shrunk: but the primary motive with the majority of the college of cardinals, as with the people of Rome, was to obtain a pope of their own nation. Only the preceding year, after his predecessors, from Clement V. inclusive, had resided for seventy years at Avignon in France, Gregory XI. had restored the Papacy to its ancient seat. A pope of ultramontane birth, it was apprehended by the Romans, would again remove his court from Italy. A majority of the cardinals, on the other hand, were Frenchmen, and, as such, opposed to an Italian pope. The different nations of Europe were influenced by feelings of the same kind. Most of the Italian states adhered to Urban, and on the same side, actuated chiefly by enmity to France, were ranged England, Portugal, the Netherlands, Germany, Sweden, Denmark, and Norway; France, acknowledging the election of Clement, was supported by Scotland, Navarre, Castile, Aragon, Savoy, Sicily, and Cyprus.

The succession of the Roman (now generally held to be the true) popes was continued after Urban VI. by the elections in 1389, of Perrino Tomacella, or Boniface IX.; in 1404, of Cosmato Meliorato, or Innocent VII.; and in 1406, of Angelo Corrario, or Gregory XII. On the death of Clement VII., in 1394, the cardinals at Avignon chose as his successor Peter de Luna, who assumed the name of Benedict XIII. After many attempts had been made to effect an accommodation, both Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII. were deposed, in 1409, by the council of Pisa; and by an unanimous vote of the same assembly, Peter Philaret, a Greek, or Alexander V., was raised to the chair of St. Peter. On the death of Alexander, the following year, Balthazar Cossa, a Neapolitan, or John XXIII., was in the same man-

ner chosen to succeed him. Meanwhile, however, notwithstanding these interferences of the council, Germany, Hungary, and Naples still adhered to Gregory; and Benedict, himself a native of Spain, commanded the obedience of that important country. In this state affairs remained till the assembling of the council of Constance, in 1414. That assembly deposed the monster John: Gregory, deserted by the powers that had at first supported him, and left without dominion or authority beyond the walls of Rimini, resigned; and in 1417 the Cardinal Otho de Colonna, who took the name of Martin V., was declared the head of the Christian world. The election was made by the college of twenty-three cardinals, assisted by thirty deputies from the council, six from each of the five great nations into which Christendom was held to be divided—the Italian, the German, the French, the Spanish, and the English. "I cannot," observes Gibbon, "overlook this great national cause, which was vigorously maintained by the English ambassadors against those of France. The latter contended that Christendom was essentially distributed into the four great nations and votes of Italy, Germany, France, and Spain; and that the lesser kingdoms (such as England, Denmark, Portugal, &c.) were comprehended under one or other of these great divisions. The English asserted that the British Islands, of which they were the head, should be considered as a fifth and co-ordinate nation, with an equal vote; and every argument of truth or fable was introduced to exalt the dignity of their country. Our countrymen prevailed in the council, but the victories of Henry V. added much weight to their arguments."

The election of Martin V., however, did not altogether put an end to the schism. Benedict XIII., who fixed his residence at Peniscola, in Valencia, continued to be acknowledged by the kingdom of Aragon till his death, in 1424. His cardinals then elected a successor, who took the name of Clement VIII. In 1429, however, this person made his submission to Martin V., who was thus at last acknowledged by the whole Latin church. But, as an eminent Catholic historian of our own day has remarked, "if the schism was thus terminated, it had previously given a shock to the temporal authority of the pontiffs, from which it never recovered."

The absolute power of the popes also met with serious resistance during this period from the pretensions of the great body, or at least of the aristocracy of the clergy, as assembled or represented in general councils. The council of Constance, before its separation in 1418, enacted that such synods should henceforth be held regularly for the government and reformation of the church,

each, before dissolving, appointing the time and place for the meeting of its successor. But the council of Basel, which, reluctantly convoked by Martin V., assembled in 1431, immediately after the accession of his successor Eugenius IV., and continued to sit till 1443, went a great deal further, assuming and maintaining, indeed, an attitude of open revolt against the supremacy of the pontiff. It not only solemnly asserted the superiority of a general council over the occupant of the chair of St. Peter, but proceeded to divest the pope of some of his most valuable and hitherto universally recognized rights; prohibiting him from creating new cardinals, and suppressing the annates, or tax of the first year's income upon benefices, which constituted a large portion of the Papal revenue. At length, in 1437, Eugenius, who had taken up his residence at Bologna, dissolved the council, and called together another, which met at Ferrara in 1438. All Christendom was now divided between the two councils, as it had lately been in the case of the rival popes. Nor was it long before there was again a rivalry of popes as well as of councils. Having deposed Eugenius, the council of Basel, in 1439, called to the pontifical dignity, from the hermitage of Ripaille, the retired Duke of Savoy, Amadeus VIII., who thereupon exchanged his temporal style for the spiritual title of Felix V. Eugenius and his council at Ferrara were adhered to by the governments of Venice and of the southern and middle states of Italy; Germany, France, Lombardy, Spain, England, and the rest of Europe generally, supported Felix V. and the council of Basel. In point of fact, however, everywhere the bishops and the rest of the ecclesiastical aristocracy were with Eugenius: the supremacy of general councils, as asserted by that of Basel, was favoured by the great body of the clergy. A short time before the deposition of Eugenius, indeed, the lower house of convocation of the province of Canterbury had, in answer to questions proposed by the archbishop, resolved, after some days' deliberation, that the pope had the power of dissolving a general council—that the council of Basel had no power to depose Pope Eugenius—and that, if that council should depose him, they would still obey him as lawful pope. But some years afterwards the same body, to all the appeals both of pope and archbishop, firmly refused any contribution to the expense of sending representatives to the meeting at Ferrara. Meanwhile the two popes and councils continued an active and bitter warfare of decrees and denouncements, each party treating the other as rebels against the fundamental constitution of the church. In a bill of excommunication which he launched against all the members of the council of Basel, Eugenius designated that synod

¹ Dr. Lingard, *Hist. England*.

an assembly of demons; they retaliated by charging him with simony, perjury, tyranny, heresy, and schism, and by declaring him to be incorrigible in his vices, unworthy of any title of honour, and incapable of holding any ecclesiastical office. This unseemly condition of the Christian world lasted till after the death of Eugenius, in 1447. By this time all parties were become weary of the contest; and when the cardinals at Rome had elected Nicholas V., it was proposed by Felix himself that he should resign the tiara, and thus terminate the scandal of the church. The abdicator of two sovereignties returned to his hermitage on the banks of the Lake of Geneva, in 1449. But the habitual respect of the people for the whole system was rudely and powerfully shaken; the violent recriminations of the contending pontiffs could not fail lastingly to impair the authority over the minds of the multitude both of pope and council; the noise of such a contention must have awakened many feelings that would otherwise have slumbered; and the suppression of the process of reform from within the church would really only tend to prepare and hasten its much more tempestuous reform from without.

In England throughout this period the crown continued to make common cause with the clergy; every successive king began his reign by courting their favours, and ever after relied upon them as his chief supporters. The part which the clergy took in the deposition of Richard II. has been characterized as "the only instance in English history wherein their conduct as a body was disloyal." Even here, however, they took no part against the crown. Of two competitors they only sided with the one against the other; they still stood by their natural ally, the king. They probably espoused the cause of Henry, simply as being that of the party most likely to prevail in the struggle—in other words, of the competitor who was properly to be considered as most truly king of the two—thus substantially adhering to their principles even in the seeming violation of them. At all events, their accustomed loyalty was suspended only for a moment; their attachment, withdrawn from Richard, was immediately transferred to the house of Lancaster, and was never found wanting by the princes of that house so long as they maintained themselves on the throne. One of the first acts of Henry IV. after his accession, was to despatch the Earl of Northumberland with a gracious message to a convocation of the province of Canterbury, which met on the 6th of October, 1399, in the chapter-house of St. Paul's at London. While he begged the prayers of the church for himself and the kingdom, he declared, first, that

he would never demand any money from the clergy except in cases of the most extreme necessity; secondly, that he would protect them in all their liberties and immunities; and, thirdly, that he would assist them with all his power in exterminating heretics. The first of these promises was but indifferently observed: Henry IV., indeed, throughout his reign, demanded subsidies from the clergy as regularly as from the laity; he even threatened on one or two occasions to take their money or goods from them by force; but still they acted as if they felt their interests to be bound up with his. Nay, not even his daring execution of Archbishop Scroop, after the insurrection of 1405,² made any permanent breach between him and the church: a vague and inoperative censure, retracted on the first explanation, was the only notice taken by Rome of an act that in other times would have shaken the strongest throne in Christendom. On the other hand, Henry gratified the clergy by steadily supporting them in the assertion of all such powers as could be conceded to them consistently with the maintenance of the integrity of the civil authority, and in particular of that upon which they set the highest value, the empire which they flattered themselves with exercising over opinion and belief. In the falling away of their old popular strength, they now had recourse to new expedients, in order to sustain this tyranny, exposed as it was, at the same time, to a more vigorous resistance than it had ever before encountered.

Till the present age, the offence of heresy had never greatly vexed the church in England. The old laws accordingly upon that subject were comparatively mild; a considerable degree of protection was thrown around the accused; and sanguinary punishments for the offence appear to have been nearly unknown. The zeal of the heads of the church, however, was not long satisfied with such moderate measures.

Among the small number of persons by whom Bolingbroke was accompanied on his return from exile, was Thomas Fitz-Alan, or Arundel, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who had been banished by Richard the year before. Arundel, who was the second son of Robert Fitz-Alan, Earl of Arundel and Warrenne, had, during the interval of his deprivation, been nominated by the pope, Boniface IX., to the see of St. Andrews, in Scotland. It appears that Richard assented to this nomination, though at first he objected that St. Andrews was too near England. Arundel, however, never took possession of his Scottish dignity, but remained on the Continent till his return home with Bolingbroke; when, on the

¹ Southey's *Book of the Church*, i. 349.

² See vol. i. p. 546.

latter obtaining the crown, he recovered his archbishopric—Roger Walden, dean of York, and treasurer of the royal household, who had been set by the deposed king in his place, being obliged to retire, after the example of his master. Arundel was a man of talent, as well as accomplished in the learning of the times. The latter circumstance probably did not tend to make him more indulgent to the innovators in religion, who, under the name of Lollards, now began to show themselves in great numbers.

The Lollards have been usually regarded as the disciples or followers of Wyckliffe; but they seem to have rather been a sect of foreign origin, whose opinions, in their general complexion, resembled those taught by the great English Reformer. It is said, indeed, that some of the writings of Wyckliffe had been carried into Bohemia, by one of the natives of that country, who had visited England, in consequence of the marriage of Richard II. with his first wife the Princess Anne, sister of the Emperor Wenceslaus, king of that country; and that from them the celebrated John Huss drew those opinions for which he was, in 1415, condemned to the stake by the council of Constance, and which were, through him, extensively propagated over Germany. One account of the name Lollards derives it from *lodium*, the Latin word for tares; as if it had been intended to designate the Reformers as tares among the wheat—not without an allusion to the expediency of consigning them to the flames. Another notion is that they were so called from the old German word *lollen* or *lullen* (the same with our English *lull*), signifying to sing, as a mother when she lulls her babe, in reference to their practice of singing hymns. But the true origin of the term is probably from the German Reformer, Walter Lollhard, who was burned at Cologne in 1322, and was charged with holding opinions very similar, on the whole, to those that have been imputed to the English Lollards of the fifteenth century. Besides preaching against the mass, extreme unction, the efficacy of penances, and the authority assumed by the pope, he is alleged to have maintained that no obedience was due to magistrates—that there was no use either in baptism or repentance—with various other tenets of a similar character—all, however, most likely misrepresented in the accounts that have come down to us. It appears that the name of Lollards used to be given on the Continent to bodies of religionists marked by any peculiarity of creed or practice, long before it was known in England. The English Lollards were certainly declared opponents of the established church and of all the pretensions of the Romish hierarchy. They were as truly Reformers and Protestants as Luther and his followers

in the next century, though their doctrines may not have been in all respects the same. The most distinct and authentic account which we have of their creed is that given by themselves in a petition which they presented to the House of Commons in 1395, and which may be considered as a protest against the whole system, doctrinal and institutional, of the established religion. In this document they maintain, in substance, that the possession of temporalities by the clergy is contrary to the law of Christianity, and destructive of faith, hope, and charity—that the Romish priesthood is not that established by Christ—that outward rites of worship have no warrant in Scripture, and are of little or no importance—that the celibacy of the clergy is the occasion of scandalous irregularities in the whole church—that the pretended miracle of transubstantiation tends to make people idolaters—that exorcisms and benedictions pronounced over wine, bread, water, oil, salt, &c., have more in them of necromancy than of religion—that the clergy, by accepting secular places under the government, become hermaphrodites, attempting at the same time to serve both God and Mammon—that prayers made for the dead are more likely to be displeasing than otherwise to the Almighty, inasmuch as, for one among other reasons, they are probably in most cases offered for persons (more especially the founders of monasteries and other such pernicious endowments) who have already been consigned to punishment for their evil lives and are beyond the reach of mercy—that pilgrimages and prayers made to images are nearly akin to idolatry—that auricular confession is a highly objectionable practice—that priests have no power of absolution for sin—that to take away the life of a man, either in war or by sentence of a court of justice, is expressly contrary to the spirit and the precepts of Christianity—and, lastly, that certain trades ought to be put down as both unnecessary and the occasion of a great deal of sin, especially those of the goldsmith and the sword-cutler, both of which, though they might be tolerated under the Mosaic dispensation, were not lawful under that of the New Testament.¹ All these positions the petitioners attempted to support by reasoning and by the authority of Scripture, professing to deliver their testimony by virtue of a Divine commission, and under the character of ambassadors of Christ. It may be remarked that these Wyckliffites, as they have been often styled, and avowed adversaries of the pretensions of the see of Rome as they unquestionably were, nevertheless, in this solemn declaration of their opinions and articles of faith, make no mention either of Wyckliffe, on the one

¹ Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii. 221.

land, or of the pope on the other. The denial, however, of the Papal infallibility is involved in the whole tenor of their statements and arguments.

In these new heretics, therefore (as they were deemed), the church saw a hostile force, formidable from numbers and enthusiasm, openly arrayed against it, and avowing the desire to pull it down. The measures which the clergy and other friends of the existing order of things took for their own protection in these circumstances were neither morally justifiable nor even politic in any enlarged view. Very soon after the accession of Henry IV. they availed themselves of the circumstances of the time to obtain a new law for the punishment of heresy. In January, 1401, the commons joined the clergy in a petition upon the subject to the king, and the result was, the passing of the famous statute known as the 2 Henry IV. c. 15. The preamble of this statute sets forth, among other things, that, whereas the Catholic faith and holy church had been hitherto maintained in England without being "perturbed by any perverse doctrine, or wicked, heretical, or erroneous opinions, yet, nevertheless, divers false and perverse people of a certain new sect, of the faith, of the sacraments of the church, and the authority of the same, damnably thinking, and against the law of God and of the church openly preaching, do perversely and maliciously, in divers places within the said realm, under the colour of dissembled holiness, preach and teach these days, openly and privily, divers new doctrines, and wicked, heretical, and erroneous opinions; and of such sect and wicked doctrine and opinions they make unlawful conventicles and confederacies, they hold and exercise schools, they make and write books, they do wickedly instruct and inform people, and, as much as they may, incite and stir them to sedition and insurrection, and make great strife and division among the people, and other enormities horrible to be heard daily do perpetrate and commit." The unspecified enormities may be passed over as merely a flourish of legislative rhetoric; but from the rest of the description, making the requisite allowance for the misrepresentations of an adverse party, we may gather some information as to the ways which the Lollards took to diffuse their tenets. The act goes on to complain that "the diocesans of the said realm cannot by their jurisdiction spiritual, without aid of the said royal majesty, sufficiently correct the said false and perverse people, nor refrain their malice, because the said false and perverse people do go from diocese to diocese, and will not appear before the said diocesans, but the same diocesans and their jurisdiction spiritual, and the keys of the church, with the censures of the same, do utterly condemn and despise, and so their wicked preachings and doctrines do from

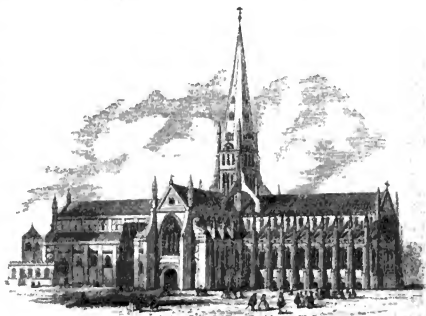
day to day continue and exercise to the utter destruction of all order and rule of right and reason." In order that "this wicked sect, preachings, doctrines, and opinions, should from henceforth cease and be utterly destroyed," it is then ordained, "by the assent of the great lords and noble persons of the said realm," that no person presume to preach anywhere, openly or privily, without the license of the diocesan of the place; that none shall "anything preach, hold, teach, or instruct, openly or privily, or make or write any book, contrary to the Catholic faith or determination of the holy church," or hold schools or conventicles for the dissemination of the new doctrines, or in anywise favour the preachers or teachers of them; and that all persons having any heretical books or writings shall deliver the same to the diocesan within forty days from the time of the proclamation of this ordinance and statute. The diocesan is empowered to cause the arrest of all persons failing to render due obedience to these requirements, and to detain them in his prison until they clear themselves of the articles laid to their charge, or else abjure the new opinions, the diocesan being bound to proceed in the case and determine it within three months after the arrest. On the conviction of any prisoner, he is further empowered to keep him in custody "as long as to his discretion shall seem expedient," and also to fine him in proportion to the manner and quality of his offence, the fine being paid to the king and levied by authority of the secular courts. And then follows the terrible enactment, to the effect that persons so convicted refusing to abjure, or relapsing after abjuration, shall be made over to the sheriff of the county, or mayor and bailiffs of the nearest town, "and they the same persons, and every of them, after such sentence promulgate, shall receive, and them before the people in an high place do to be burned, that such punishment may strike in fear to the minds of other, whereby no such wicked doctrine, and heretical and erroneous opinions, nor their authors and fautors in the said realm and dominions, against the Catholic faith, Christian law, and determination of the holy church, which God prohibit, be sustained, or in anywise suffered."

At this time the commons would seem to have been as zealously opposed to Lollardism as either the nobility or the clergy. At a date only a few years later, however, we find the sentiments of the lower house to have undergone a great change. In the famous lack-learning parliament which met at Coventry, in October, 1404, the commons, as we have seen, in answer to the king's demand of a grant to carry on the Welsh war, went the length of proposing that he should seize the revenues of the church and apply them to the

public service.¹ The clergy, they represented, while engrossing a great part of the wealth of the kingdom, lived in idleness, and contributed very little in any way to the public advantage—a complaint which, so far as it went, was the very language of the Lollards, and one, no doubt, of the most offensive of their heresies. Afterwards, also, in a parliament which met at Westminster in 1409, when the king demanded another large grant, the commons, according to the historian Walsingham (although there is no notice of the affair on the rolls), again strongly advised him to have recourse to the revenues of the church. On this occasion the peers interfered, praying the king to protect the patrimony of the church, and to punish all such as taught the people that it was lawful to take it away; and Henry severely reprimanded the commons for their presumptuous proposition.

Meanwhile the statute against Lollardism had not been allowed to remain a dead letter. A case came before the same parliament in which it was passed, that put its sharpness of fang to the proof. William Sawtre had been rector of Lynn, in Norfolk, and had been deprived of that living on a charge of heresy in 1399. Having been prevailed upon, however, to abjure his alleged erroneous opinions, he had since been appointed priest of St. Osith's, London. Holding that situation, he now petitioned the parliament that he might be heard before them on the subject of religion—unhappy, apparently, under the feeling of having denied his convictions, and anxious to make up, by a public profession of what he deemed the truth, for the pusillanimity of his late recantation. "The enthusiast," says a reverend modern historian, who, in his contempt for the unfortunate man, has forgotten to characterize the conduct of any of the other

parties in the affair—"the enthusiast aspired to the crown of martyrdom, and had the satisfaction to fall a victim to his own folly."² There are probably few persons at the present day capable of contemplating the transaction with the equanimity indicated by these remarkable words. Sawtre was, in fact, summoned to appear before the convocation to answer to various charges, of which the chief were his having affirmed that he would not worship the cross on which Christ suffered, and that the sacramental bread continued to be bread after it was consecrated. It is said that he admitted the truth of the charges, but denied that he had already abjured the same opinions. The probability must be held to be, that he endeavoured to show, by argument, that the opinions he had abjured the preceding year were not identical with those he now admitted. On this point, however, the court decided against him; he was adjudged to be a relapsed heretic, and as such, sentenced to be degraded, deposed, and then delivered over to the secular power, according to the awful doom of the new law. The primate



OLD ST. PAUL'S, LONDON. 3.—From a print by Hollar.

Arundel and six other bishops assembled in the cathedral of St. Paul's, arrayed in their ponti-

¹ See vol. i. p. 545.

² Lingard, *Hist. of England*, iv. 532.

³ By Wren's discovery of a prebysterium, constructed in the Roman manner, on the site of St. Paul's, it is surmised that a Christian edifice had been erected there in the reign of Constantine. In 603, Sebert either built a church or repaired a former edifice. This church, which was ornamented by Erkenwald, the fourth in succession to Melitus, the first Bishop of London, was burned down in a fire which consumed the city in 1096.

Towards the close of the eleventh century, Bishop Mauritius laid the foundation of a new church, which took upwards of forty years in building, and the edifice is described by William of Malmesbury, as being "so stately and beautiful that it was worthily numbered among the most famous buildings." In 1221 a new steeple was added, and in 1240 a new choir. The

crypt of St. Faith underneath was begun in 1257. This was the parish church, and contained several chantries and monuments. Henry Lacie, Earl of Lincoln, who died in 1312, made what was called the new work, at the east end, in which was the chapel of our Lady and that of St. Dunstan. The chapter-house, adjoining the south transept, projected into a stately cloister two stories. The dimensions of this noble edifice as taken in 1309, were as follows: the length 690 ft., the breadth 120 ft., the height of the roof of the west part from the floor, 102 ft., of the east part 158 ft., of the tower 260 ft., of the spire, which was constructed of wood and covered with lead, 274 ft. The whole space the church occupied was three acres and a half, one rood and a half, and six perches (Dugdale). This vast pile, with its shrines and monuments, the rich accumulation of six centuries, fell amid the havoc of the great fire of 1666.

fical robes, to perform the impressive preliminary ceremonial. Their victim was brought before them in his priestly attire, with the chalice for holding the host, and its patten or lid in his hands. The archbishop solemnly pronounced his degradation from the priestly order, and took from him all the sacred insignia. When he had been thus wholly divested of his clerical character, he was delivered over to the custody of the high constable and marshal of England, who were there present to receive him, the primate finishing his task by pronouncing the formal recommendation to mercy with which the church was accustomed to veil, but only with a deeper horror, its deeds of blood. Sawtre was burned in Smithfield in the beginning of March, 1401, a vast multitude of people crowding to witness, with various, doubtless, but all with strong emotions, a spectacle then new in England.

This terrifying example seems to have had the effect of putting down the open profession of Lollardism for some years. The new opinions, however, continued to spread in secret. The next recorded case in which we find the aid of the secular power called in by the church for their suppression is that of William Thorpe, a priest distinguished for his learning and ability, who was brought before Arundel, on a charge of heresy, on the 3d of July, 1407. We have his own account of the proceedings, drawn up at considerable length and with much particularity.¹ He was first called into the presence of the primate in his castle of Saltwood, after having lain for some time in prison in that stronghold. The archbishop told him that he knew well he had been for twenty winters and more travelling about busily in the north country teaching his false doctrines, but now at last he was taken, and should be suffered to spread his poison among the people no longer. Thorpe having obtained permission to declare what his opinions really were, recited them at great length; the archbishop seems to have heard him patiently, but at the end only replied, "I will shortly that now thou swear here to me that thou shalt forsake all the opinions which the sect of Lollards hold and is slaudered with." He also required that Thorpe should not favour any man or woman holding the said opinions, but

do his utmost to withstand all such disturbers of the holy church; "and them," he added, "that will not leave their false and damnable opin-



SALTWOOD CASTLE, Kent.²—From a view by Lambert.

ions, thou shalt put them up, publishing them and their names, and make them known to the bishop of the diocese." On the prisoner's refusal to assent to these conditions, "Thine heart," exclaimed the primate, "is full hard endured (indurated) as was the heart of Pharaoh, and the devil hath overcome thee and perverted thee. But I say to thee, lewd losel (low rascal), either thou quickly consent to mine ordinance, and submit thee to stand to my decrees, or by St. Thomas thou shalt be degraded, and follow thy fellow to Smithfield." To this Thorpe made no answer for some time; at last, after being repeatedly urged to speak, he addressed the primate in another long discourse, in which he related how his father and mother had "spent mickle money in divers places," in educating him for the priesthood—how, when he came to years of discretion, he had no will to be a priest—how he was at last persuaded to take holy orders by the vehement and incessant solicitations of his friends—and how he had then acquired his knowledge of the truth from the conversation and example of various pious and learned clergymen, of whom one of the chief, he declared, was Philip of Rampenton, since become Bishop of Lincoln, and now a zealous persecutor of the very opinions he had formerly held and taught. In the course of the conversation that ensued the archbishop said, "Thou

² This castle is situated near Hythe, on an eminence commanding a fine view of the sea. In the reign of John it became one of the palaces of the Archbishops of Canterbury, and was rebuilt by Archbishop Courtenay, in the reign of Richard II. It was exchanged by Crammer to Henry VIII., who in turn gave it to the Clintons.

¹ In Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, and also in the *State Trials*.

and such other losels of thy sect would shave your heads full near to have a benefice. For, by Jesu, I know none more courteous shrews than ye are when ye have a benefice. For, lo! I gave to John Purvay a benefice but a mile out of this castle, and I heard more complaints about his covetousness for tithes, and other misdoings, than I did of all men that were advanced within my diocese." After this, Thorpe proceeds to give an interesting account of the teachers from whom he had obtained his knowledge of the Reformed doctrines. At the head of the list he places "Master John Wyckliffe," who, he observes, "was holden of full many men the greatest clerk that they knew then living;"—"great men," it is added, "communed oft with him, and they loved so his learning that they writ it, and busily enforced them to rule themselves thereafter." The rest are spoken of as all of them the disciples and imitators of Wyckliffe. We may transcribe the now little remembered names of these first English Reformers; they were, Master John Aiston—Philip of Rampenton, while he was a canon of Leicester—Nicholas Herford—Davy Gotray of Pakering, monk of Byland, and a master of divinity—John Purvay (or Purnay, as he is elsewhere called)—"and many others which were holden right wise men and prudent;" notwithstanding that, now, "some of these men," adds the speaker, "be contrary to the learning that they taught; for they feign, and hide, and contrary (contradict) the truth which before they taught out plenily (fully) and truly." "That learning," replied the archbishop, "that thou callest truth and sootifastness, is open slander to holy church, as it is proved of holy church. For albeit that Wyckliffe, your author, was a great clerk, and though that many men held him a perfect liver, yet his doctrine is not approved of holy church, but many sentences of his learning are damned, as they well worthy are." He soon, however, broke off the argument, recurring to his former demand—"Wherefore tarriest thou me thus here with such fables?—Wilt thou shortly, as I have said to thee, submit thee to me or no?" "I dare not, for the dread of God, submit me to thee," answered the prisoner; on which the archbishop, "as if he had been wroth," desired one of his clerks to fetch him quickly the certification that came from Shrewsbury, "witnessing the errors and heresies that this losel hath venomously sworn there."

The document, on being produced, was found to attest that Thorpe had asserted openly in a sermon preached shortly before in St. Chad's Church in Shrewsbury, that the sacrament of the altar, after consecration, still remained material bread—that images should in nowise be worshipped—that men should not go on pilgrimages—

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that priests have no title to tithes—and that it is not lawful to swear in anywise. He now, however, emphatically denied that this was a true account of what he had said. "I am," he exclaimed, "both ashamed on their behalf, and right sorrowful for them, that have certified you these things thus untruly; for I preached never nor taught thus privily nor apertly." After much further wrangling, it is at last suggested by one of the clerks that the prisoner should be questioned on the points certified against him one by one, that they might learn what his real opinions were out of his own mouth. The long debate that followed is of much interest and value in reference to the history of the Reformed doctrines; but we shall only notice one or two passages that curiously illustrate the notions or customs of the times in the matter of religion. Touching the sacrament of the altar, Thorpe denied that he had said a word at Shrewsbury. Only, he said, as he stood in the pulpit preaching, there knelled a sacring bell, when many of the people turned away hastily, and began with great noise to run forth from the church; on which he turned to them, and remarked that they would do better to stand still and hear God's Word—the virtue of the holy sacrament of the altar standing much more in the belief thereof that they ought to have in their souls, than in the outward sight thereof. The discussion upon the second point—the worship of images—is very curious. Thorpe begins by stating his belief as follows: "Wood, tin, gold, silver, or any other matter that images are made of, all these creatures are worshipful in their kind, and to the end that God made them for; but the carving, casting, nor painting of any imagery made with man's hand, albeit that this doing be accept of men of high estate and dignity, and ordained of them to be a calendar to lewd people, yet this imagery ought not to be worshipped in the form nor in the likeness of man's craft; nevertheless, every matter that painters paint with, since it is God's creature, ought to be worshipped in the kind and to the end that God made and ordained it to serve man." An image, the archbishop admits in reply, ought not, indeed, to be worshipped for itself; but still, he contends, it ought to be worshipped for the sake of the religious doctrine that is depicted therein, and "so brought there-through to man's mind." "It is a great moving of devotion," he goes on to argue, "to men to have and to behold the Trinity and other images of saints carved, cast, and painted; for beyond the sea are the best painters that ever I saw. And, sirs, I tell you this is their manner, and it is a good manner, when that an image-maker shall carve, cast in mould, or paint any images, he shall go to a priest, and shrive him as clean as if he should then die, and take penance, and make

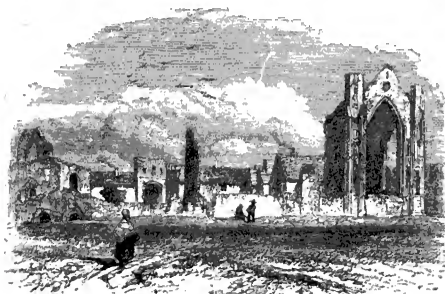
some certain vow of fasting or of praying, or of pilgrimages doing, praying the priest specially to pray for him that he may have grace to make a fair and devout image." Afterwards taking up another ground—"Ungracious losel!" he exclaimed, "thou favourest no more truth than an hound. Since, at the rood at the north door at London, at our Lady at Walsingham, and many other divers places in England, are many great and praisable miracles done, should not the images of such holy saints and places be more worshipped than other places and images where no such miracles are done?" The Virgin at Walsingham, in Norfolk, was the most famous image in England. In that invaluable record and picture of the social customs of the fifteenth century, the *Paston Letters*, this renowned object of superstitious devotion is repeatedly noticed. Thus, in one letter, we find Sir William Yelverton, one of the judges of the King's Bench, ascribing all the good fortune he had met with in the world, and all his escapes from danger, and from the malice of his enemies, to our Lady of Walsingham.¹ Our Lady of Walsingham was particularly resorted to by women in anticipation of the perils of child-bed.² Erasmus, who visited Walsingham in the reign of Henry VIII., informs us, in one of his letters, that the place was almost entirely maintained by the great numbers of persons who came to make their offerings to the Virgin. In the church, he tells us, in which the image

and resplendent it was all over with jewels, gold, and silver. It is said that Henry VIII., when a child, walked barefoot to Walsingham from the neighbouring town of Basham, and made an offering of a necklace of great value to the Virgin. The same king afterwards stripped the magnificent shrine of all its treasures, and dissolved the religious house of which it was the pride and the support. In September, 1538, the image of Walsingham, with those of Ipswich, Worcester, Welsdon, and many others, were all taken away at the instance of the Lord Cromwell; those of Walsingham and Ipswich were brought up to London, "with all the jewels that hung about them," and along with the rest were burned at Chelsea by Cromwell's order.³

We return to the Archbishop of Canterbury's examination of Thorpe. The question of pilgrimages is next debated. Thorpe is accused by the archbishop of having asserted that "those men and women that go on pilgrimages to Canterbury, to Beverley, to Karlington, to Walsingham, and to any other such places, are accursed and made foolish, spending their goods in waste." Thorpe, in effect, admits such to be his opinion, and in justifying himself, is led into a lively description of what the fashionable pilgrimages of the time really were. "Examine," he says, "whosoever will, twenty of these pilgrims, and he shall not find the men or women that know surely a commandment of God, nor can say

their Pater-Noster and Ave-Maria, nor their Credo, readily in any manner of language." "The cause," he affirms, "why that many men and women go hither and thither now on pilgrimages is more for the health of their bodies than of their souls; more to have riches and prosperity of this world than to be enriched with virtues in their souls; more to have here worldly and fleshly friendship than for to have friendship of God and of his saints in heaven." Such persons as thus spend much money in seeking out and visiting the bones or images of this or that saint, do that,

he contends, which is in direct disobedience to the commands of God, inasmuch as they waste their goods partly upon hostellers (or innkeepers), many of whom are women of profligate conduct, partly upon rich priests that already have much more than they need. "Also, sir," he concludes,



REMAINS OF THE CHURCH OF OUR LADY OF WALSHINGHAM.—FROM
Vetusta Monumenta.

stood, was a little chapel of wood, into which the pilgrims were admitted from each side by a narrow door. There was but little light—almost none, indeed, except that of the gratefully odorous wax-tapers; but a person looking in would say that it was an abode of the gods, so bright

¹ *Paston Letters*.

² *Ibid.* ii. 96, and iv. 444.

³ *Holinshed*, p. 945.

"I know well that when divers men and women will go thus far after their own wills, and finding one pilgrimage, they will ordain with them (arrange with one another) before to have with them both men and women that can well sing wanton songs, and some other pilgrims will have with them bagpipes; so that every town they come through, what with the noise of their singing, and with the sound of their piping, and with the jangling of their Canterbury bells, and with the barking out of dogs after them, they make more noise than if the king came there away with all his clarions and many other minstrels. And if these men and women be a month in their pilgrimage, many of them shall be an half-year after great janglers, tale-tellers, and liars." The defence of all this merriment by the archbishop is too good to be omitted. "Lewd losel," he replies, "thou seest not far enough in this matter. I say to thee that it is right well done that pilgrims have with them both singers and also pipers, that when one of them that goeth barefoot striketh his toe upon a stone, and hurteth him sore, and maketh him to bleed, it is well done that he or his fellow begin then a song, or else take out of his bosom a bagpipe, for to drive away with such mirth the hurt of his fellow. For with such solace the travel and weariness of pilgrims is lightly and merrily brought forth." Arundel is quite of the mind of the host in Chaucer:—

"Ye gon to Canterbury: God you speed
The blissful martyr quitted you your mood;
And well I wot as ye gon by the way
Ye shapen you to taloun and to play;
For tru-ly comfort ne mirth is none
To riden by the way dumb as the stons."

There was no greater agreement between the two parties on the remaining points of tithes, oath-taking, confession, &c., than in regard to those previously discussed; but the rest of their debate contains nothing that is necessary to be adverted to for our present purpose. Neither persuasions nor threats would move the intrepid Lollard, though, in the end, some of the persons that were sent for to give their counsel advised the archbishop to burn him, and others proposed that he should be drowned in the sea, which was near at hand. He was at last led forth to what he calls "a foul, dishonest prison," where he had never been before. It is not certainly known what was the fate of Thorpe, but he was never again heard of, and most probably he died in his dungeon.

We can only notice very shortly the cases of the other Lollards that are recorded to have suffered in England during this period of persecution. The second victim known to have perished at the stake was John or Thomas Badby, called in some accounts a tailor, in others a smith, who, on the 1st of March, 1410, was, after an examina-

tion by Archbishop Arundel, conveyed to Smithfield, and there burned in a large tun surrounded with dry wood. "The king's eldest son, the Lord Henry, Prince of Wales (afterwards Henry V.), having been present," says the chronicler, "offered him his pardon, first before the fire was kindled, if he would have recanted his opinions; and after, when the fire was kindled, hearing him make a roaring noise very pitifully, the prince caused the fire to be plucked back, and exhorted him, being with pitiful pain almost dead, to remember himself, and renounce his opinions, promising him not only life, but also threepence a-day so long as he lived, to be paid out of the king's coffers; but he, having recovered his spirits again, refused the prince's offer, choosing fustoons to taste the fire, and so to die, than to forsake his opinions; whereupon the prince commanded that he should be put into the tun again, from thenceforth not to have any favour or pardon at all; and so it was done, and the fire put to him again, and he consumed to ashes."¹

The accession of Henry V., in 1413, did not put a stop to these scenes of horror. With all his generosity of disposition, the new monarch had a soldier's sternness of feeling in regard to human suffering; and, besides that considerations of policy made it expedient for him, as it had been for his father, to conciliate the clergy, he took pride in showing himself a dutiful son of the church, and a zealous defender of the faith. The history and fate of Cobham have been already related.² His apprehension and condemnation were among the last acts of Archbishop Arundel, who died in February, 1414; the sentence by which Cobham was made over as a heretic to the secular judgment being dated the 10th of October preceding. Arundel was succeeded in the primacy by Henry Chicheley, translated from the see of St. David's—a change which brought no relief to the Lollards. Chicheley, indeed, seems to have proceeded against the new sect in a more sweeping fashion than his predecessor, not, perhaps, as being of a more sanguinary or unscrupulous temper, but rather, probably, from being driven to more desperate and wholesale methods for the suppression of the obnoxious opinions, by their increasing diffusion. The Lollards were now apprehended in great numbers, and crowded the prisons of the church. It was Chicheley who built the addition to Lambeth Palace, still known as the Lollards' Tower, from the small apartment at its summit in which the unhappy persons accused of heresy were confined, tied, as it would appear, to iron rings, which remain fixed in the walls, the thick wainscot of which also yet exhibits the names of some of the sufferers rudely scratched upon it. In August, 1415, John Clay-

¹ *Ibid.*² See vol. i. pp. 554, 560.

don, a furrier in London, in consequence of certain English books of Lollardism which were found in his possession, was condemned by the archbishop as a relapsed heretic (he had formerly been imprisoned on a similar charge), and was burned in Smithfield. Richard Turmin, a baker

tioned bishops were all cardinals, and each of them for a time held the office of lord high chancellor.

The most remarkable charge of heresy which occurs in the latter years of the present period, and the last we shall here notice, was that brought against Reginald Peacock or Peock, Bishop of Chichester, who was cited on the 22d of October, 1457, to appear to answer for various false opinions that were imputed to him before Archbishop Bourchier, at Lambeth. Peacock was one of the most learned men of his age, and was as much distinguished for his moderate and conciliatory spirit as for his high talents and extensive acquirements. He had been one of the eminent scholars patronized by the Duke of Gloucester—"the good Duke Humphrey"—and this connection may have had some share in exciting a party against him; but his published opinions were quite sufficient to call down upon him the hatred and vengeance of the church, notwithstanding that they did not go the length of absolute Lollardism. Peacock, indeed, was decidedly opposed to some of the tenets of the Lollards, and gave only a qualified assent to others; he wished the church to yield at least so far to the spirit of the times as to tolerate a latitude of opinion upon some points that, if not indifferent, were so obscure as scarcely to be comprehensible by the human judgment; in a few other things he may have been more inclined towards the new than the old doctrines; but it was at most the reform of the church that he sought, not its overthrow; nor did he either join its adversaries or withdraw himself from its communion. The very moderation and reasonableness, however, of his dissent from his brethren made it only the more irritating to a body inflamed with suspicion and fear, and apt to regard everything as lukewarmness or concealed hostility that was not undiscriminating and reckless partizanship. Peacock's fate was that which, in all ages, has usually attended moderators and mediators between extreme opinions in the height and fury of their mutual opposition and resentment. In one material point, at least, Peacock had distinctly laid himself open to a charge of heresy. In admitting



PRISON CHAMBER IN THE LOLLARDS' TOWER, LAMBETH.—From a drawing by J. W. Archer.

of London, underwent the same fate the same year. Cobham was put to death in St. Giles' Fields on the 25th of December, 1417, being hung by the middle in iron chains, from a new pair of gallows, over the fire, till both his body and the gallows were consumed to ashes.⁷

The early part of the reign of Henry VI. also witnessed many similar executions. It was impossible, however, to burn or otherwise put to death all the parties whom the spiritual courts were constantly finding guilty of heresy; and Chicheley soon found it necessary to substitute, in the greater number of cases, prolonged imprisonment, whipping, and various other punishments. The utmost rigour of the law appears to have been, for the most part, reserved for such of the clergy as were convicted of preaching or holding the new opinions. In 1423 four ecclesiastics were committed to the flames in Smithfield for the crime of Lollardism. Archbishop Chicheley died in 1443, and was succeeded by John Stafford, Bishop of Bath and Wells; Stafford was succeeded by John Kemp, Archbishop of York, in 1452; he lived only two years, and, on his death, Thomas Bourchier, Bishop of Ely, was promoted to the primacy. These three last-men-

tioned bishops were all cardinals, and each of them for a time held the office of lord high chancellor. The most remarkable charge of heresy which occurs in the latter years of the present period, and the last we shall here notice, was that brought against Reginald Peacock or Peock, Bishop of Chichester, who was cited on the 22d of October, 1457, to appear to answer for various false opinions that were imputed to him before Archbishop Bourchier, at Lambeth. Peacock was one of the most learned men of his age, and was as much distinguished for his moderate and conciliatory spirit as for his high talents and extensive acquirements. He had been one of the eminent scholars patronized by the Duke of Gloucester—"the good Duke Humphrey"—and this connection may have had some share in exciting a party against him; but his published opinions were quite sufficient to call down upon him the hatred and vengeance of the church, notwithstanding that they did not go the length of absolute Lollardism. Peacock, indeed, was decidedly opposed to some of the tenets of the Lollards, and gave only a qualified assent to others; he wished the church to yield at least so far to the spirit of the times as to tolerate a latitude of opinion upon some points that, if not indifferent, were so obscure as scarcely to be comprehensible by the human judgment; in a few other things he may have been more inclined towards the new than the old doctrines; but it was at most the reform of the church that he sought, not its overthrow; nor did he either join its adversaries or withdraw himself from its communion. The very moderation and reasonableness, however, of his dissent from his brethren made it only the more irritating to a body inflamed with suspicion and fear, and apt to regard everything as lukewarmness or concealed hostility that was not undiscriminating and reckless partizanship. Peacock's fate was that which, in all ages, has usually attended moderators and mediators between extreme opinions in the height and fury of their mutual opposition and resentment. In one material point, at least, Peacock had distinctly laid himself open to a charge of heresy. In admitting

¹ The prison chamber is situated at the summit of the tower, and is entirely covered—walls, ceiling, and floor—with thick oak planks, in which many names and devices are carved, but few of them are now legible. It is guarded by an inner and an outer door, 3½ inches thick, covered with bosses and plates of iron. The room is about 13 ft. by 12, and about 8 ft. high.

Eight large rings, to which unfortunate inmates have been chained, are rivetted in the wall. On the river side is a small deep splayed window, and near it a very massive stone fireplace, over which a rude representation of the crucifixion is carved.

² *Holinshed. Account, by Bishop Bale, in State Trials.*

that a particular belief upon certain mysterious questions was not necessary to salvation, he had unavoidably denied, by implication if not in terms, the assumed infallibility of the church, which had declared such belief to be indispensable. This accordingly appears to have been the chief accusation laid against him. The other heresies with which he was charged amounted to a denial of the necessity of a belief in certain doctrines, not to a denial of the doctrines themselves; the only doctrine he was charged with denying was this of the church's infallibility. He was convicted upon all the articles exhibited against him, and would have been put to death, if, in the spirit of conciliation and aversion to extreme courses by which his life had been distinguished, he had not consented to a recantation of his obnoxious opinions. He read his abjuration at St. Paul's Cross before the archbishop and three other bishops, delivering at the same time fourteen of his books with his own hand to an attendant, who threw them into a fire lighted for the purpose, while many thousands of spectators filled all the space around. Such other copies as had been collected, were afterwards, in like manner, delivered to the flames. Their author, however, although he thus saved his life, did not obtain his liberty. "He was sent to Thorney Abbey (in the Isle of Ely), there to be confined in a secret, closed chamber, out of which he was not to be allowed to go. The person who made his bed and his fire was the only one who might enter and speak to him without the abbot's leave and in his presence. He was to have neither pen, ink, nor paper, and to be allowed no books except a mass-book, a psalter, a legendary, and a Bible. For the first quarter he was to have no better fare than the common rations of the convent; afterwards the pittance of a sick or aged brother, with such further indulgence as his health might require; for which, and for fitting up his close apartment, the prior was allowed eleven pounds."¹ Peacock died in his prison after a confinement of about three years. Notwithstanding all the efforts of the church to destroy them, some of his works still remain, especially an answer to certain of the more extravagant opinions of the Lollards, which, it has been remarked, "contains passages well worthy of Hooker, both for weight of matter and dignity of style."²

One effect of the distracting wars of the Roses was to interrupt for a time the persecution of the Lollards. As Fuller has finely said, "the very storm was their shelter." That tempest of blood put out, while it lasted, the fires of Smithfield.

The convulsion, also, which shook and unsettled everything ancient, was probably favourable to the growth of the new opinions in another way as well as by affording a breathing time to the hunted converts.

The nation appears to have been divided during this period, in regard to ecclesiastical matters, into three parties—the avowed enemies of the established church—the members of the church who desired its reform, but not its abolition—and the unswerving and unyielding adherents to the existing establishment. The mere reformers were perhaps more numerous than has been generally supposed. It is likely that more of the clergy had imbibed the sentiments of Bishop Peacock than those of Thorpe and the thorough Lollards, which would have gone almost to the complete extinction of their order. That portion of the community of which the House of Commons, as then constituted, is to be taken as a fair representative, may also be regarded as having been inclined rather to the correction of the abuses of the church than to its entire overthrow, or even to any great change either of the basis on which it stood, or of the general form and character of the edifice. In general, the House of Commons went along with the lords and the clergy in calling for the execution of the laws against the followers of Wyckliffe as disturbers of the public peace, and in denouncing their doctrines with regard to the revenues of the church as destructive of all the rights of property. The old subject of Papal provisions repeatedly engaged the attention of the legislature during the reigns of the Lancastrian princes. The former statutes were renewed and extended immediately after the accession of Henry IV., and both then and at various other times great solicitude was evinced to prevent any unconstitutional interference of the Roman See in regard either to this or other matters. The contest here, however, was mainly one between the pope and the heads of the national church—whatever was taken from the former was acquired by the latter. Whether the kingdom was any gainer by the prohibition of Papal provisions came, after some time, to be doubted. Complaints were very soon heard that the patronage of benefices was not exercised by the bishops with so much advantage to the interests of religion and learning as it had formerly been when it was to a considerable extent in the hands of the pope. A representation to this effect had been presented to the convocation in 1399 by the two universities; they stated that the popes, in dispensing livings by the mode of provision, had always been wont to give the preference to the most distinguished graduates; but that since provisions had been put down, this encouragement to talent and in-

¹ Southey's *Book of the Church*, l. 392.

² Hallam, *Mid. Ages*, iii. 476. The *Life of Bishop Peacock* has been written by the Rev. John Lewis. One of his works, entitled *A Treatise on Faith*, was printed, in 4to, in 1688.

dustury had been so entirely removed, that the schools were almost deserted. And at length the evil became so evident that, in 1416, we find the commons petitioning the king that, if no other adequate remedy could be provided, the statutes against provisors should be repealed. In consequence of this application the convocation passed a law the following year, that, for the next ten years, every spiritual patron should bestow the first vacant benefice of which he had the patronage, and after that term every second, on some member of either university, graduated in divinity, law, or physic. The parliament during this period steadily maintained the great principle which had been established by the act of præmunire and other statutes, of the supremacy of the civil over the ecclesiastical courts. In 1447 the bishops and clergy presented a petition, bitterly complaining of this encroachment, as they considered it, upon the rights of the church, and representing that the spiritual courts were much better qualified to be the interpreters of statutes and the tribunals of ultimate appeal, than the temporal; but to this remonstrance the parliament paid no respect.

The church (meaning by that term the body of the clergy) continued to set its face against all reform or concession to the spirit of the age. In a very few points of mere order and discipline some amendments of the ancient practice were attempted: on none of the doctrinal questions at issue between the adherents to the Papal system and their opponents was the slightest approximation made to the new opinions. The only deviations from the ancient standards of faith and worship were in the opposite direction. Archbishop Arundel endeavoured to put down the holding of fairs in church-yards on Sundays; and his successor, Chicheley, forbade the barber-surgeons to keep open their shops on that day, which, in the prohibition, still extant,¹ he somewhat strangely described as the *seventh* day of the week. On the other hand, the ritual observances were in various ways stretched to a greater height of rigour than ever. Arundel, in particular, affected a great zeal for the adoration of the Virgin. It is said that he was wont to ascribe to her intercession the fortunate revolution in the state which had restored him to his see; he accordingly amplified the ceremonial of her worship; he also made the day dedicated to the memory of her visitation, and other saints' days, double festivals. Several new saints were likewise added to the calendar during this period, for each of whom, of course, a festival day was set apart. The number of holidays thus received a considerable increase. The churches also be-

came much more crowded than they ever had been before with images of the Virgin and of other saints. All the ancient popular superstitions, indeed, were still sanctioned by the church as much as in the earliest and darkest ages. Among others, the veneration for holy wells was still a favourite species of devotion among the people. It was during this period that the cup in the sacrament of the eucharist was gradually taken from the laity. In one of the ecclesiastical ordinances of the time the clergy are directed to begin by withholding the cup in small, obscure churches.² The people were at the same time to be taught that both the body and blood of the Saviour were given at once in the bread—that the wine was mere wine, which had been given to enable them to swallow the bread the more easily, but that it was better swallowed without the wine, and also without chewing, that none of it might stick in their teeth. The efficacy of indulgences, and the importance of confession, of processions, and of pilgrimages, were now exalted more than ever. Great pains were taken to denounce heresy as the chief of all possible sins. In certain constitutions of the province of Canterbury, published in 1409, all persons in any manner calling in question the determination of the church were declared to be excommunicated for the first offence, and subject to the punishment of heresy for the second; and it was declared at the same time to be heresy to dispute either the utility of pilgrimages, or the lawfulness of the adoration of images and of the cross. Pilgrimages to Rome were still frequent; a few individuals even continued to find their way to Jerusalem, and were glad, at the cost of submitting to many exactions and insults, to be allowed to pay their devotions at the holy sepulchre. Nor was even the old crusading mania altogether unknown in the fifteenth century. When Pope Martin V., in 1428, proclaimed a crusade against the famous Zisca and his followers, the insurgent Hussites of Bohemia, the great Cardinal Beaufort was appointed captain-general of the crusaders, and immediately raised an army of 2000 English archers and 250 lancers to act against the heretics. It has been already related how this force was intercepted before it reached Germany, and employed in France in another sort of contest.³ These were the last soldiers ever raised in England for a war against either heretics or infidels. When Pope Pius II. (better known as Æneas Sylvius) proclaimed his crusade against the Turks, a few years after the fall of Constantinople, he found little inclination in England, among the clergy or laity, either to take the cross or to contribute their money to the expedition: it was with great

¹ Wulkins, *Concilia*, iii. 368.

² Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii. 662.

³ See vol. i. p. 598.

difficulty that the clergy were induced by the king, Edward IV., to tax themselves on the occasion to the extent of sixpence in the pound. The countenance of the pope and of the church was at this time of considerable importance to Edward, in the circumstances in which he had just mounted the throne. While he exerted himself, therefore, to gratify the former by endeavouring to procure this assessment, he sought to secure the favour of the national clergy by the grant of a charter endowing them with the most extravagant privileges. In this stretch of prerogative he boldly dispensed with the statute of *pœmnurie*, and deprived the temporal courts of all right of interfering in the case of offences, of whatever nature, committed either by ecclesiastical persons, or even by persons pretending to possess the clerical character—thus again elevating the spiritual courts to that entire independence of the state which they had enjoyed in the first years after the Conquest, and which it had cost so long a struggle on the part of the parliament and the judges to destroy. The charter was never confirmed by parliament; but at that era of confusion, and the temporary restoration of arbitrary power in the government, it was not to be wondered at that the clergy should, under such a sanction, again put forth some of the most objectionable of their old pretensions.

The general conduct and character of the clergy of this age are not presented in a favourable light by such notices as the documents of the time afford. In 1415 the university of Oxford, being commanded by Henry V. to furnish a statement of such things in the church as needed reformation, drew up a catalogue of abuses in forty-six articles, most of which are, in fact, charges of rapacity and various descriptions of profligacy against the general body of the clergy. It is asserted, among other things, that the debaucheries of churchmen, however notorious, were never punished except by a small fine privately exacted, no public notice being taken, by suspension or otherwise, even of the most heinous cases. About half a century later we find Archbishop Bourchier, in a commission empowering his commissary-general to take measures for the establishment of an improved discipline, describing many of the clergy, both secular and regular, as persons wholly destitute both of literature and capacity; and adding that they were as profligate as they were ignorant, neglecting their cures, spending their time in strolling about the country in the company of loose women, and their incomes in feasting, drinking, and other excesses.¹ These accounts, it is to be observed, are not the inflamed invectives of the enemies of the church, but the admissions of its friends.

We may here mention, though not strictly belonging to the period under review, a curious enactment of the reign of Richard II., touching the keeping of dogs by the clergy; from which we may gather that the custom was not confined to the opulent spiritual nobility, the bishops and abbots, but was followed, on such a scale as they could afford, by the humblest members of the ecclesiastical order. The act (the 13 Rich. II., st. 1, c. 13) sets forth that artificers, labourers, servants, and groomings kept greyhounds and other dogs, with which they were wont to go hunting on the holidays, when good Christian people were at church hearing Divine service. The clergy could hardly have been decently enumerated in this preamble; but the enacting part of the statute shows that some of their body were addicted to the same practices as the artificers and labourers. While it is ordained that no layman who is not possessed of lands or tenements of the yearly value of forty shillings shall in future keep any greyhound or other dog for hunting, the same prohibition is extended to all priests or clerks whose benefices are not of the yearly value of ten pounds; they shall not, it is added, use ferrets, hays, nets, hare-pipes, nor cords, nor other engines for taking or destroying deer, hares, coney, or other game, under pain of a year's imprisonment.

A statute respecting the mendicant friars was passed in 1402 (the 4 Hen. IV. c. 17), which deserves to be here noticed. It ordained that no friar of any of the four orders—the Minorites, Augustines, Preachers, and Carmelites, should take into their order any infant under the age of fourteen without the consent of his nearest relations or guardians, nor should remove such infant, during the first year after his reception, away from the place where he had been received. To the intent, it is added, that this statute and ordinance should hold place for ever, the principals of the four orders (who are mentioned by name) "being in their proper persons before the king, and the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons of the realm, in the full parliament, laying their right hands on their breasts, made an oath, and promised in the same parliament, to hold, keep, observe, and perform the statute and ordinance aforesaid, for them and their successors for ever." The unusual solemnity adopted on this occasion indicates how prevalent had been the evil which it was the object of the new law to put down. The friars, it was asserted, used especially to haunt the universities for the purpose of seducing into their ranks the most promising of the youthful members; and this practice had been carried so far that parents were thereby deterred from sending their sons to Oxford or Cambridge—a circumstance which was

¹ Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii. 573.

alleged as a principal cause of the decay of these national establishments. The universities accordingly had now come to look upon the friars with feelings of alienation and strong aversion. A keen jealousy also existed between the mendicants and the general body of the secular clergy, with whom they competed too successfully for the popular reverence and favour. In the reign of Edward IV., this antipathy broke out into a violent controversy, in which each party maintained its cause by the most unscrupulous abuse of its opponents. The great boast of the mendicants was, that Jesus Christ himself, while on earth, had belonged, as they said, to their class. This assertion the secular clergy, on the other hand, denounced as both false and daringly impious. At last Pope Calixtus II., by a bull published in 1475, declared the doctrine of the friars to be heretical.

Some notion of the mode of preaching commonly followed at this time may be gathered from the constitutions of a convocation of the province of York, held in 1466. These contain both directions as to the manner in which the clergy ought to conduct the religious instruction of the people, and a summary of the doctrines they were to inculcate. Every parish priest is commanded to preach, either by himself or by a substitute, to his flock four times in the year, and on these occasions to explain in English, with plainness of speech, and without any attempt at metaphysical refinements, the fourteen articles of faith, the ten commandments, the two precepts of the gospel, the seven works of mercy, the seven mortal sins, and the seven sacraments.

A few notices remain to be added respecting the history of ecclesiastical affairs in Scotland. The clergy of that kingdom, or some of them, are spoken of under their ancient name of Culdees down to so late a period as the close of the thirteenth century. The Culdees, indeed, whatever may have been peculiar in their original constitution, appear to have gradually become converted into a body of the same character with the clergy of England and of the other countries of Christendom. Till about the commencement of the eleventh century, they seem to have been derived chiefly or exclusively from Ireland and from the Irish seminary of Iona; after that date learned churchmen were often brought from England to fill the principal stations in the Scottish establishment. The earliest historical record of any interference with Scotland on the part of the Romish pontiffs is that of the appearance in the country of John of Crema as Papal legate in 1126; but we are scarcely entitled thence to assume, as has sometimes been done, that the Papal supremacy over the Scottish church was then for the first time asserted or admitted. Little can be

inferred from the silence of history upon a particular point, in a period of which scarcely anything that can be properly called history has come down to us. Some other circumstances, however, make it appear probable that, if any dependence upon Rome was so much as formally acknowledged by the early Scottish church, it was practically all but or altogether unfelt. The mere remoteness and barbarous condition of the country would secure its being left very much to itself. The most ancient bishopric in Scotland north of the Forth, that is, in ancient and proper Scotland, was undoubtedly St. Andrews. It was most probably founded towards the close of the ninth century. From this time St. Andrews was considered as holding the primatial rank, which had been held by Iona till the destruction of its monastery by the Danes in the ninth century, and had been then transferred to Dunkeld. Long before the commencement of the present period, the ecclesiastical establishment of Scotland had become completely assimilated, in the general outline of its constitution, to the other churches of the Latin world.

The history of the Scottish church in the fifteenth century, so far as it can now be recovered, consists principally of the enumeration of a series of provincial councils, whose acts, reported as they are, contain little or nothing of much interest. The most accurate notice of them is that given by Hailes, in his *Historical Memorials concerning the Provincial Councils of the Scottish Clergy, from the Earliest Accounts to the era of the Reformation*.¹ They appear to have been usually held at Perth.

The following passage gives, in brief compass, a comprehensive view of the state of the Scottish church at this period:—"The privileges of the church seem to have been an exemption from tribute and war, and from the sentence of a temporal judge; a judicial authority in the spiritual causes of tithes, testaments, matrimonial and heretical affairs; freedom to let lands and tithes; submission to no foreign church, but to the pope alone; a power of holding provincial councils for the regulation of the national church. In benefices the pontiff had only the right of confirmation and deprivation, and the purchase of any benefice at Rome was strictly prohibited. (By an act of parliament passed in 1471, the procurement of any benefices from the court of Rome, other than those anciently at the disposal of the pope, was declared to be a crime punishable with the pains of treason.) The bishops were elected by the chapter, and the royal recommendation seems seldom to have intervened. Abbots were chosen by the monks alone; the secular clergy

¹ See also the fourth volume of Wilkins' *Concilia*.

were named by the proprietors of the lands. These clergy were either parsons (rectors) or vicars. Many were in the appointment of the bishops, and of collegiate bodies, whose chapters they formed. Hence the lay patronage was much confined. Many sees and abbeys were opulent; but James III. seems to have been the first monarch who seized and made a traffic of the nomination."¹

The religious zeal of the age expended itself upon the same objects in Scotland as in England. Whithern, in Galloway, appears to have been the most noted Scottish pilgrimage. St. Treignan, repeatedly mentioned by Rabelais as the name of a Scottish saint, is supposed to be a corruption of St. Ninian, the founder of the bishopric of Whithern.²

The new doctrines, however, penetrated to the northern part of the island very soon after they made their appearance in the south. The first propagators appear to have come from England—whether seeking a refuge from the active inquisition after heresy, which had begun in that kingdom, or, as is more likely, ambitious of exercising the apostleship of the truth in a new land. In the year 1408, John Resby, an English priest, was apprehended as a Wyckliffite, and brought before a council of the clergy, presided over by Laurence of Lindores, an eminent doctor of divinity—the same who, on the institution, a few years after, of the university of St. Andrews, was appointed reader of the canon law in the new seminary. Resby, it is said, was charged with maintaining no fewer than forty erroneous opinions, of which, however, only two are particularized—one, that the pope was not Christ's vicar; the other, that he was not to be esteemed pope if he was a man of wicked life. The unfortunate man was condemned on these and the other charges, and was burned at Perth along with his books and writings—being, as far as is known, the first person who thus suffered in Scotland. The example, like that of the similar execution of Sawtre in England a few years before, appears to have been considered sufficient to strike terror into the popular mind for some time. The second Scottish martyrdom did not take place till the year 1433, when Paul Crawar, a Bohemian physician, was burned at St. Andrews on the 23d of July. Crawar appears to have been sent by the Reformers of Bohemia to open a communication, partly, perhaps, of a political as well as of a religious nature, with those of the same creed in Scotland, and to propagate in that country the tenets of Wyckliffe, Huss, and Jerome of Prague. He is admitted by the ecclesiastical chroniclers

to have been a person of great learning and of singular acuteness and dexterity in argument. All his knowledge of the Scriptures and logical powers, however, availed him nothing in the contest with his hostile judges, and with the remorseless inquisitor, Laurence of Lindores, who was again the president of the court. It is lamentable to have to add that both these executions also took place during the primacy of Bishop Henry Wardlaw, the venerated founder of the first Scottish university—a prelate to whose enlightened munificence history and tradition bear the same testimony with this and other still enduring works of public usefulness.

Although no person is recorded to have been brought to the stake for heresy in the space of nearly thirty years that elapsed between the executions of Resby and Crawar, it is certain, nevertheless, that the new opinions obtained an extensive diffusion in Scotland during that interval. This is evident from the accounts of the trial of the Bohemian, who is spoken of as an emissary to a numerous body sharing the sentiments of himself and his countrymen. The growth of Lollardism may also be inferred from a statute that had been passed for its suppression by the parliament that assembled immediately after the return of James I. from England in 1421. This statute directed that every bishop should 'make inquisition within his diocese for all Lollards and other heretics, in order that they might be punished according to the laws of holy church, the civil power being called in for that purpose, when necessary, in aid of the ecclesiastical. It is stated that the little treatises which Resby and his disciples had dispersed had spread the obnoxious doctrines; Bower, the continuator of Fordun, who wrote some years after the second of the two executions that have been mentioned, tells us that there were still in his day some unhappy persons, instigated by the devil, by whom these writings were secretly preserved, and their pernicious heresies cherished, in accordance with the scriptural text, that "stolen waters are sweet, and bread eaten in secret is pleasant."

The most important event that happened during the present period in the history of the Scottish ecclesiastical establishment was the erection of the see of St. Andrews into an archbishopric by Pope Sixtus IV., in 1471. This measure was resorted to in consequence of the renewal by Nevil, Archbishop of York, of the old claim of his see to supremacy over the kingdom of Scotland. The Papal bull declared it to be an unlitigious thing that an English prelate should be Primate of Scotland, and ordained all the rest of the Scottish bishops, twelve in number, to be henceforth subject to St. Andrews. The occupant of the latter see at this time was Patrick Graham,

¹ Pinkerton, *Hist. of Scotland*, l. 174.

² See, among other passages, *Liv. i.* ch. 33, and *Liv. ii.* ch. 98, with the Notes of Le Duchat.

a nephew of the late King James I., but who had been driven by the ascendancy of the Boyds, in the reign of James III., from his native country to Rome. He was resident at the pontifical court when the bull was granted; but he now thought that, with his increase of dignity, he might venture to return home, the rather as he was at the same time appointed Papal legate for three years, with a commission to reform all abuses in the national church. He found, however, that his new rank and authority only made him new enemies. He was soon after arrested at the suit of some Roman bankers, who had advanced the money to pay the dues on his bull of privileges, and whose claims he was now unable to satisfy in consequence of the arbitrary seizure of part of his revenues by the king, and his expenses in bribing the persons possessing influence at court, that he might be allowed to retain the rest. He was first shut up in his own castle at St. Andrews,

and soon after committed to the custody of William Schevez, the archdeacon of his diocese, a young man who had insinuated himself into the favour of the court by his agreeable talents, and especially, it is affirmed, by his skill in astrology, a study which he had pursued under John Spornick at the university of Louvain. In no long time Schevez was appointed his coadjutor; and eventually a process was raised against the unfortunate archbishop, the result of which was, that he was found guilty of schism, simony, heresy, and other crimes, and sentenced to lose his dignity and to pass the rest of his life in confinement. This strange affair was terminated by Schevez being appointed archbishop. He held the primacy from 1478 till his death in 1494. Meanwhile his deposed predecessor had been transferred first to Inchcolm, thence to Dunfermline, and finally to the castle of Lochleven, where he died a few months after Schevez had obtained his place.

CHAPTER VIII.—HISTORY OF SOCIETY.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF HENRY IV. (A.D. 1399). TO THE DEATH OF RICHARD III. (A.D. 1485).

Progress of English liberty—The advantages it derived from Henry IV. and his successors—Classes who composed the parliament during this period—Emancipation of the villains—Improved condition of the peasantry—State of the mercantile classes—Their commodities of traffic—Mercantile shipping—Hinderances to the mercantile enterprise of the period—High estimation in which the mercantile profession was already held—Manners and customs—Decay of chivalry—Causes of the decay—English archery—Its origin—Laws enacted for its general practice—The old English bow—The string—The arrow—Mode of handling the bow—Sports and competitions of archery—Rules by which proficiency in archery was acquired—Public sports—Dramatic representations—Miracle and mystery plays—Morality plays—Private theatricals—Royal pageant plays of this period—Amusements of the aristocracy—Inclosure hunting—Tennis—Card-playing—Costume of the higher classes—Female costume—Domestic life of the higher classes—Mansions of the nobility—Halls of the mansions—Banquets—Materials and accompaniments of the banquet—Ordinary meals—Retinues of the nobility—Domestic life of the commons—Glutton masses—Poverty of food in certain districts—Active sports of the commons—The play of quarter-staff—Wrestling matches, &c.—Bowling—Various games of ball—Prisoners' bars—Blindman's buff—Boating—Prohibited games—Condition of London—Metropolitan sight-seeing of the period—London riots—Literature and literary society of England—Falling off in the colleges—Futility as yet of learned pursuits—Depreciation of the study of medicine and theology—Preachers of the day—Specimens of their sermons—Higher estimation of the study of law—Causes of this preference—Education of students in law—Distinguished lawyers of the period—Decline in English poetry during this period—English poets of the day—John Lydgate. Architecture—Perpendicular style—Its peculiar distinctions—Buildings in which it is illustrated—Tudor style—Its characteristics. Condition of Scotland—State of government in Scotland—Restrictions upon the royal authority—Power of the Scottish nobles—Imperfections of Scottish agriculture—Moss-troopers of Scotland—Mendicants—Military customs and warlike sports of the Scots—Scottish weapons—Deficiency in the archery of Scotland—War laws of Scotland—Signal beacons—Modes of living in Scotland—Chiefs and their retainers—Insecure state of society—Rude condition of Scottish dwellings—Fruitless attempts of James I. and James III. to introduce civilization among the people—Learned Scotchmen of the period—Erection of the first Scottish universities—Scottish poets—James I.—Henry the Minstrel—Robert Henderson.



FEW subjects in history are more interesting or more important than the growth and progress of English liberty. It was by no sudden outburst of popular energy, or rapid development of the national character, that so great a blessing was achieved.

In this case, its existence would have been as precarious as its birth, and it might have been lost as rapidly as it had been won. On the contrary, whole centuries of struggle were necessary, and all the sufferings as well as changes of infancy, boyhood, and youth, had to be undergone before it could acquire a confirmed and perma-

ment manhood. Such is the chief lesson of the epoch at which we have now arrived. The combination of the English nobility at Runnymede laid bounds to the power of royalty, while the wars with Scotland and France which succeeded, made each sovereign more dependent upon popular favour and support than had been the case with his predecessors; and thus, energetic though they were, and capable under other circumstances of establishing a complete despotic rule, Edward I. and Edward III. were obliged not only to confirm, but also to enlarge the concessions of the imbecile John. The next era in the history of English liberty was still more favourable for its progress. This was the accession of the house of Lancaster, and the wars of the Roses, events, indeed, whose immediate fruits were apparently little else than suffering and calamity, but whose substantial benefits were realized by the nation at large, long after the York and Lancaster contention had passed away.

No event could have been more seasonable to the liberties of England at this period than the accession of Henry IV. His predecessor having crushed both lords and commons, had created for himself a new parliament that was subservient to his wishes; he had placed the administration of the kingdom in the hands of his creatures; and being thus completely absolute, everything was to be apprehended from his weakness and extravagance. Had this state of things continued, the people, oppressed by tyranny and taxation, would probably have betaken themselves for remedy either to a new Wat Tyler insurrection, or even a French *jacquerie*, and only confirmed their bondage by a failure. It was then that Henry ascended the throne, and ascended it, not by legitimate right, but by usurpation. In this case, one such act of tyranny as those which Richard II. had perpetrated would have overthrown him; and of this he showed that he was conscious by the cautiousness with which he approached the royal seat, as well as the moderation with which he occupied it. The same rule was continued by his two successors under the same urgency: for still they were usurpers, and the elder line of the house of York might at any time reassert their claims to the throne. Under these circumstances, the parliament of England was now of higher account than hitherto, while the people were more fully and equitably represented. This last fact may be understood from the character of the classes of which the parliament was composed. It now consisted of the three estates—the nobility, the clergy, and the *commons*, while the last of these classes consisted of between two and three hundred members composed of knights, citizens, and burgesses. In this way, every grade of rank in the commonalty, and every trade and

profession, could find its representative and advocate in the assembled parliament of England. These knights alone constituted a very important element in the popular representation. They were seventy-four in number, and from their birth, habits, and occupations, they were sufficiently conversant with public affairs to make their suggestions respected, as well as sufficiently high-spirited and formidable to check the aggressions of despotism. In this way, every great change during the reigns of the three Lancastrian Henries, advanced the cause of English liberty, by reducing the monarchical power to fixed and constitutional limits. Another formidable despotism, however, remained, that threatened to rise by the limitation of monarchy, and become the worse oppression of the two. This was feudalism, whose strength mainly lay in civil commotion, and which, on the removal of one sole tyrant, could at any time have produced a hundred in his room. But this portentous danger was removed by the wars of the Roses, in which the nobility, as the party most interested in the strife, perished by proscription and mutual extermination. The field and the scaffold did their utmost, and the high seigniorial rights of the proud king-makers passed away with those who had held them. The battle of Bosworth was the last gleanings of that terrible harvest in which the feudalism of England was irrecoverably destroyed.

This progress of liberty is especially illustrated in the history of English villanage. During the preceding period, the better class of villains had been rising into copy-holders of land, while the inferior were becoming free labourers and artisans; and in either case they were freed from that degrading bondage by which they had hitherto been the absolute property of their masters, and even of the locality in which they were born. So great a change, however, could not be effected without a struggle on the part of the villains themselves; and the character of this struggle is fully explained by a statute enacted upon the subject in 1377. From this it appears, that landholders and masters had made grievous complaints of the losses they had sustained through the villains who "have now late withdrawn, and do daily withdraw their services and customs due to their said lords, by comfort and procurement of other their counsellors, maintainers, and abettors in the country." These counsellors, it is added, "by colour of certain exemptions made out of the *Book of Doom-day*, and by their evil interpretations of the same, they affirm them to be quite and utterly discharged of all manner of servage due, as well of their bodies as of their said tenure, and will not suffer any distress or other justice to be made

upon them; but do menace the ministers of their lords of life and member, and, which more is, gather themselves together in great routs, and agree by such confederacy that every one shall aid other to resist their lords with strong hand." Here we have the act of self-emancipation conducted according to form of law, and afterwards followed by combination to make it good by force, if need should be. In this way, the conflict so important, although unnoticed in history, seems to have gone on until the rebellion of Wat Tyler in 1381, when one of the demands of the insurgents was the complete abolition of villanage. The suppression of this rebellion was followed by severe enactments, through which the old state of serfage was attempted to be restored; but the opportunity had gone by, and a spirit of independence had been awakened that went onward in spite of statutes. The result of this was evident in the next rebellion of the people conducted by Jack Cade in 1450. Here, nothing was spoken about villanage, for the legality of villanage was no longer absolute. The demands of the people had assumed a higher tone, and were directed against the wasteful expenditure of the crown and the abuses of the government, of which immediate redress was required. And besides this, they demanded the full exercise of their right to elect their own representatives in parliament without the interference of the nobility. This insurrection, too, was not so easily quelled as the first had been, when the boy Richard II. rode up to the angry mutineers, and appeased them with a few empty words. Instead of this, they repeatedly defeated the king's troops that were sent against them, and were only quelled at last from want of sufficient leaders. Their principles, also, instead of being permanently arrested, sustained nothing worse than a temporary check, under which they gained additional vigour for a more successful renewal of the contest.

During the present period of our history, the peasantry of England, who were now becoming free to serve whom and where they pleased, must, with their liberty, have been acquiring a corresponding increase in the means and comforts of domestic life. This is evident from the rise in the wages of rural labourers between 1388 and 1444, and the sumptuary laws that were afterwards enacted to repress extravagance of dress among the working-classes. It was found necessary to decree, that no labourer should be dressed in broad-cloth costing more than two shillings a yard; that his nether habiliments, called hosen, consisting of breeches and stockings composed of one piece, should not cost more than fourteen pence, and that his wife shall no longer wear a girdle garnished with silver, or a kerchief of

cloth costing more than twelve-pence per plight—that is, a yard and a quarter. Only nineteen years afterwards, the rise in the condition of the



HUSBANDMAN AND COUNTRY WOMAN OF 15TH CENTURY.
FROM ROYAL MSS. 18, D. VII. and 29, C. VII.

working-classes is curiously indicated by a fresh sumptuary law, in which this twelve-penny kerchief is superseded by one of twenty-pence, beyond which, for the present at least, the head attire of the labourer's wife was not allowed to trespass. From the same source we learn, that domestic servants, whether of lords, tradesmen, or artificers, were well and comfortably fed, having at least one substantial meal a-day of flesh or fish, while the other meals chiefly consisted of "milk, butter, cheese, and other such victuals."

In turning from the agricultural to the mercantile progress of England during this period, it is necessary in the first case to take into account the population of the towns by which the commerce of the country was represented. We find, then, that as yet, the increase in the number of the people had been small, compared with the time that had elapsed and the opportunities that had apparently been enjoyed; for while the whole population at the time of the Norman conquest appears to have been about 2,000,000, at the close of the reign of Edward III., after a lapse of 300 years, it only amounted to about 2,500,000. The visitation of dearth to which England had been frequently subject, the wars with Scotland and France, and above all, the destructive pestilence of 1349 by which Europe at large was almost half depopulated, are the only causes to which we can trace this slowness of increase. Of this population, the town part of it is reckoned at not more than 170,000, or little more than a fifteenth. In these statistics, many of the chief cities of England present an astounding contrast to the greatness into which they afterwards expanded. Thus, the population of London is rated at

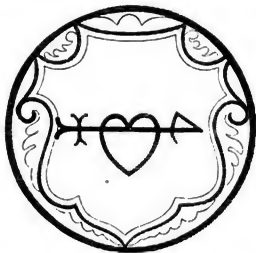
about 35,000, that of Bristol 9500, that of Newcastle-upon-Tyne 4000, that of Yarmouth 3000, that of Hull 2300. Scarcely, indeed, were there thirty towns in England containing a population of more than 2000 souls, according to the roll of the capitation tax in 1377. And yet, all this was much, according to the estimate of the day; and the Greek historian Laonicus Chalcondyles, in his description of the principal kingdoms of Europe in 1400, gives the following account of England:—"It is full of towns and villages. It has no vines, and but little fruit, but it abounds in corn, honey, and wool, from which the natives make great quantities of cloth. London, the capital, may be preferred to every city of the West for population, opulence, and luxury. It is seated on the river Thames, which, by the advantage of the tide, daily receives and despatches trading vessels from and to various countries."

In the above extract, the Byzantine mentions the principal article of English commerce, which still consisted of wool. This staple, by the fifteenth century, had become so excellent, that it was reckoned superior to the wool of Spain, and was used therefore even by the Spaniards themselves in the manufacture of their finest cloths. The Flemings also, who were still the principal manufacturers of Europe, found that they could not make such good cloth of the Spanish wool by itself, as when it was mixed with English. Besides wool, the trade of England with foreign countries at this time consisted of gunpowder and guns, and of tin; while the imports received in return, were articles of mercery and haberdashery, and wines, spices, and groceries. The chief countries with which the English traded were Flanders, Spain and Portugal, Venice, Genoa, and Florence, and the Hanseatic towns. With this increase of traffic, the tonnage of merchant ships and improvement in the art of ship-building had been making commensurate progress. Thus, Henry V. built several dromons or ships of war at Southampton, so large, we are told, that the world had never seen the like; and one of them, called the *King's Chamber*, of extraordinary splendour, carried a sail of purple silk, with the arms of England and France embroidered on it. With regard to the merchant vessels, an estimate may be formed of their size, when we are told that the largest carried 400, 500, and even 900 tons. As ship-building was now of such importance to the nation, it appears to have had a due share of royal encouragement, independently of the stimulus of mercantile gain. A proof of this we have in the history of John Taverner, the rich merchant of Hull. During the reign of Henry IV., he built "by the help of God and some of the king's subjects," as it is expressed in the royal license, a ship as large or even

larger than a great Venetian carrack. In recompense of such a patriotic deed, the king directed that the ship should be called the *Carrack Grace Dieu*, and its owner permitted to take on board "wool, tin, lamb-skins, wool-fels, passelarges, and other hides, raw or tanned, and any other merchandise, in the ports of London, Hull, or Sandwich, and, on paying aliens' duty, to carry them direct to Italy, from which he might bring back bow-staves, wax, and other foreign produce necessary for the country, to the great benefit of the revenue and of the nation."

The development of mercantile enterprise during this period was impeded by many serious obstacles. Of these, the most obvious was the military spirit fostered by the war with France. The recent successes of Edward III. and the Black Prince, and the renewal of these under Henry V., gave such a bias to the spirit of the nation, that the peaceful occupations of merchandise were despised, and even wealth itself was cheaply estimated except as the prize of valour and conquest. It was no wonder, therefore, if the active adventurous spirits of the country were more eager to cut out for themselves a fair lordship in France, than to attain the envied rank of wealthy aldermen and worshipful sheriffs at home, by a dull unchivalrous life of buying and selling. Then came the cost of these worthless victories, and the loss occasioned by their abandonment, which acted as successive drains upon the profits of the mercantile community. All this was nothing more than natural to a people who, in adopting commercial pursuits, had abated nothing of their high military character, and were ready to alternate the chances of traffic with those of war and invasion. But even worse than the obstacles which arose from this source, and which were only of a temporary character, were those that accrued from legislative enactments devised with the view of furthering the mercantile interests of the nation. These consisted of such restrictions as, for the price of a present benefit, which after all was more apparent than real, destroyed that reciprocity of one nation with another in buying and selling, which forms the true basis of mercantile confidence and prosperity. A few specimens of these laws will suffice. No merchant was allowed to trade to Iceland and Finland, where the only commodity of traffic was salted fish, without a license both from the King of England and the King of Denmark. No Englishman was to sell goods to any foreign merchant except for ready money, or goods immediately delivered. No foreign merchant was to sell any goods in England to another foreigner without forfeiting the goods thus sold—and why?—that the king should sustain no loss, and the national merchandise no

damage, by under-selling. Another mischief arose from the privileged classes themselves entering into the gainful occupations of traffic, which they were enabled to pursue at greater advantage from their superior power and immunities, than could the commons. Thus, the kings and nobles were traders, so that Edward III. was nicknamed the wool-merchant by the sovereign of France. Even bishops, abbots, and other church dignitaries, were also traders, and fitted out ships under the protection of the church, which exempted the property of ecclesiastics from the usual custom-house duties. In all these obstacles we distinctly perceive that English commerce, like English liberty, had a long period of experiment and trial to undergo before it attained its complete maturity. But in either case, was it not a maturity worth whole centuries of waiting for? In the meantime, notwithstanding these difficulties, the mercantile enterprise of the country was indicating its future grandeur, in the merchant-princes with which the present period of the history of England was adorned. Of these,



WILLIAM CANNYN'S BRAND OR MERCHANT'S MARK.—FROM stained glass in St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol.

a considerable list might be given, but at present we can only allude to the principal names. Among these, the Poles stand conspicuous. The first of the race, William de la Pole, was nothing more than a merchant of Hull in the time of Edward III., who by his success in traffic became the chief moneyed man of the country, and, as such, was made a knight-banneret, and chief baron of the exchequer. His son Michael, who trod in the footsteps of his father, was made Earl of Suffolk; and his descendant, after many family mutations, was Duke of Suffolk in the reign of Henry VI., and first peer of the realm, whose son married the sister of Edward IV., on which account John, the eldest son of this union, was declared by Richard III. his presumptive heir. In this way the descendants of a Hull merchant would have occupied the throne of England, and

perpetuated a royal dynasty, but for the transitions in which the Plantagenets were exchanged for the Tudors, and afterwards for the Stuarts. Another distinguished English merchant, was William Cannyn. He founded St. Mary Church in Bristol, distinguished himself by other public benefactions, and was so eminent as a merchant, that the largest ships of England, and the farthest extent of its commerce, owned him for their enterpriser and master. Another was John Taver-ner of Hull, already mentioned as one of the chief merchant-favourites of Henry IV. But the most renowned, if not the richest, of all, was Sir Richard Whyttington; for what man, woman, or child over England or even Scotland, is ignorant of the his-



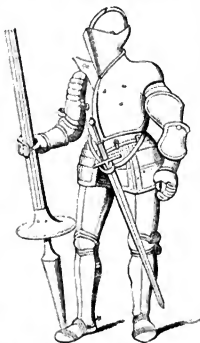
SIR RICHARD WHYTTINGTON.—FROM the portrait engraved by R. Elstrack.

tory of Whyttington and his cat! Independently of the tale of his feline friend, which is a ridiculous blunder founded in after ages upon the figure of a cat, or panther, or tiger, stretched at the feet of his effigy on his tomb, he was famous as thrice lord-mayor of London, as a princely lender to Henry IV. and his son in their pecuniary difficulties, and as a founder of benevolent institutions, in one of which he is characterized as "that worthy and notable merchant, the which while he lived had right liberal and large hands to the poor people." The munificence of these early merchant-princes of England was still more remarkable than the large fortunes that rewarded their labours, and was nobly attested by the colleges, schools, hospitals, and alms-houses which they erected and endowed, not only in London, but throughout the kingdom. In this gene-

rous public-spirited fashion they expended their wealth, and secured for themselves a grateful remembrance, long after the names of their high-born chivalrous contemporaries had utterly passed away.

In turning our attention to the manners and customs that were prevalent during this period in England, we cannot fail to observe that the iron age of chivalry was rapidly passing away, and even its most solemn forms degenerating into idle pageantry.

The first cannon sounded its death-knell. This was the inevitable consequence of the introduction of a new arm of warfare, against which the best tempered mail, as well as the most practised skill of the tourney, were to be equally unavailing. Knights and steel-clad nobles, indeed, were reluctant to doff the rich armour which had given them such superiority both in the display of a pageant and the shock of battle; and therefore they tried to arrest the inevitable departure by more gaudy crests and armorial cognizances — by a more complete as well as more cumbersome panoply — and by extending the code of rules and observances peculiar to combats and tournaments. To this, among other causes, may be attributed the slow progress that was made



ARMOUR FOR THE TOURNAMENT (1463).¹



ARMOUR OF 15TH CENTURY.²

¹ This specimen is from Meyrick. A man in this armour could not raise, lower, or turn his head, nor stir his left shoulder; he had only the movement of his bridle arm from the elbow, to enable him to stop his horse, but the lance arm was quite free, for obvious reasons. — *Meyrick*.

in the use of gunpowder, compared with its destructive powers, and its suitability for every kind of warfare. The hand that had wielded a lance would have made a sorry figure in using a linstock. It was not, therefore, among the aristocracy of Europe that gunnery was first studied as a science; and artillery, which was originally used in the form of cannon, and that, too, of huge calibre and most unwieldy structure, was rather planted in battery against the walls of a town, than wheeled into the field of battle. Therefore it is that in the pictures and descriptions of the sieges of the period, we find such a curious blending of the new with the old mode of warfare — the cannon with the breaching-tower and battering-ram, and troops of long and crossbowmen intermingled with small parties who used hand-guns and arquebuses. But even nobility and royalty itself were at last obliged to acknowledge the superior powers of a cannonade; and Henry V., who took every town to which he laid siege, was perhaps the best artillery officer of his day.

Abandoning, therefore, any further mention of the chivalrous exercises and usages of this period, we pass onward to a consideration of the archery of England, and the arts by which it was improved and perfected. This is the more necessary, as it formed so essential a part in the occupations of the commons, was so distinguished in the military history of the nation, and was so soon to pass away among the things that had been. To its archery, even more than to its gallant knighthood, England was indebted for its most distinguished victories; and the history of the country itself would be imperfect, without a full understanding of the means by which such important advantages were gained.

The history of English archery dates in a great measure from the Norman conquest. Long before this period, the marauding Danes and Saxons were acquainted with the use of the longbow; but after their settlement in England they seem to have laid it aside for weapons adapted to a close standing fight — the sword and spear, but chiefly the heavy two-handed battle-axe which they wielded so gallantly at Hastings. On the other hand, the victory of William was chiefly owing to his archers, and the manner in which he ordered them to discharge their arrows upwards so that they should fall upon the defenceless heads of the English. It has been generally supposed that it was the crossbow which was solely used on this occasion; but that this is a mistake, and that the longbow must also have been employed by the Norman archery, is evident

² This figure represents Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, from his monumental effigy in the Beauchamp Chapel, Warwick.

from the Bayeux Tapestry, where Harold is represented as falling dead with several shafts of the latter weapon sticking in his body, and one in his forehead. The general disarming of the English that followed, and the miseries that drove them into the forests, naturally made them archers. The materials for weapons were at hand; a longbow and sheaf of arrows could be constructed without the aid of the armourer; and with these they could bring down the game that formed their precarious subsistence, or the enemies that were sent to apprehend them. In this way, a stern necessity converted them by thousands into admirable bowmen; and when better days arrived, the instrument that had so befriended them, became their favourite and national weapon. They had thus acquired such means of independence as made them formidable to their Norman rulers; and perhaps it was this circumstance, and the clearance of Sherwood and other such forests of their numerous bands of outlaws, more than military considerations, that induced Richard I. to enact such laws as tended to banish the longbow out of England, and introduce the crossbow, which was of more difficult fabrication, in its stead. But his own death, which occurred at the siege of Chaluz from a crossbow bolt, was regarded as a righteous retribution, and the English soon made his successors aware how necessary their favourite weapon and matchless skill in using it were for the national defence. Hence the high encouragement that was given to the practice of archery, and the prominent figure it assumed among the rural sports and competitions of the yeomanry; and hence also the high wages that were given to the archers of an English army during the period of military service. To the same effect were the numerous laws enacted during different successive reigns, by which good bows and dexterous bowmen were to be abundant over the whole realm. A few specimens of these laws will suffice to show the importance of the subject. By two statutes, Edward III. encouraged and enjoined the use of the longbow among his English subjects. In the reign of Richard II., an act was passed to compel all servants to practise with it on Sundays and holidays. By the 7th of Henry IV., the heads of arrows were to be well boiled or brazed, and hardened at the points with steel, on pain of forfeiture of the arrows, and imprisonment of the maker, whose name was also to be stamped on every arrow head. Henry V. ordered the sheriffs of the several counties to procure feathers from geese to the number of six from each goose, for the purpose of winging the missiles—often poetically called the “gallant gray-goose shaft.” And to close these examples, it was decreed in the reign of Richard III., that

ten bow-staves were to be imported from abroad with every butt of Malmsey or Tyre wine, under a penalty of thirteen shillings and four pence for each butt that was not thus accompanied. This act was framed by parliament in consequence of the rise that had taken place in the price of bow-staves, so that those which had formerly cost only 40s. or 46s. 8d. a hundred at the utmost, had now, as the act declared, risen to the “outrageous price” of £8 the hundred, and all through the “seditious confederacy of the Lombards trading to this country.” During the same reign, it was also enacted in 1482, that “from the feast of Easter next coming, no bowman should take from any of the king’s liege people for a longbow of yew more than 3s. 4d.” The fact that this reduction of the usual price was still equal to that of a good musket in the present day, the different value of money being considered, shows the difficulty that now existed of procuring good wood for the manufacture of a bow, as well as the labour with which it was prepared and fashioned.

This brings us to the consideration of the weapon itself, so terrible in the hands of an English archer, and so available in national conquest and defence. The stave was six feet in length, and of such proportionable strength, weight, and thickness, that only to bend it would have been beyond the archery of any other country. The wood itself was generally yew, as being the strongest and most elastic; but sometimes elm, ash, or Brazil wood was substituted, although not frequently. In selecting the stave, the nicest scrutiny was necessary to see that the wood was free from knot, warp, and every kind of blemish; and on being chosen, the utmost care was used in cutting and smoothing it, so that it should taper by just degrees from its centre to the extremities, and be thus fit to endure every strain that might be laid upon it. Being thus fashioned, the weapon was to be strung, and then came the question of cordage, upon which the efficiency of the bow so much depended. Too soft a cord would snap, and leave the archer defenceless; too hard or too fine a one, however strong, would cut the wood, and soon make the bow useless. The medium adopted was a string of silk, which was twisted with the utmost care, so that it might be sound and equal throughout. To save also both wood and string, and have them always ready for action, the weapon was usually carried in a sheath or case made of woollen or canvas. The importance of this precaution was well shown at Azincourt, where the Genoese archers armed with crossbows were rendered utterly useless by a shower of rain that relaxed their bow-strings, which were composed of gut and unprotected, while the English had only to un-

case their bows that were as efficient as ever. Even when not engaged in active service, the English archer was obliged to tend his weapon with the care of a nurse; too damp or too dry a place was certain to injure it, and from want of rubbing, oiling, and polishing, it would become brittle, or lose its elasticity. Even the place, therefore, in which it was laid up within his cottage, as well as the regularity with which it was tended, were matters of vital consideration.

The manufacture of arrows, which comes next to be considered, was fully as important and difficult as that of bows. So various was the choice of material for this purpose, that Ascham, in his *Toxophilus*, has enumerated fifteen different kinds of wood with which arrows were made; but the asp and the ash were generally preferred, the first for target-shooting and archery competitions, and the second for warfare. On this account, asp-wood was of such importance, as in 1416 to claim the attention of parliament; and a decree was passed by which patten-makers were forbid to use this material for making clogs or pattens, as such wood was necessary for the making of arrows. It was not till nearly fifty years after that the unfortunate patten-makers, in consequence of their remonstrance, obtained permission to use such asp-wood in their craft as was unfitted for the purposes of the archer. In

was made of fine steel, critically edged and pointed; the feather was generally from the goose, and gray in colour, so that its flight might give as little warning as possible, and sometimes from the second feather of the wing, which was esteemed the best by the most skilful connoisseurs in archery. These arrows were of various kinds: thus, we read of forked arrows, where the sharp steel barbs pointed towards the feathers; and broad arrows, of which the barbs pointed forwards; and sometimes, though not so frequently, they had sharp heads not barbed but rounded like a bodkin. Arrows, too, were of different weight and thickness, to suit the distance of the mark and the changes of the wind. Besides these missiles which were fashioned for deadly purposes, whistling arrows were sometimes used in war for giving signals in the night.

It is now full time, however, to see how these weapons were handled; but for this purpose, we would rather repair to the village green than to the field of battle. There, at set times, the whole village and its neighbourhood were assembled, and those who were to compete in archery wore not only the succinct picturesque dress which old tradition has so indelibly associated with the gay greenwood, but also a bracer laced on the left arm, and a shooting glove on the right hand. The bracer was made of hardened leather, and so stiff that the motion of the arm did not wrinkle it, and so smooth that it did not arrest the free motion of the string; while the glove, which protected the fingers from being chafed in drawing the cord, had the leather upon the forefinger thicker than the rest, as it was there that the pull of the string was most felt. The marks to be shot at in such trials were of three kinds—buts, pricks, and rovers. The first was a level mark, and required a strong arrow with a broad feather; the second was a mark of compass, but at a fixed distance, for which a shaft of middling-sized feather was necessary; and the third was a roving or shifting mark, carried to different places of the field, and requiring arrows of various kinds suited to the distances. The general range of distance



ARROW HEADS, one-half the actual size.¹

for marks in the practice of archery was from eleven to twelve score yards; but some of the old English ballads describe tremendous shots, where the distance was 400 yards, and the mark nothing more than a slender white wand, that was to be cleft in two with a broad arrow.

Having now taken his stand and bent his bow, the archer selected from his quiver, or the sheaf in his belt, the arrow best suited for the mark. Having surveyed place and distance, he also calculated the force of whatever current of air might be in motion, and the precise bearing it would have upon his arrow in full flight. All

¹ From specimens in the British Museum, &c.—(1, 2, 3, 4), Found at New Farm, Blenheim Park, Oxon; (5), Found on the field of the battle of Barnet; (6), A quarrel with the shaft attached, found packed with others in a barrel in the arsenal of Mont Ferrand (Clermont-le-Ferrand); (6, 7), Found in Friday Street, London; (8), Cloth-yard arrow head, found near Salisbury.

being in readiness, he took his station fairly and uprightly, his left foot at a convenient distance in advance of his right, holding the bow by the middle, with his left arm stretched out, and with



ARCHER OF 15TH CENTURY.—From Royal MSS. 14. E. IV.

the three first fingers and the thumb of the right hand upon the lower part of the arrow affixed to the bow-string. If the mark was a distant one, the arrow had to be drawn to the head; but the pull required to be steady and uniform, otherwise the string might snap, or the bow itself be broken. The arrow had then to be delivered smartly and at once, as further delay might have disturbed the hand or injured the aim. Thus the archers shot, and thus the mark was hit, while the on-lookers let loose their suspended breath in an applauding huzza. In reading the exploits of English archery, we are not so much struck with its accuracy as its force, for seldom could plate and mail resist the terrible dint of the cloth-yard shaft. But independently of the strength of the bow and the weight of the arrow, the string was pulled not to the breast, as among



ARCHER OF 15TH CENTURY.—From Cotton MSS. Julius E. IV.

other nations, but to the right ear, while the shooter, instead of depending upon mere strength of arm, threw the whole weight of his body forward upon the bow while in the act of drawing the string, so that every muscle was brought into full play. As no other toxophilites had either strength to bend or skill to handle such a weapon, England remained unrivalled in the use of the bow, and hence the anxiety of parliament to enforce the practice and encourage the competitions of archery, as well as the care with which it legislated for the due manufacture of the weapons. But this was not all; for by other enactments, the male children of the yeomanry were to be furnished with bows proportioned to their size, and exercised in shooting until they had reached full-grown manhood. Acts of parliament, however, powerful though they may be in creating festivals, cannot furnish the joviality that is necessary to gladden them; and these oft-repeated laws that commanded people to assemble and be merry, only produced such a deadening effect as at last made the village meetings anything than grateful to the commons of England. This, too, was especially the case, when it was found that hagbut and arquebuse could disable an enemy as effectually as the longbow, without demanding the training of a lifetime to use them. Archery, therefore, declined with chivalry, and from the same cause; so that we hear little of it after the battle of Flodden, where the quiver of England was well nigh expended.

Among the public sports of the English of this period, dramatic representations held a distinguished place. There, which were at first of a religious character, commenced not in England but France, which took the lead of the former country not only in civilization, but in that inventiveness and love of excitement upon which the drama so essentially depends. As they were at first of a religious character, they naturally originated in those who were properly the office-bearers of religion—palmerers and pilgrims to the Holy Land and other consecrated places, who, on their return, recited "harsh-sounding rhymes" and ballads at the corners of streets, about the deeds of Christ, and the miracles of the apostles and saints. The crowds, who perhaps had no other means of acquiring such instruction, flocked as eagerly round these sacred troubadours, as Asiatics round a story-teller; and thus buildings were soon erected for the accommodation of the audience, and stages for the singers. At last, action was added to recitation, and the simple ballad was expanded into the miracle play, by the same natural transition that the cart of Thespis became a theatre. It was not long before the miracle play, which was rude and inartificial in its structure, assumed the more complex

form of the mystery. In this kind of play, the stage, which was now a huge structure, was composed of several scaffolds or stories, the highest of which represented heaven, the second earth, the third Pilate's house or Herod's palace, and the fourth hell, which was upon the forefront of the stage, and exhibited as the gaping mouth of a huge dragon, that opened and shut as the devils made their exits and entrances. From the mixture of so many characters, celestial, terrestrial, and infernal, and from the multitude of events, a single play often required several hundreds of actors; but these could be easily found for audiences that were not disposed to be over-critical.

These religious dramas appear to have been exhibited in London so early as A.D. 1180. This we ascertain from Fitz-Stephen, in his introduction to the life of Becket, where he commends them as a greatly superior kind of plays to those acted in ancient Rome, as they represented the miracles of holy confessors, or the sufferings in which the martyrs had displayed their constancy. Even playhouses also appear to have existed at this time in London; but in the want of such accommodation, the miracles and mysteries were often performed in churches. When they were exhibited in the open air, temporary scaffolds or stages were erected for the purpose, that sometimes moved upon wheels, so that each part of the town, in turn, might enjoy the benefit of the representation. These plays appear to have had neither regular dialogue nor plot, but were generally a collection of episodes, which were sometimes so numerous, that a single piece occupied several days in the performance. Thus, one acted in 1391 by the parish clerks, at the Skinner's Well, beside Smithfield, at which the king, queen, and nobility were present, lasted three days; while another in 1409, which commenced with the creation of the world and went onward through the whole gospel history, lasted eight days. In England, as in France, the actors were not far to seek; and sometimes they were the scholars of a particular school, at other times the craftsmen of a guild, who provided the play at their own proper expense. Even the clergy also, who soon esteemed these plays as cheap and popular gospels by which the people might be enlightened, and the cause of religion advanced, became not only the composers of miracles and mysteries, but also actors in their representation, while the sacred vestments and ornaments of their churches were freely lent to further the exhibition. It is not strange, however, that these dramas, in course of time, degenerated from the sacred character in which they had commenced, and that the full scope which they allowed to the fancy descended into buffoonery and profanity. Thus,

in St. Paul's Church, where mysteries were frequently exhibited, the third Person of the Trinity was represented by a white pigeon let down through a hole in the roof, succeeded by a censor smoking with perfume. In the exhibitions of hell, also, in the lowest compartment of the stage, instead of the tragic warnings which the mouth of the dragon should have breathed forth, all was farce and merriment; and the harlequin devils who issued from it, kept the audience in a roar of laughter by their coarse jokes, and the ludicrous punishments which they inflicted upon condemned sinners. The earliest miracle play that exists in English, was written in the time of Edward III., and is to be found in the Harleian MSS.; and the subject is the descent of Christ into hell for the liberation of Adam and Eve, the prophets, and John the Baptist.

As these plays were little better than gaudy pageantries and a mere bustle of action, a more simple species of the drama succeeded in the form of morality plays, by which the miracle and mystery were superseded. By this plan, the unwieldy tiers of scaffolding were reduced to a single stage, that could not only be set up at the corners of streets, but moved into court-yards and halls; while the subject of the play was simplified, and the number of the actors diminished. The personages were now the representatives of good and evil qualities, while the moral consisted in the triumph of the former, and the discomfiture and punishment of the latter. It was not long, however, that this poetical, even-handed justice was strictly adhered to, or even thought of; and the taste of the many, as in every such attempt, at last predominated over that of the judicious few. The chief characters in the morality were the Devil and the Vice. The first of these was generally a hideous monster, invested with all the popular attributes of horns, hoofs, tail, and shaggy hide, and who usually made his entrance upon the scene with the startling cry of "Ho! ho! ho!" Sometimes, however, when he had a more seductive part to perform, his costume was that of a trim gallant according to the court fashion of the day, as the following inventory of a dress for Satan in one of the Coventry Plays will fully attest:—

"Of fine cordevan, a goodly pair of peaked shoon. Hosen enclosed of the most costous (costly) cloth of crimson, . . . with two dozen points of cheverolle, the aglets of silver fine.

A shirt of fine Holland.

A stomacher of clear Keynes, the best that may be bought. Cadice wool or flock, to stuff withal the doublet.

A gown of three yards.

A dagger for devotion

With side-locks to the collar hanging down.

A high small bonnet."

As for the Vice of the play, he was a merry but most iniquitous buffoon, similar to the harle-

quin of a modern pantomime, who encountered Satan with a sword or dagger of lath, and usually had the best of it through the performance, until the close, when he was worsted, and carried off to hell on the devil's back. We have already adverted to the deterioration of these moralities, which at length became anything but moral; while the religion they inculcated was often in full keeping with their practice. Sometimes this had to be apologized for; and in the Chester Plays, a proclamation was usually made, that though some things therein were introduced "not warranted by any writ," they were brought in "to make sport," and "to glad the hearers." Of those productions in writing that gradually were matured into the English drama, we have, 1st, the Townley Collection, supposed to have been written about the time of Henry VI.; 2d, the Coventry Plays, which are as old as the reign of Henry VII.; and 3d, the Chester Plays, that were the immediate precursors of Shakspeare and the Elizabethan period. The usual seasons for acting them were Christmas and the Whitsun holidays. As from the extensive properties, and great number of actors which they required, they could only be exhibited in London and the largest cities, the smaller towns and villages were contented with occasional bands of strolling players, who already were reckoned vile in the eye of the law, and whose migrations were, like those of gipsies or outlaws, closely watched by the country justices. What might be called puppet plays were also exhibited, in which the most sacred events in the history of our Saviour and his apostles were acted by little wooden puppets.

It was not, however, within these limits that the struggling spirit of the English drama could now be confined; and private theatricals were in abundance at the festivals of the wealthy, usually in that allegorical form which so much pervaded the public theatrical representations. Besides these, there were mummings performed

several fancies. It was through a fearful court mumming of this kind that Charles VI. of France lost his reason, by which such miseries were entailed upon his kingdom. Of a higher description still were those national pageants by which a public event was commemorated, and in which all the powers of the miracle, mystery, and morality plays were exhausted to the uttermost, as well as commingled in most admired disorder. Such was that with which Henry V. was welcomed on his arrival in London, after the victory of Azincourt, that had made the whole nation wild with triumph. On reaching Eltham, he was met by the mayor and aldermen of London dressed all in red, with white hoods; and on passing forward to Blackheath, he was received by 20,000 citizens who rode out to welcome him. On crossing London bridge at the head of this mighty cavalcade, he found at the drawbridge two temporary pageant turrets that had been set up for the occasion, and in front of them a large giant, who hailed him in well-conned verse. On the top of one turret was a lion and an antelope, and on the other, a host of angels, that saluted him with the anthem, "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord." He rode through the city, the streets in his route being canopied with rich cloths, and the windows hung with pieces of tapestry and silk; and at Cornhill there was a tower occupied by the patriarchs, who broke forth at his coming with, "Sing unto the Lord a new song; praise his name in the holy church;" and having ended, they let loose a shower of live birds that flew and fluttered round his victorious head. On reaching Cheapside, where the conduits ran wine, the chief conduit was surmounted by the twelve apostles, and their song was, "Have mercy on my soul, O Lord;" and when they finished it, twelve kings who accompanied them knelt and presented offerings to the victor of France, and welcomed his return. This part of the pageant was also rivalled by another that was near it; this was the cross of Cheapside, which was now turreted

and bannered, and a host of angels upon it singing, "Nobel, nobel," and presenting basons, no doubt filled with costly offerings, to the hero. All this mummary, as modern taste would account it, but which is described both in poetry and prose with enthusiastic uncton by Lydgate, Fabyan, and the old historians, was closed at St. Paul's Church, where Henry was received by fourteen bishops, richly attired and mitred, and with censers in their hands, who performed a triumphant *Te Deum*;

after which he retired, no doubt right weary, to his palace at Westminster. How strangely do our thoughts pass from the hero of such a pageant, to the same hero impersonated by the glu-



A MUMMING.—Strutt's Sports and Pastimes.

at court, and by persons of the highest rank, at Christmas, wherein the performers dressed and masked themselves to represent birds, beasts, mythic personages, and angels, according to their

rious genius of Shakspeare! What was all this compared with a single scene in the Boar tavern at Eastcheap?

In turning to the more common sports and amusements of this period, we begin, as we have done hitherto, with the aristocracy. In addition to the rough exercises and training of chivalry, now become more laborious than ever from the greater weight of armour which the changes of warfare had made necessary, they still continued the sports of hawking and hunting. In the latter, however, an innovation was introduced by inclosures being paled, into which the beasts of game were driven, while from sheds and sylvan booths erected at the entrance of these inclosures, the hunters coolly selected the animals, and brought them down with their arrows. In this way, kings, lords, and reverend bishops and abbots endeavoured to enjoy the sport of hunting, without the toil and risk that usually attended it. Was this significant of the fact that the commons were better protected in their property, and their grounds better cultivated than hitherto? A growing disinclination to rough exercises may also have had its weight in promoting this inclosure hunting, as the sports of running, wrestling, pitching the bar, and spear-throwing were going out of fashion among the higher classes, and descending to the lower. The game of tennis, afterwards so fashionable, appears by this time to have been introduced into England, as we may judge from the insolent message of the French dauphin to Henry V., who, according to our early historians, sent the English king by way of present a set of tennis balls. The game at first was played in the open air; but when it grew into favour, tennis-courts were erected in great inns and the mansions of the chief nobility. In sedentary games dicing still kept its place; but already a game had been introduced into England before whose seductions all the others were to yield. This was card-

playing, which, as is well-known, was invented to amuse the melancholy hours of the insane Charles VI. From France the amusement quickly extended not only to Italy, Spain, and Germany, but also to England, where it became so prevalent, that in the reign of Edward IV. a law was passed in favour of the English card-makers, prohibiting the importation of cards from abroad. At first, the cards were rich paintings executed with artistic skill, in the highest departments of colouring and gilding, so that a single pack was a very costly purchase; but when the passion for this

amusement increased, the wits of men were set to work in inventing cards of inferior price, and better fitted for daily handling. The result was, the application of the newly-invented art of printing; and accordingly cards were made in the first instance by stamping them with wooden blocks, and afterwards filling the outline with colouring, which was done by hand. In this way card-making soon became a regular craft. The games first used were Trump and Primero, but soon others of a more complex character were invented, by which money was more cleverly lost and won than ever it had been by dice, chess, and tables. The history of card-playing in England after this date is too well known to require further comment.

The fashionable costume of this period underwent few alterations; it had attained its climax of foppery during the reign of Richard II., and there it was suffered to remain. Accordingly, in the dresses of gentlemen during the reigns of Henry IV. and his son, as they are delineated in the illuminated MSS. of the period, we have the same flowing attire as formerly, and the same preposterous wideness and length of sleeves, that must have cost the wearer no little trouble to keep from trailing on the ground as he walked along. Happily, however, we miss the high muff-like bonnet which makes such a grotesque figure in the illuminations of the period of Richard II.; but instead of this, we have hats of every shape, and hoods twisted into every variety. Of course, we find in these every change from the graceful to the



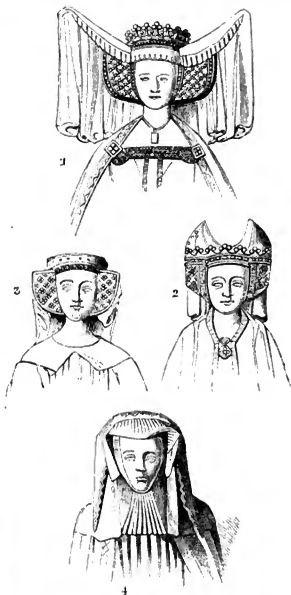
MEN'S HEAD-DRESSES OF FIFTEENTH CENTURY.—Fig. 1, 2, 4, Royal MSS. 15. D. III.; Fig. 3, Cotton MSS. 20. C. VII.

ridiculous—from the elegant and regal-looking turban of the East, to the wide-brimmed uncouth hat of the modern dustman or coal-heaver. But the most becoming of these, as well as the best known of them all, from being the head-dress with which the pictures of Henry IV. are usually adorned, was the roundlet, a light turban surrounding a skull-cap, from which a graceful drapery descended on either side. From the same pictures we find the hair closely cropped and the faces shaven, with the exception of old men and grave government functionaries, who appear to have

worn their beards either peaked or forked; and martialists, who retained their mustachios. During the earlier part of this period, the long pike disappeared from the shoe, but in the later part it returned in greater longitude than ever. So highly valued indeed was this singular piece of extravagance, and in consequence, even already "the toe of the peasant came so near the heel of the courtier," that by a sumptuary statute of 1463, none but lords were allowed to wear shoes or boots having pikes more than two inches long. Toward the close of the reign of Edward IV. the love of rich clothing had become so great, and the distinctions of rank so confounded, in consequence of inferiors vieing in dress and ornament with those above them; that parliament again interfered; and in 1482 the following restrictions were enacted, from which the spirit of the age, as manifested in its costume, will be best understood. None were to use cloth of gold and silk of purple, except the king and the royal family. No one under the rank of a duke was to wear cloth of gold of tissue. No one under the rank of lord was to wear plain cloth of gold. No one under the rank of knight might presume to wear any velvet in his doublet or gown, or any damask or satin in his gown; and no one under the rank of esquire or gentleman might have a doublet of damask or satin, or a gown of chamlet. No one, also, who was not of noble rank was to wear either foreign woollen or fur of sables; and (strangest of all!) no one was to wear garments which were characterized as being of indecent brevity, unless he had the high privilege of belonging to the peerage.

With regard to female costume, the greatest variations which it underwent were chiefly in regard to head attire. These variations, too, were by no means for the better; so that instead of the gold net-work, or flower-chaplets with which they had been so gracefully adorned, the heads of ladies were now attired in a fashion of which even the paintings of the day have failed to give a sufficiently intelligible idea. In the reign of Henry V. these head-dresses were forked or horned in such a preposterous fashion, and rose to such a height, as to outdo all former extravagances, and as such were vehemently denounced by the preachers, and ridiculed by the poets of the day. But besides these, there were the reticulated and the heart-shaped head-dresses, as they have been termed by modern antiquaries; and steeple head-dresses, similar in form to those still worn by the female peasantry in Normandy. But over all these the horned fashion bore the pre-eminence, and in some of the pictures of the Cotton and Harleian MSS. they appear with such an enormous altitude, as makes us wonder how female taste could at any period have

become so depraved. At last, towards the close of the reign of Edward IV., these absurdities disappeared, and were succeeded by a more ra-



LADIES' HEAD-DRESSES.¹—From Monuments.

tional adornment. This was a velvet cap or cowl turned back upon the brow, and hanging down to the shoulders behind in plaits; but such a simple fashion was not enough without wings made of some light gossamer stuff, and standing out, as if the wearer was prepared for instant flight. In other respects, the female costume consisted of the long gown, or the *cote hardie* of the period of Richard II., remarkable chiefly for the long trailing sleeves, and upon which all that superfluity of cloth was wasted that was soon

¹ (1), Beatrice, Countess of Arundel, died 1432; from her monument in the church at Arundel. (2), Joan, wife of William Philip, Lord Bardolph; from her effigy in Hoveringham Church, Notts; died early in fifteenth century. (3), Catherine, Countess of Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk; from their monument in Wingfield Church, Suffolk. (The earl died at the siege of Hexham, A.D. 1432). (4), Philippa, Duchess of York, died 1433; from the monumental effigy in the chapel of St. Nicholas, Westminster Abbey.

after transferred to the sweeping train. This last change occurred in the reign of Henry VI., when, in addition to the contraction of sleeves, the waist of the gown was reduced to extreme

were not so much the defences as the ornaments of the building, while what might be called the home part of it, instead of being a *keep* in the centre, extended over nearly the whole range; the moat, too, was either contracted or dispensed with, while the windows were greatly enlarged and multiplied. Like the state of the age itself, they were transitions from the feudal to the civilized life—the combination of castle and manor, in which the latter characteristic was fast predominating. While such were the homes of the nobility, those of the gentry of England were still more modernized and peaceful in their character, having now an amount of gracefulness, ornament, and comfort that were the best indications of peaceful security and advancing civilization.



COSTUMES OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.—Royal MSS. 15. D. III.

brevity, the gown seeming to consist of nothing but shoulders and train, with a high-girdled zone to mark their respective limits. Such is the general outline of the females as they are robed in the illuminated MSS. of this era; but the filling up of the picture we cannot otherwise describe, than that it presents the usual amount of fur, embroidery, and jewellery.

In proceeding to the domestic life and habits of the nobility and gentry of England, our first business is to inquire into the state of the dwellings which they now inhabited. And here we

find. As yet, however, the walls of the apartments, whether of castle or manor, had frequently neither wainscoting on the walls, nor plaster on the ceiling; and this cold, discomfort, and nakedness were but clumsily concealed by the dust-laden and time-soiled arras and tapestry that still kept their wonted places. The great hall, too, was still the principal apartment in the building, and to its amplitude every other room in the mansion, whether for domestic privacy or comfort, was more or less obliged to give way.¹ This, however, mattered little with a people

whose lives as yet were chiefly spent in the open air, and who required the shelter of a roof for little else than eating and sleeping. A hundred guests, and as many attendants, could find accommodation, and comfort to boot, within a compass in which a tithe of that number would in modern times be scarcely able to enjoy a sufficiently ample lodgment.

As this hall was so important a place, comprising, as it did, the chief amount of domestic life among the aristocracy of England, we shall do well to pause for a few minutes on its threshold, and mark the doings of its inmates. At the lower end of it was a passage concealed by a screen, which led



HADDON HALL, a Castellated Mansion of Fifteenth Century.—From Lysons' Derbyshire.

find that the strong, tyrannous-looking castle with which the noble had overawed his own district, was already becoming a mere relic of departed feudalism, and giving place to mansions of a less warlike, but more comfortable character. The towers and turrets of the new habitations

were not so much the defences as the ornaments of the building, while what might be called the home part of it, instead of being a *keep* in the centre, extended over nearly the whole range; the moat, too, was either contracted or dispensed with, while the windows were greatly enlarged and multiplied. Like the state of the age itself, they were transitions from the feudal to the civilized life—the combination of castle and manor, in which the latter characteristic was fast predominating. While such were the homes of the nobility, those of the gentry of England were still more modernized and peaceful in their character, having now an amount of gracefulness, ornament, and comfort that were the best indications of peaceful security and advancing civilization.

¹ The hall of Crosby Place, London, is a good example of a hall of this period. See cut, vol. i. p. 642.

into the kitchen; and by this vital communication, the smoking dishes were conveniently transferred from broach and caldron in hasty or in solemn procession, as its nature might require. At the upper part of the hall, which was lighted by a large bay window, was the raised place called the *dais*, on which stood a huge table, and near it an open cup-board, that gave to full view the grandeur and glitter of the family plate. This place, however, was only for the privileged; and below the *dais*, a still larger table stood, extending nearly the length of the hall, for the crowds of humbler guests and retainers who also had a full share in the hospitality of their noble landlord. The dinner hour was ten o'clock; and the noble, if he was one of the highest rank, appeared in his place like a king, with his splendid retinue of secretary, privy councillors, marshal, stewards, and master of the horse—his chaplain and choristers who officiated in cathedral state in the chapel of the

steward knocking loudly on the huge oaken board, the blessing was said or sung, and the guests seated themselves upon or beneath the *dais* according to their rank and holding, while even at the lower table, the upper and lower classes were distinguished by a ponderous silver salt-cellar, above which no one beneath a certain rank might presume to take his seat. In this way, though all were assembled at one entertainment, and in the same apartment, lines of demarcation were drawn, and three grades distinctly specified. And now came the feast itself, borne in by trains of servants, and, for the most part, presenting courses distinguished more by their bulk and substantiality than by their elegance; for they consisted of platters of beef and mutton salted and fresh, of mountains of fowl and fish, of pasties and loaves of wastel and simnel bread, of dishes into which every variety of animal and vegetable food was curiously disguised, and compounded according to the freaks of a most artificial style of cookery. The dessert we shall not pretend to describe, as its strange names and stranger compounds are utterly beyond a modern understanding. As for the liquors, which consisted of wine, ale, beer, and hippocras, they circulated in plentiful abundance, being handed in silver cups to the higher guests by troops of ser-



ANCIENT SALT-CELLAR AT NEW COLLEGE, OXFORD.

castle, and chanted grace at the table—his constables, heralds, guards, pursuivants, pages, and trumpeters—and though last, not least, his jester. At the signal, which was given by the master-

¹ This salt-cellar was presented, in 1493, by Walter Hill, warden of the college. It is of silver gilt, exquisitely chased, and ornamented on the cover with blue enamel.



A JESTER, 15TH CENTURY.—Harleian MSS. 2897.

vants, and at the lower table in flagons of pewter, horn, and wood. But still, discomfort and grossness continue to look forth amidst all this plenty, and the dishes of the entertainment are in contrast to the splendid retinue of the entertainer: even when we look curiously into the bill of fare, we find that salt junk forms the chief

part of it. And yet, such was the appetite, and more especially the thirst of the guests, that the dinner generally occupied three hours. The era of conversation, indeed, had not yet commenced, either to enliven the circulation or fill up the pauses of a feast; but this important office was supplied by the jester of the household, who, pranked in his cap, bells, and motley, and brandishing his bauble garnished with a pair of asses' ears, exercised his unlimited privilege by cracking jokes on all and sundry, and keeping the whole hall in a roar of merriment. There were also never-failing bands of minstrels, tumblers, jug-



A TUMBLER, FIFTEENTH CENTURY.—Strutt's Sports and Pastimes.

glers, and buffoons, whom the savour of a flesh-feast was certain to allure, and who were ready to appear and exercise their office at a moment's warning. In this way, the banquet-hall was graced with harping, juggling, rope-dancing, posturing, and harlequinading, and the feasters had both conversation and merriment brought to their hand without the trouble of creating it.

Such was the usual routine of a dinner in the princely halls of the nobility of England during the present period; and it will be seen from these statements, gathered as they have been from various accredited sources, that notwithstanding the pompous ceremonial with which it was invested, and the abundance of which it consisted, the most important part of the concern—the art of cooking and preparing it aright—was still very defective. Show, indeed, was not neglected,

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and many dishes upon the table glittered with gold leaf, as well as every variety of colouring, by which the eye might be feasted to the full; but still, that delicacy, neatness, artistic skill, and substantial comfort were wanting, with which modern cookery can invest the poor man's banquet, and give it a relish unknown in the feasts of the Plantagenets. No man in the present day, except under the urgency of a wager, would venture, for instance, upon fried porpoise or stewed seal; but these sometimes figure as choice dishes at the stately banquets of this period—showing what iron stomachs and matchless digestion our ancestors must have possessed. One really elegant preparation, however, which generally figured in the regal banquets of the day, must not be omitted. This was called a *sotteltie* (subtlety), and was generally served up at the end of each course, when it was brought in with solemn procession and amidst the blare of trumpets. This *sotteltie* appears to have been composed in a great measure of jellies, preserved fruits, and confectionaries, moulded into the figures of men, animals, buildings, and rural scenery, which were so grouped, as to embody some allegory, or represent an historical event. In this way, it was often a pleasing riddle, calculated to exercise the curiosity as well as regale the palates of the guests; and while it thus comprised the resources of the painter and statuary in its formation, poetry expended upon its moral her choicest verses, which were attached to it in a beautifully written and illuminated scroll. On the return of Henry V. from France, these dishes formed the most important part of the banquets with which he was welcomed, and as such, are commemorated at great length in the chronicles of the period. We have only room, however, to allude briefly to three subtleties served up at a banquet given by the hero of Azincourt to the Emperor of Germany on his visit to London. The first was "Our Lady arming St. George, and an angel doing on his spurs;" the second *sotteltie*, was St. George riding in full career against the dragon with his lance couched; and the third, was a castle, into the gates of which the victorious saint was entering, accompanied by the king's daughter leading her snow-white lamb.

The other details of noble domestic life in England at this period may be briefly summed up. The two original Norman meals were now increased to four. Of these, the first was breakfast, which was taken at the hour of seven in the morning; but as four o'clock was the usual hour of rising, and as morning exercise generally consisted of hunting, hawking, and other such active sports, the appetites of the family were well prepared for a substantial meal, which, for the most part, consisted of bread, boiled chine of

beef and mutton, and a large allowance of wine and beer. Then followed dinner, which, as we have already mentioned, was usually at ten o'clock. The third meal was supper, which was taken at four o'clock in the afternoon, and was similar to the breakfast. The fourth, called *liveries*, was taken between eight and nine in the evening, and in bed; but instead of being a light refectory and preparative for sleep, according to the most approved modern rule, it was a substantial night-mare feast, as appears by the *Northumberland Family Book*, where we find Earl Percy and his countess having for their livery two manchets (or loaves of the finest flour, each weighing six ounces), a loaf of household bread, a gallon of beer, and a quart of warmed and spiced wine. The retinues with which the mansions and castles of the chief nobility were filled, must have crowded every nook and corner of the building however large, and impeded rather than furthered every kind of work, if we may estimate them by the large trains with which the "brave peers of England" were accompanied upon important public occasions. Thus, when the chief nobility were called up to London in 1458, just previous to the outbreak of the wars of the Roses, the Earl of Salisbury came with 500 attendants on horseback, Richard, Duke of York, with 400, the Dukes of Exeter and Somerset with 800, and the Earl of Northumberland, Lord Egremont, and Lord Clifford with 1500. Pre-eminent among these, too, was Richard Nevil, Earl of Warwick, soon to become the "king-maker," who had for his retinue 600 riders, all clad in red jackets, embroidered before and behind with the cognizance of his family—the ragged staff. In those days, each nobleman, when he repaired to the metropolis, took up his temporary abode in an inn, which thus served him for a town-house, and was frequently called by his name.¹ This was sufficient for one whose usual residence all the year round was in the country, where he could enjoy an undivided pre-eminence among his thousands of tenants and retainers.

Of the in-door life of the common people we still know comparatively little. As we have seen, however, their condition was so materially improved, that the means of comfortable living were more completely within their reach than at any former period; and we may suppose, they were not slow in using the opportunity. The style of cookery probably continued the same as it had been in the days of Chaucer, with plenty of materials on which to exercise it; and

the eminent lawyer Fortescue informs us, that while the commons of England in his day fared abundantly, they seldom drank water except for penance. It was no wonder, therefore, that in such a state of things, "glutton masses" were so easily established among them, and observed with such riotous devotion. These were the inventions of the clergy, who, to the full, were as inordinate lovers of good cheer as the laity, and who resolved to turn the well-filled larders of the people to their own account. It was easy, therefore, to persuade the parishioners to repair at set times to the village church laden with provisions, and there hold a feast in honour of the Virgin, preceded and consecrated by a mass. Tremendous gluttony and intemperance were the consequences of these meetings, where every excess was converted into a religious merit, and each village contended with its neighbour in the costliness and amount of eating and swilling in honour of the "Queen of Heaven." Five times a-year these glutton masses were usually held, during which the parish churches were converted into the most uproarious of taverns. But, as a contrast to this, we must take into account certain places in England where no such abundance prevailed. Such was the case of Northumberland, which Æneas Sylvius, afterwards Pope Pius II., visited in 1437, where at a populous village he astonished the natives with his wheaten bread and wine, of which they had never seen the like before. This was probably upon that part of the Border most exposed to the visits of the Scottish moss-troopers. But a similar destitution was too often general throughout the kingdom under those famine-visits, against which, as yet, the improvident habits of the people had not learned to make due provision. One of these many visitations occurred in 1438, and is thus described in the *Chronicle of London from 1089 to 1483*:—"Also this year was so great dearth of corn, that men were fain to eat rye bread and barley, the which never ate none before; and rather than fail, bread made of beans, pease, and vetches, and well were him that might have enough thereof; for a bushel of wheat was worth 3s. at London, and in some counties dearer; and that made bakers lords; but I pray God never let us see that day no more if his will be." In such famines, however, as may easily be imagined, there were many who could not procure even the beans, pease, and vetches, so that they were obliged to burrow for roots, and convert them into the likeness of bread, while many died of utter destitution.

In coming to the active sports in usual practice among the commons of England at this period, the first place is due to the truly national game of quarter-staff. This weapon was a strong heavy

¹ One of the finest existing examples of an inn of this period is the George, at Glastonbury, still used for the same purpose. It is of stone, and its details are remarkably good. The Blue Boar inn, at Leicester, was of timber and plaster, but it is now entirely destroyed. See *ent*, vol. i. p. 650.

staff or pole about five or six feet in length, which was held firmly in the centre with one hand, while the other shifted its place from one side to the other, according to the necessity either for striking or guarding. In this way, the weapon was made to clear a wide circle round him who knew how to wield it, while either end could deal a stroke that was both heavy and unexpected. It was thus both sword and shield, and that, too, in such perfection, that a dexterous quarter-staff player could guard himself against very trying odds. Of this, a curious proof is given in a pamphlet written in the seventeenth century, under the title of *Three to One*, by a gentleman who records his exploit of having defeated three Spaniards armed with rapier and poniard, while his own weapon was nothing but a quarter-staff. Next to this was the game of wrestling, in which the people in general, but especially the Cornish and Devonshire peasantry, were distinguished for their strength and skill. Competitions in this athletic sport were frequent, in which not only a champion would challenge his own village, but one village defy another; and at these Olympic trials on a small scale, where the victor was rewarded with a ram or a cock, the greatest glory was for a man to hold possession of the public wrestling ring for years, against every competitor. In this manner, the practice itself, like fencing, was raised into a science, demanding the utmost skill as well as mere rude strength; and among the many dexterous sleights that were practised, by which the heels of Hercules himself might have been tripped up, what was called the "Cornish hug," was a favourite one that continued in use for centuries. Broken ribs and dislocated joints were of course not unusual in such trials, but they kindled less personal animosity, and do not seem to have produced the same brutality, which boxing matches afterwards occasioned, when wrestling was superseded by the more artistic science of bruising. Besides these competitions of a warlike and chivalrous character, bull-baiting and cock-fighting often drew the whole inhabitants of a village into the public green. A more gentle amusement, and one peculiar to England, was bowling, which seems to have been in use from a very early date. The game, however, as performed during this period, was with one ball for each player, instead of three, which are used in modern bowling. So high in favour did this sport become, not only among the commons but the upper classes, that bowling greens, fairly laid out, and sheltered from the weather, were attached to noblemen's houses and the principal inns of the metropolis. Ingenuity was also set to work to devise various modifications of bowling; and of these, clog was one, which was nothing more

than our modern skittles, where pins are thrown down by a wooden ball: another was the game of half-bowl, where, as the name intimates, a wooden hemisphere was used, requiring more dexterity in its handling than a completely rounded ball.

From bowls, the transition is easy to the various games that were played at ball both with hand and foot. Of the former kind, the chief was the balloon-ball, a large leather skin inflated with air, and struck with all the strength of the arm, which was braced and bandaged to give vigour to the blow. Another game, called club-ball, consisted in striking a similar ball not with the hand, but a large club, which was wielded, it is probable, with both hands, and required the utmost both of dexterity and strength. These were games for men, and were pursued with such zeal, that towns and villages often turned out to practise them by mutual challenge, while the aristocracy of the district attended as spectators and judges. Other games, which were more appropriate for children, were trap-ball, where the trap itself, unlike the modern one, was nearly half the height of the striker; and shuttlecock, which was played in the same manner as it is at present. Another active sport, that could only be practised by children, was for two boys to hold up a hoop, and a third to pass through it with a flying leap, where he alighted upon his cloak that was spread out to receive him. A game frequently mentioned at this period under the names of bays, base, bars, and prisoner's bars, consisted, like many similar games, in a person overtaking and capturing as many of the players as he could, and who, unless he was swift of foot and strong of gripe, could be kept at arm's-length through a whole hour of fruitless exertion. Among these sports, too, that of hoodman-blind must not be omitted. This was nothing else than our modern game of blindman's buff, which was played by old and young, as appears from a picture in the Bodleian MSS., where, as in Wilkie's picture on the same subject, men, women, and children are mixed together. In playing this game, the person who was hood-winked, was done so literally, as he had his hood reversed and drawn down over his eyes, while those whom he was vainly endeavouring to catch thumped him well with their own hoods, which they pulled off for the occasion. Besides these games, there were several peculiar to London, the chief of which was boating, that at this period acquired additional *edut* from the lord-mayor's annual water procession, which was first commenced in 1453. Another amusement was skating on the Thames, where the sheep-shanks formerly used for the purpose had now given place to regular skates.

As the English have ever been jealous of their

liberty, it was with no little suspicion as well as resentment, that they viewed the interference of government with those games which they most especially cherished. But the country needed good archers, which could not be obtained as long as the village archery trials were abandoned for more alluring amusements; and therefore, in the reign of Edward III., the games of quoits, hand-ball, foot-ball, stick-ball, canibuea, and cock-fighting were prohibited by name to the people on holidays, while they were commanded instead to repair to the archery ground, and practise with the longbow. The same prohibition was repeated in the reign of Edward IV., where, besides the games above-mentioned, kayles, clog, half-bowl, hand-in and hand-out were also specified, and magistrates were commissioned to seize and destroy whatever tennis-balls, clothes, tables, dice, cards, and bowls might fall in their way. This was hard measure—so hard, indeed, that it defeated its own purpose; and the prohibited games were practised with greater zest, and the archery trials more completely neglected than ever.

London being a city of such world-wide celebrity, and so influential upon the character and fortunes of the people at large, a few notices of its condition during the present period will assist us more fully in understanding the manners and customs by which the age was distinguished. In this, we are much aided by the short, humorous, sketchy poem called the *London Lyckpeny*, by John Lydgate, in which the poet, under the character of an unlucky visitor from the wolds of Kent, describes the streets of the principal districts of the metropolis, and the crowds that filled them. He has come to London in the prosecution of a law-suit, but having neglected "to put money in his purse," his applications at the Inns of Court and Westminster Hall, to which he repaired in the first instance, were useless, and nothing is left for him but a short trip of sight-seeing before he returns to the country. Even within the sacred court of Westminster, he found that there were thieves, as well as sordid lawyers and bribe-loving justices, for his hood was stolen in the crowd. He hurries to the door—

"Where Flemyngs began on me for to cry,
"Master, what will you open or hy,
Fyne felt hatts, or spectacles to reede?
Lay down your sylver, and here you may spede."

He has no money, however, and leaving the Flemish pedlar-merchants and their commodities of hats, spectacles, and other wares, he proceeds to Westminster gate, at mid-day, the hour of dinner among the commons of London; but there, still more tempting materials solicited his notice: these were cooks' shops, or perhaps stalls, where

tables spread with a fair cloth were covered with ribs of beef "both fat and full fine," and abundance of bread, wine, and ale. We can easily imagine how the approaches to the courts of justice were favourable to such a traffic, and what crowds of hungry litigants must have repaired to such places of refreshment during the intervals of a long-protracted law-suit. Clearing Westminster, which was still a town by itself, the interval between it and London being ornamented by rural villas, the Lyckpeny enters the capital, where every street was alive and swarming with traffickers, each endeavouring to out-bawl his neighbour, by proclaiming his article of sale and recommending its excellence, while spice, cherries, strawberries, and hot pease-cods made a Babel that must have been stunning to the unsophisticated ears of every newly-arrived visitor from the country. He proceeds to "the Chepe," and here the Lyckpeny finds that he has only entered into a new element of traffic, where shops have taken the place of wandering huxtery, and costly articles of dress that of perishable fruits and vegetables. There, each dealer, standing at his own door, proclaims with untiring voice what articles he has within for sale—velvets, silks, lawns, fine Paris threads—and even takes the stranger by the hand, that he may tempt him to inspect the wares, and become a purchaser. But still, our poor friend of Kent is moneyless; and rebuffing these invitations as well as he can, he presses right onward, and enters Canwyke Street, afterwards called Candlewick, and sometimes Candlewright Street, in consequence of the number of wax and tallow chandlers who followed their craft in that quarter. Now, however, it was a street of miscellaneous commodities, where shops of cheap cloth and second-hand clothing were alternated with those that dealt in mackerel, hot sheep's feet, and green rushes for the fresh carpeting of rooms. As this street was crossed on the west by Eastcheap, here our pilgrim soon found himself, he, or rather the poet whom he impersonates, little guessing with what an imperishable name this locality would afterwards be invested. But even already, Eastcheap was a place of merriment and good cheer; for savoury pies and ribs of beef were lustily shouted by their venders, mixed with the clattering of pewter pots, the twanging of harps and pipes, the old songs of "Julian and Jenkin"—"at that time the favourite ditties of street minstrelsy, and oaths of street controversy and contention. Here, indeed, the spirit of good eating seemed to have taken up its permanent abode; for Stow, in his *Survey of London*, written in 1598, thus speaks of it:—"This Eastcheap is now a flesh-market of butchers, there dwelling on both sides of the street; it had sometime also cooks mixed amongst

the butchers, and such other as sold victuals ready dressed of all sorts. For of old time, when friends did meet, and were disposed to be merry, they went not to dine and sup in taverns, but to the cooks, where they called for meat, what they liked, which they always found ready dressed at a reasonable rate, as I have before showed." Eustheap was also famed in ancient times for a riot, the chief actors in which were very near relations of "mad Hal" himself, and had probably used the Boar tavern as their favourite resort. It is thus related by Stow:—"In the year 1410, the 11th of Henry IV., upon the even of St. John Baptist, the king's sons, Thomas and John, being in Eastcheap at supper (or rather at breakfast, for it was after the watch was broken up, betwixt two and three of the clock after midnight), a great debate happened between their men and other of the court, which lasted one hour, till the mayor and sheriffs, with other citizens, appeased the same; for the which afterwards the said mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs were called to answer before the king, his sons and divers lords being highly moved against the city. At which time William Gascoyne, chief-justice, required the mayor and aldermen, for the citizens, to put them in the king's grace; whereunto they answered, that they had not offended, but (according to the law) had done their best in stinting debate and maintaining of the peace; upon which answer the king remitted all his ire, and dismissed them."

It will be seen from this account of the civic tour of Lydgate's hero, that the streets were well filled with pedlars who sold goods and edibles of every description; that the medley of sounds, called "London cries," were as loud, and almost as multifarious, as they were in after periods; and that the different trades had already chosen their favourite localities. But the Lyckpeny's ramble had not yet ended. He went into Cornhill; and that quarter, now so famed for its banks and rich merchandise, was then, it would appear, nothing better than a mart for stolen goods; and there, among other things, he saw his own hood, so lately stolen, hung out for sale, but had not wherewithal to buy it back. As he plodded along, a tavern-keeper took him by the sleeve, and courteously invited him to turn in and assay his wines, upon which our traveller, weary enough by this time, and having as yet a penny in his purse, spent it in purchasing a pint of wine, being unable to add to it the important concomitant of a dinner. He went to Billingsgate, at that time a place of wherries and barges, with watermen plying for customers to the cry of "Ho! we are a-going hence!" but to his piteous entreaty of being wafted across to the Southwark "for the love of God," he was told that he

could not be carried thither without paying a fare of two-pence. At last he got safely back into Kent, leaving behind his parting benediction upon London, and praying that its lawyers might obtain their due reward.

In a city so rich and so full of merchandise, robberies and thefts appear to have been of frequent occurrence; but justice almost kept pace with crime, so that public executions of hanging, burning, and pressing to death, occur in the memorabilia of the period with alarming rapidity. In such a state of society, also, riots were of frequent occurrence, and these, too, not merely among the commons, but persons of high rank and grave occupation. We have noticed already the Eastcheap riot, in which princes and their retainers were actors, upon the eve of a public religious festival. The following summary of the "occurrences" of a twelvemonth during the reign of Henry VI., throws further light upon the subject of London rioting in general:—"It was a custom that upon St. Bartholomew's Day, the lord-mayor and sheriffs of London should go to the wrestling-place near Moorfields, where at this time the prior of St. John's likewise was to see the sport; and a servant of his being ashamed to be foiled before his master, desired to wrestle again, contrary to custom, which the lord-mayor denied; whereupon the prior fetched bowmen from Clerkenwell against the mayor, and some slaughter was made; the mayor's cap was shot through with an arrow, yet he would have the sport go on, but no wrestlers came, whereupon he said 'he would stay a while to make trial of the citizens' respect to him'; and presently after a great party of them came with banners displayed, and fetched him home in triumph. Soon after, another quarrel happened in Holborn between the gentlemen of the Inns of Chancery, and some citizens, in appeasing whereof, the queen's attorney and three more were slain. The year after, the apprentices of London, upon a very slight occasion, fell upon the foreign merchants, rifling and robbing their houses, but the lord-mayor, by his discretion, appeased the tumult, punishing some of the offenders with death, and others by fine, and all things are quieted and appeased."

When we direct our attention to the condition of learning and literary society in general, as they existed in England at this period, we cannot fail to be struck with the small progress that had been made, contrasted with the ample means of improvement that were now in operation. Caxton, so early as 1477, had set up his printing-press in the Almonry, near Westminster Abbey, and soon had such active imitators that, before the close of this period, English books were printed, not only for home use, but foreign exportation.

The erection and endowment of colleges were still going on both at Cambridge and Oxford, and public libraries were founded or enlarged. But in contrast to all this, there is scarcely a literary name or a scientific discovery to be found worth mentioning. Even the universities seem in a great measure to have lost their charm, and the crowds that had formerly resorted to them by the thousand, were now reduced to as many hundreds—and these, too, little better than paupers upon a public charity, and generally treated as such. But when we turn to the causes of this general depreciation of literature, we can easily discover them in those which had also a paralyzing effect, although in a far less degree, upon the gainful pursuits of merchandise. During nearly the whole of this season war was in its highest ascendancy, and every active aspiring spirit found more congenial occupation in French conquests, and the civil commotions that followed, than could be obtained in the peaceful cloisters of a college. The facilities for study, therefore, which were now so abundantly multiplied, were still like seed cast into the earth: a long interval had to occur, and a better season to return, before the harvest shot up and ripened. And that harvest, too, was to be of a different character from those that had preceded, and demanded a long preparation. The taking of Constantinople, and the diffusion of ancient learning that followed—the means of that diffusion by the recent invention of printing—and the new impulse that was to be given to intellect at large by the Reformation—were now silently at work, and awaiting their enfranchisement. Another century was to show that this long interval of repose had not occurred in vain.

In taking into account the state of the different learned professions during this period, we find ample proof that the halls of Oxford and Cambridge, and the schools of learning which were still continuing to be multiplied, were as yet of little account, and no apparent efficacy. To read futurity in the stars, to discover the philosopher's stone, which, by a touch, could transmute all metals into gold, and to compound the *dixir vitae* that could cure or prevent all diseases, was still the favourite pursuit of the scholar, but without the intellect or the learning which men like Roger Bacon, Michael Scott, or Raymond Lully had brought to such investigations. It was no wonder, therefore, if the knowledge of surgery and medicine was still neglected, and the art of healing in its infancy. It is a curious fact, that among all that army of heroes by which wounds and death were so plentifully inflicted at the battle of Azincourt, there was only *one* English surgeon; and that, although fifteen assistants were allowed him, these had to be seized by the

"king's press," while their pay was nothing more than that of a common archer. We may guess what summary cures were attempted in the battle field, and what wild work was made in the hospital. In passing from the medical to the clerical profession, we expect, that among the priesthood, whatever learning exists in a country will be improved or at least preserved; but here we find, that while the clergy of England were not a whit behind their predecessors in the love of ease, field sports, wealth, and good living, they had even fallen behind their predecessors in literary acquirements and studious habits, and were neither able teachers, nor yet sound moral exemplars to the flocks who looked up to them for guidance. Such was generally the condition of the clergy of England, both lay and secular, at this period, and the bitter objections which Wyckliffe heaped upon them were but too well justified by the notices of contemporary chronicles. "It is a marvel," said Latimer somewhat later, "when mischief is in the land, if a priest be not at one end of it." As for preaching, this was a duty almost wholly dispensed with, or left in a great measure to the begging friars, whose discourses chiefly illustrated the necessity of purchasing heaven by liberal donations to the church, or the miracles wrought by the patron saints of the order to which they belonged. The preaching places, too, were various, being sometimes in the open air, in which case the town cross was a consecrated station; sometimes in a moveable pulpit, that might be set up in the corner of a street, or within the shelter of a building; and sometimes in the crowded cathedral, where the dignified ecclesiastic, in addition to enforcing some fresh impost, or reading a Papal bull, would vouchsafe a sermon under the shrine of a saint, the picture of a martyrdom, or some such painting as the "*duos cherubinos cum hilari vultu et jocosos*," given in the directions of the day for church pictures and ornaments.

Of the kind of sermons preached at this period, we give the following extracts by way of specimen. They are from a sermon apparently of no mean pretensions, and written with much care, among the MSS. of the Harleian collection, upon the subject of the three days called *Tenebræ*, immediately preceding Easter. We have only taken the liberty of modernizing the spelling, to make it intelligible to the generality of our readers:—

"Worshipful friends, ye shall come to holy church on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, at even, for to hear Divine service, as commendable custom of holy church hath ordained. And holy church useth the three days, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, the service to be said in the eventide in darkness. And it is called, with diverse

men, Tenebras, but holy church calleth it Tenebras, as *Rationale Divinorum* saith; that is to say, thirns, or darkness, for then is the service said in darkness, for three causes; one is, for Christ that night before he was taken, he went thrice to the mount of Olivet, praying his Father in bliss for to take away his hard painful passion that he felt in his spirit; he sweat water and blood for anguish of his death. The second cause is this—for after midnight gathered fifty knights with great company of armed men, with swords, clubs, bats, weapons, and lanterns before them, for to take Christ, but it was that they could not know Christ from St. James the Minor, for they were like in person and stature. That false traitor Judas gave the Jews and men of arms a token, saying *Quicumque osculatus fuero, &c.*—Take him that I shall kiss, for he it is; hold him, and lead him slyly and warily. And so they took Christ and put him on the cross. The third cause why the service chose three nights beside in darkness—for when our sovereign Saviour Christ Jesus was nailed unto the cross, foot and hand, hanging three hours of the day, from under unto noon the sun withdrew his light, and it was dark throughout all the world, tokening and showing that the matter of light, of sun and moon, was that time paired unto the death. For these three causes the service of these three nights is done in darkness. But unto the service of Thursday at eve and Friday is no bell rung, but a clapper the sound of a tree, tokening that every man and woman should come devoutly to the church without noise-making. And all that they should speak in going and coming should sound of the tree of Christ; that is to say, of the holy cross that Christ died upon for man's redemption, and of his precious passion; and remember how merciable Christ was when he granted the thief paradise that hung on his right side, when he axed mercy. So every man, and woman, and child should dispose them virtuously coming and going to this holy place, and leave talking of vanities, and speak God's worship of his holy passion and of his mercy. Also, in this service called Tenebras, before the altar is set a hearse, with twenty-four candles burning, for twelve apostles and twelve prophets, which candles be quenched one after another, in tokening that Christ's disciples went from him every one after another. But when all be quenched, yet one is kept light, which light is secretly, whiles the clerks sing the *kyries* and the verses, and that signifieth the holy woman that made lamentation at Christ's sepulture. Then afterwards that candle is brought again, which betokeneth Christ in his manhood dead and laid in sepulture. But soon after he rose from death to life, and gave light of mercy and grace to all

that were quenched by despair. The strokes that the priest giveth upon the book betoken the thunder-claps when Christ brake hell-gates and destroyed the power of the devil in his resurrection."

This strange medley will give us a distinct idea, not only of the manner in which the puerilities of superstition were blended with the highest truths and most sacred mysteries of religion, but of the character of those auditories who listened and were edified by such instruction. And now comes the practical application of the discourse:—

"Now ye have heard what this service betokeneth, be not unkind to that merciful Lord that suffered his painful passion for you; for unkindness is a sin that stinketh in the sight of God. Wherefore, saith St. Ambrose, there may no man find a pain sufficient to punish an unkind man. Example I find of Alexander Nexam, as he writeth, how there was sometime a knight came from far countries would seek adventures. So it fortune to a forest where he heard a great noise of a beast crying. So this knight drew nigh, and there he saw how an adder had accumbered and all to [altogether] clipped [folded] a lion, and venomed him, and bound the lion to a tree while he lay and slept. When the lion waked of his sleep, and perceived himself bound, and might not help himself, he made an horrible cry. Then the knight had compassion on the lion, and saw that the king of beasts was in distress: he drew out his sword, and slew the adder and loosed the lion. And when the lion found himself unbound he fell down to the knight's feet, and ever after he served the knight, and every night lay at his bed's feet; in tournaments and battles ever helped the knight, insomuch that all men spake of the knight and the lion. By this knight is understood Christ Jesus, second person in Trinity, that came from far country—that is to say, from heaven, into the vale of this wretched world, to unbind mankind that was bound with the old adder, the devil, that had bound mankind to the tree of inobedience. And so Christ loosed mankind out of the bond of the devil with the sword of his precious passion, and made him free. Wherefore must every man and woman show kindness to that good Lord, as the lion did unto the knight, to be obedient to him and thank him of his goodness, and of his unbinding from the bonds of the devil, and pursue and follow the true teaching of God, that so, when we shall pass the pain of bodily death, that we may have the perpetual joy of bliss bought by Christ's blessed blood. Amen."

After this specimen of the preaching of the age, need we wonder that mystery and miracle plays were in such high account, or that the clergy were so ready to give them their countenance and aid? While the plays were sermons,

the sermons themselves appear to have been mere plays, and these, too, of an inferior and less attractive stamp. It was a natural consequence that the theatre at last should empty the church, and the priesthood perceive their error when it was too late to amend it.

While the study of theology and medicine was thus in abeyance, that of law was in higher favour than ever. This, indeed, was absolutely necessary, when we recollect the change which society was undergoing, and the multiplication of statutes which was taking place to meet the new emergencies of that change. Rights and privileges were now possessed not by the powerful alone, but the people at large, and these were no longer to be maintained by an appeal to arms, but legislation. The law-court was the *champ d'os* in which the questions of right and possession had to be maintained; and the appellant, instead of girding on his armour for the combat as in times past, had only to draw his purse-strings and fee his advocate. As was to be expected, a profession so profitable and so much in request, multiplied the practitioners to an undue amount, and attorneys became so numerous that it was thought necessary to diminish them by act of parliament. Accordingly, the king's courts in the city of Norwich, and the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, where the attorneys had increased nearly tenfold, were selected for the prohibition; and in the reign of Henry VI., and A.D. 1455, an act was passed in which the eighty attorneys who practised in these counties were reduced to fourteen. The causes for this restriction, as they are stated in the preamble, show that the evils of litigation had fairly entered into England in the train of law and order. It was alleged that these attorneys, besides having nothing to live upon but the gains of their profession, were but little acquainted with law—that they had originated much trouble in the aforesaid city and counties, and that they were wont to “come to every market, fair, and other places where there is an assembly of people, exhorting, procuring, moving, and inciting the people to attempt untrue and foreign suits for small trespasses, little offences, and small sums of debt.” These, however, appear to have been nothing better than mere pettifoggers, who either had undergone no training for the profession, or had broken down in the midst of it. This is evident from Sir John Fortescue's account of the education of lawyers, which he gives in his work *De Laudibus Legum Angliæ*. Speaking of the hostels or inns of court, he says: “In these great hostels no student can be maintained at less charge yearly than 80 scates (£28), and if he has a servant with him, as many of them have, then is his charge the greater; so that

by reason of this great expense, the sons of gentlemen do only study the law in these hostels, the vulgar sort of people not being able to undergo so great a charge; and merchants are seldom willing to lessen their traffic by undergoing such burdens.” In this way the respectability of the legal profession was secured at the outset in England, by such an expensive probation that none but families of rank were willing or able to encounter it. The education itself was fully correspondent to such a demand; for he tells us further, that these residents of the hostels “did not only study the laws to serve the courts of justice and profit their country, but did further learn to dance, to sing, to play on instruments on the ferial days, and to study divinity on the festivals; using such exercises as they did who were brought up in the king's court.”

As the practice of the legal profession was at this time in such high demand, and the study of law so diligently prosecuted in preference to other literary occupations, it would have been strange if this age had not at least produced some distinguished lawyer during the absence of every other kind of scholarship. Accordingly, two eminent names stand out at this period, in those of Sir John Fortescue and Sir Thomas Littleton. Fortescue, who was appointed chancellor by Henry VI., soon afterwards shared in the fate of the Lancastrian party by being driven into exile, whither he accompanied young Edward, Prince of Wales, afterwards assassinated at Tewkesbury. His chief productions were a work entitled *De Laudibus Legum Angliæ*, written in exile, in which he inductuates the price upon the superiority of English law to that of other countries; and an English treatise, entitled *Of the Diferences between an Absolute and Limited Monarchy*, in which he advocates the latter form of government as the best. Littleton, who was judge of Common Pleas in the reign of Edward IV., was author of the work on “Tenures,” in three books written in Norman French, and addressed to his son, for whose use, in the first instance, it was composed. As he was one of the earliest, so he was also one of the best authors and authorities on English law; and the commentary upon his work has made his name at least familiar to general knowledge in the present day, under the title of “Coke upon Littleton.”

The splendid dawn of English poetry which had commenced so auspiciously with Chaucer, was not followed by a correspondent sequel, so that after he and his follower Gower had passed away, nothing better was produced in the list of English poets than the very inferior names of Occleve and Lydgate. Of Thomas Occleve, we only know that he lived somewhere about the earlier part of the fifteenth century, and was

the author of a considerable number of poems, most of which still remain in manuscript, while those that have been published make us scarcely regret that the rest have been consigned to obscurity. He appears, indeed, to have been a rhymist and nothing more. Considerably his superior, however, was John Lydgate, the monk of Bury, who after a course of education at the university of Oxford, travelled in France and Italy, and on returning to England, opened a school in the monastery to which he belonged, and instructed the sons of noble families in poetry and belles-lettres. He was so voluminous a writer, that Warton tells us, "to enumerate his pieces would be to write the catalogue of a little library." His chief poems, however, are three, under the titles of the "Fall of Princes," the "Siege of Troy," and the "Siege of Thebes." These were written by commission from his titled and courtly patrons; but he seems to have made verse-making a regular trade, and to have written upon any subject with equal facility. For nearly two centuries his works retained a popularity considerably beyond their merits; but afterwards, the reaction of modern taste was so much in the opposite direction, that it became a fashion with critical antiquaries to ridicule and decry them. Still, it must be confessed, that he was an accomplished scholar for the age; and that to his learning he added the experience of travel, as well as much natural shrewdness of observation, while his writings tended to amplify and refine his native tongue. Such is the testimony of Warton, who declares that he was the first of our writers whose style was clothed with that perspicuity in which the English phraseology appears at this day to an English reader.

Leaving the Literature, we now pass onward to the Architecture of England. During the present period, the Perpendicular style not only attained its highest state of perfection, but commenced its decay. In tracing the progress of this phase of Gothic architecture, it will be necessary to revert to the latter part of the reign of Edward III., at which period, as has been mentioned already (p. 524), Gothic architecture underwent its last great change. The tracery had then reached, apparently, its utmost limit, and nothing can be conceived more beautiful than some of the magnificent windows of that time. But the difficulty and costliness of executing, in the Decorated style, the large windows required for the exhibition of stained glass, occasioned a change, and led to the introduction of the Perpendicular style, which, from the predominance of straight lines, was much more easy of execution, and by this means brought about a great alteration in the appearance of churches. This change seems to have been originated by Edlington, Bishop of

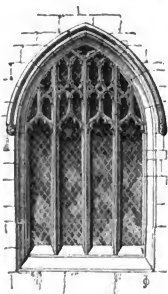
Winchester, who rebuilt the church of his native village, Edlington, in Wiltshire, between 1352 and 1361. In this church, though much of the Decorated is retained, there is an evident attempt at something different. Many of the curves are converted into straight lines, but the vertical principle is not fully carried out. This prelate shortly afterwards commenced some additions and alterations in his cathedral of Winchester in the same style, but dying before they were completed, the work was continued by his successor, William of Wykeham, who fully carried out the principles of the new style, and to whom its invention is usually attributed; although it appears to be rather due to his predecessor, for the west window of that cathedral, erected by Edlington, is as decidedly Perpendicular as anything we possess. William of Wykeham proceeded with the work, and converted the Norman nave of Winchester into one of Perpendicular character, by incasing the Norman piers with Perpendicular shafts. He afterwards, in the reign of Richard II., between 1380 and 1386, built New College at Oxford, the first complete building in the style, and which, though of that early date, exhibits all its characteristics as clearly as any subsequent erection. But, though the style was thus fully developed in these instances, it did not for some time obtain a firm footing, for during the reign of Richard II., we find numerous examples of buildings which display a thorough mixture of the characters of the old and new styles, and it was not till the succeeding reign that it was fully established. It continued in use, without any material alteration, until the death of Henry VII., though in this reign a slight mixture of Italian detail may be perceived.

The broad distinction between this and the preceding styles, lies in the preponderance of upright lines, particularly observable in the tracery of windows, the panelling of flat surfaces within and without, and the multiplicity of small shafts with which the piers, &c., are overlaid. The vertical line everywhere predominates, catching the eye at first sight, so that when once this characteristic has been pointed out, it is impossible to mistake a building in this style. Another peculiarity is the increased width of the windows and the lowness of the roofs, which are frequently so low as not to rise above the parapet. This is owing to the use of the four-centred depressed arch, which gave an opportunity of employing greater width, without increasing the height of the windows. To such an extent is this peculiarity carried, that the chancel of a church of this period is almost as light as a conservatory, the whole space between the buttresses being occupied with the windows; and these, when filled

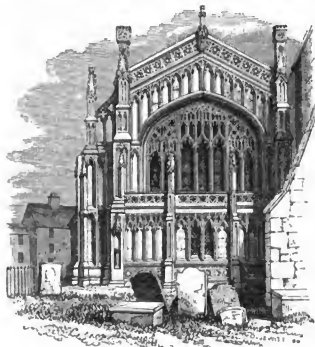
with stained glass, for which they were designed, must have had a gorgeous effect, very different from their present cold appearance.

The upper tier of windows or clear-story, offers another peculiarity. In the preceding styles, these windows were generally small; but in the Perpendicular, when that style became fully developed, they are often so large and placed so closely together, that the whole clear-story almost becomes one large window, merely divided by the mullions; an arrangement which, though it adds light to the interior, detracts greatly from the appearance of the exterior of the edifice. In the earlier part of this period, the new principle was carried out, but with the feeling of the old; and the buildings exhibit the best features of the new style, without the flat, bald, and meaningless effect observable in later examples. The ante-chapel of Merton College, Oxford, is one of the best examples of this early date.

The distinctive characters of Perpendicular windows will be best understood by reference to



PERPENDICULAR WINDOW,
St. Mary's, Taunton.



EAST END OF THE BEAUCHAMP CHAPEL, WARWICK.

the accompanying specimens, and comparison of them with the examples given of the preceding style (see p. 522). It will be seen that the prin-

cipal mullions, instead of running into flowing tracery, are here carried straight through to the head of the window, and that the subordinate tracery is likewise converted into straight lines. In this consists the essential difference of the two styles. Beauchamp Chapel, one of the accompanying examples, exhibits not only the peculiarity in the windows just adverted to, but likewise characteristic panelling, parapets, buttresses, and turrets. The depressed arch was likewise



PERPENDICULAR DOOR-HEAD,
Westminster Abbey.

used, particularly in the later period, for the pier arches, and thus by lowering them, gave greater space to the clear-story. It is in general used, also, for doors, but is then almost always included in a square moulding or label, the *spanrel* being filled with quatrefoils or other ornament.

Its magnificent church-towers form a leading beauty of this style. These towers are seen in the greatest perfection in Somersetshire, and the neighbouring counties, where they form a remarkable feature in the appearance of the country.



TOWER OF MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD.

They are usually divided into stages by bands of quatrefoils, each stage being filled with large windows, frequently double. The angles have

large buttresses, ornamented with shafts and niches. The parapet is pannelled and pierced, having lofty pannelled and crocketed pinnacles at the angles, and lesser ones in the intermediate spaces. The towers of

St. Mary's, Taunton, St. John's, Glastonbury, and St. Stephen's, Bristol, may be taken as the best types of this kind of tower. The effect of the Taunton tower is rich and magnificent, but it is overloaded with ornament, and cannot, for quiet grace and dignity, be compared to one of the same date, but of far less pretensions—that of Magdalen College, Oxford. In this tower the decoration is reserved entirely for the upper story, which, as it rises above the surrounding buildings, first catches the eye, the lower stages being only sufficiently relieved by windows to take away the appearance of flatness, and are thus with the truest taste subordinated to the upper. Many towers are finished with lofty spires, usually crocketed; and sometimes by an octagonal stage, called a *lantern*, as at Boston, Fotheringay, and the celebrated example at Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

In the interior of the buildings, the predominance of the perpendicular line is even more striking than on the exterior. The small shafts and mouldings with which the piers are covered, the vaulting shafts, the panelling of the walls, and the mullions of the large clear-story windows give it the appearance of one mass of upright lines, while the vaulting ribs, which are now become very elaborate and intricate, form a complete network over the ceiling. That beautiful kind of vaulting called *fan-vaulting*, or *fan-tracery*, which belongs exclusively to this style, is much used in the later buildings of this period. It is peculiarly English, no examples of it being met with in foreign erections, and receives its distinctive appellation from the ribs, which rise from the shaft in the manner of a fan, curving equally in every direction, the spaces between the fans being filled with circles, quatrefoils, or frequently with pendants. Its peculiarities will be best understood by the specimen here given. The roofs of Henry VII.'s Chapel, Westminster, and King's College Chapel, Cambridge, are also of this kind; and it is much used on monuments and other minor constructions.

Many buildings of this period, instead of stone groined roofs, have open-work roofs of timber, of various design, but all having a rich and fine

effect. Of these, Westminster Hall, Crosby Hall, and some of the churches in Norfolk, are choice examples.¹ A flat pannelled ceiling, painted blue, with gold stars, is also frequently



LANTERN, Boston Church, Lincolnshire.



FAN-TRACERY, Aisle, North St. George's Chapel, Windsor.

used. Great labour and cost were likewise bestowed on the roodlofts, stalls, screens, font-covers, and tabernacle work in churches, which were elaborately carved and richly painted and gilt. The panels were usually filled with



STALLS, WITH TUDOR FLOWER, Higham-Fortets Church, Northamptonshire.

figures of saints, and the cornices with foliage, and surmounted with a crest of flowers or *fleur-de-lis*, known as the Tudor flower, from its being

¹ See ent of Crosby Hall, vol. i. p. 642.

so much used in the Tudor period. The foliage, however, in this carving, and throughout the style, has in general a stiff and artificial appearance, and wants the freshness and reference to natural forms, which are found in the Decorated. The leaf chiefly imitated is the vine, but though very beautifully and delicately executed, it is converted into a quadrangular figure, and this form runs through every part of the style. The intersections of the mullions and transoms of the windows form squares, the door with its exterior label is a square, the panelling which everywhere prevails is nothing but a series of squares, and the foliage, whether it be used in cornices, on capitals, or in door-jambs, is little more than a repetition of square forms; but all this is relieved by such minute and delicate



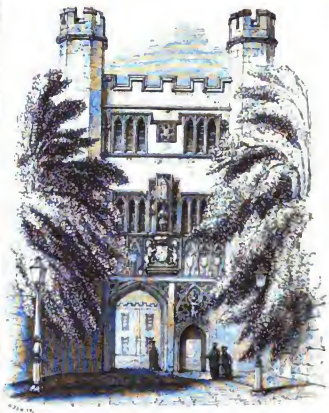
CORNICE MOULDING, Perpendicular Style.

execution, that we overlook both the air of formality which pervades it, and the continual repetition and subdivision of the parts. For shrines and monumental chapels, this style is particularly adapted; and the multiplicity of small canopies and pinnacles, armorial and symbolical devices, of angel-brackets, and of saints in canopies, give an appearance of richness which we do not find elsewhere. Some fine specimens of this kind occur at St. Alban's.

It is in the later examples of the style, or that period which is usually designated as the *Tudor*, that we chiefly find this elaborate detail. The term *Tudor style*, though frequently used, has no very definite meaning, it being impossible to draw a line of demarcation between it and the Perpendicular style generally. A more correct term for it would be *late Perpendicular*. It differs chiefly in the more constant use of the depressed, four-centred arch, and the profuse use of panelling, of the fan-tracery vaulting, and of a peculiar dome-shaped turret instead of pinnacles. These characteristics are seen to advantage in Henry VII.'s Chapel, Westminster, St. George's Chapel, Windsor, and King's College Chapel, Cambridge; which may be taken as the true types of this variety of the Perpendicular style. In the first of these buildings the panelling is carried to such an excess that the exterior looks more like carving in wood than a stone building; and the interior is so delicately finished with its fan-vaulting and graceful pendants, and its lines of lace-like cusping, that one can scarcely reconcile its appearance to the fact of its being wrought in so brittle a material. The term *Tudor*, as

applied to domestic architecture, has more meaning, since it describes a distinct class of buildings, which will be more fully treated of under the next period.

The Perpendicular style is much used for domestic buildings; and during the period when it prevailed, many of the colleges in Oxford and Cambridge were built. Some of the gateways,



GATEWAY OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.—FROM LE KOUX'S Memorials of Cambridge.

in both universities, display great architectural beauty, as the one to the cloisters at Magdalen College, and that of Brazen-nose College, Oxford, and Trinity College, Cambridge. Beautiful ex-



ORIEL WINDOW, Balliol College, Oxford.

amples of the graceful form of window known as the *oriel*, occur in domestic buildings of the period. The one here given displays many of the peculiar characters of the style.

There seems to have been a tendency, all through this style, to exaggerate its defects and to lose sight of its beauties. In the earlier exam-

ples, though the principal mullions are carried through to the head of the window, the eye is not offended, as by a judicious subdividing of

the space, the straight lines are not perceived; but afterwards this was not attended to—in many cases all the mullions were carried through, and large spaces left in the window-head. Everything seems to have given way to the desire to provide openings for stained glass. This is painfully apparent in the Abbey Church at Bath, where the effect in the interior is flat



THE ABBEY CHURCH, BATH.

and poor in the extreme. Here strength and solidity are sacrificed to the craving for glass; and the clear-story, which, in the former styles, was merely intended for lighting the centre of the nave, and was consequently subordinate to the windows of the aisles, is made a principal feature, its windows much exceeding in size those of the lower tier, and giving the building a false and unnatural appearance. This edifice, which was erected immediately anterior to the Reformation, and was scarcely finished when that event took place, may be considered as almost the last example of Gothic. Italian features had already begun to be mixed with it, and these increased so much in the next reign that it ceased to be a distinctive style. Under the next period we shall endeavour to trace this mixture of ideas until at last it merged into the Renaissance, and the revival of classic architecture.

In turning our inquiries to the progress and improvement of the Scots during this period, we still find our materials both scanty and obscure. The Scottish kings were not absolute sovereigns, as in other countries of Europe, but of limited power and authority; and it depended upon their own individual energies whether that little might not be reduced to an absolute nonentity. Hence the difficulty of understanding the form of government that prevailed in Scotland, as compared with that of England. If the Scottish king was brave and active, he could only maintain his

regal superiority by availing himself of the mutual jealousies of his nobles, and arming the one half against the other; but if, on the other hand, he was weak or facile, he generally sank into their tool, and reigned by their sufferance. All this is evident in the history of Robert Bruce, as contrasted with that of Robert III.; or of James I. and James II. with that of James III. In

either case, it was a continual struggle for superiority between king and nobles, where the latter claimed an independence almost equal to his own. In the case of these sovereigns, also, we find nothing of that divinity that hedges a king, by which his person is invested with such sacredness as to exempt it from violence, and his authority with such abstract right that to resist it is sinful, as well as unconstitutional. On the contrary, when a vassal rebelled, he had only to send letters to his sovereign, renouncing all further allegiance, and bidding him defiance, in which case he was no longer a traitor but an open enemy, and

might even slay the king should the opportunity be within his reach. Such was the argument of Sir Robert Graham, a man well versed in the laws of Scotland, when he was placed upon his trial for the assassination of James I. By letters under his hand he had disclaimed the king's authority and proclaimed himself the mortal enemy of James, upon whom he would inflict his worst; and after this, he thought himself justified in striking down the king, even within the sacred precincts of a monastery. His judges might therefore slay him in return, now that the opportunity was theirs; but to torture him as well as put him to death, was a stretch of tyranny which the law of Scotland could not justify.

These restrictions upon the regal authority, lead us to a consideration of that feudalism by which they were imposed. In England, the nobility established over the country by William, were Norman conquerors, whose lands and privileges were the rewards of violence and oppression; and the people, who continued to regard them as strangers and as enemies, thought themselves entitled to recover their own lost rights, as soon as they were strong enough for the purpose. Hence the jealousy with which the English nobility were watched by the commons, and the facility with which an English sovereign could pull these temporary tyrants down, when he adopted the wise policy of making himself strong in the affections of the people. But the character,

as well as the origin of Scottish feudalism, was different. The founders of its noble families, although for the most part Normans also, had entered the country not as conquerors, but refugees or malcontents, and were received with that distinction which was due to their bravery, military skill, and superior civilization. They thus became Scotland's best counsellors in peace and leaders in war, and the lands and honours which they won in the new home of their adoption, were the willing awards of a grateful king and people. In this way, they became not the lordly oppressors, but the fathers and protectors of their Scottish vassals, and the feeling of devotedness towards their feudal superiors became in the hearts of the latter a downright national characteristic. Possessed of such power, and surrounded by such adherents, it was no wonder if, in process of time, these nobles became envious of the regal authority, and sought to repress it. This was all the more natural, as the Scottish kings, whether of the Bruce or Stuart line, had originally been nothing more than Norman nobles like themselves, and had been elevated to the throne by a lucky combination of chances. Hence the power of the Scottish nobility, and their readiness to turn it against the sovereign; so that while England had only one Leicester, and one Hotspur, and one Warwick, Scotland had a hundred.

In a country by nature so sterile, and among a people so incessantly occupied either with intestine wars or English invasions, the arts of agriculture were not likely to be well understood, or even greatly cared for. A feudal lord, who wished to increase his followers, had only to subdivide his barren acres into roads, and the families so located had neither the means nor the stimulus to turn such miserable strips into regular, well-cultivated farms. Besides, with even more ample means, the Scottish agriculturist had little inducement to plough or sow when he knew not by what hand the harvest might be gathered. When an English army crossed the Border it generally drove into the heart of the kingdom, eating whatever produce it could find, and destroying what it could not use; and when the peasants returned after the invasion was over, they found nothing but wasted fields and empty harders. Their only hope of present subsistence in this case arose from a counter-foray into England, with which they generally requited every inroad of the enemy, and thus they contrived to indemnify themselves for their losses among the rich corn-fields and fat pastures of Cumberland and Northumberland. Added to these evils by which agricultural industry was checked, may be mentioned the tenures upon which farms were generally held, where the leases only lasted from year to year, so that the occupant might be displaced

upon a very short notice. The rent, too, was commonly paid by military service; and thus, while the farmer was almost continually in harness under the banner of his lord, his fields were left to the cultivation of women, children, and villains, as villanage was still continued in Scotland after it had ceased in England. All these causes not only serve to explain the very defective state of Scottish agriculture, but might make us wonder how such a numerous population could have been supported, did we not call to mind how heavily the whole English border was taxed by the hungry stomachs of their northern antagonists. Pasturage, rather than tillage, indeed, formed the main dependence of the Scots, as this required little labour, while the cattle, in the event of an inroad, could be driven to the hills and fastnesses. But if the miseries of famine were so destructive in England, with all its industry and abundance, we may conceive what such visitations were in Scotland, whose inhabitants, even at the best, were generally confined to scanty rations. Conscious of the prevalent national defect, and anxious to assimilate his native country to the improved state of England, James I. endeavoured to amend its agriculture, but this, too, was by act of parliament, for which his subjects little cared. By this act every farmer having a plough and eight oxen was required to sow annually a firloft of wheat, half a firloft of pease, and *forty* beans, under a penalty of ten shillings; and every baron to sow a like quantity upon his own ground, under a forfeiture of four times the sum.

Besides destroying peaceful industry by converting the peasantry into soldiers, the wars with England created more than one class of society, by which the progress of Scottish civilization was heavily retarded. And first of these, we should mention the moss-troopers, men who lived upon the Border, and were therefore exposed to the first brunt of every onset. As they were thus the outposts of a hostile encampment, they were, by birth, necessity, habit, and inclination, soldiers, and nothing else; men who lived by English plunder, and generally died upon an English gallows, if they were not so fortunate as to die in harness, and upon the battle-field. Sometimes, also, when English plunder was not so abundant, or so easily reached, they betook themselves to what they modestly called "a little shifting for their living," and robbed the pastures or granaries of their own inland countrymen as readily as those of the Southrons, of whom they were the born and sworn enemies. Such men, notwithstanding their gallant services in a national campaign, were the very scourges of their country, not only by their dishonest modes of living, but their restless belligerent propensities, so that no peace could be formed with England which they were

not ready to break, or internal feud commenced into which they were unwilling to throw themselves. But besides these moss-troopers, who were amenable to the Border laws and subject to the rule of the Border wardens, there were the broken clans, composed of communities settled upon those portions of the Border usually called Debateable land. These men, who had lost their feudal lords, as well as their native homes, and been driven hither and thither by the continual shifting of the boundary line between the two kingdoms, at length came to regard both as their natural enemies, and robbed either indiscriminately, while it was difficult to follow them into their fastnesses, or drive them from their strongholds. A less formidable, but equally pernicious class, whom the wars with England tended to create, were the sturdy beggars, otherwise called *sorners* or *gabertunzies*, who multiplied in Scotland to an incredible extent. These, too, were not exclusively composed of the lowest of society; on the contrary, many of them either were, or pretended to be, men of gentle birth, although impoverished in their circumstances; and, upon the strength of their honourable descent, they pursued their humble vocation, not in rags, and with a piteous whine, but with horses, hawks, and attendants, so that where they could not obtain admission in virtue of their high-sounding names, they were able to enforce it by storm or onslaught. These jackdaws, however, were often detected, stripped of their borrowed plumes, and driven forth to herd with their own kind. But still, beggary continued to thrive, on account of that mistaken hospitality which would allow no one to pass the door, as well as that craving for news which is always strongest in a divided and thinly-peopled country, so that Scotland remained pre-eminently a land of sturdy beggars, until they dwindled into the Bluegowns and Edie Ochiltrees of the close of the eighteenth century.

While such were the consequences which the wars of the two rival countries entailed upon Scotland, on account of its being by far the weaker and the poorer, the war usages and customs of the Scots demand our consideration, as these constituted a large portion of the every-day life of the people. This subject, however, is so fully explained in the history of their military achievements, that it may be dismissed with a brief notice. The training and customs of chivalry among them, were of the same kind that prevailed not only in England, but over Europe; and the country produced such stalwart knights as England or Europe could seldom have over-matched. There was little, however, of tournament practice in Scotland, owing to the poverty of the people, and their constant occupation in the realities of war, although its knights, when sum-

moned to the trial, could back a war-horse and couch a lance as skilfully as the best. One favourite weapon of these champions was the axe, which, notwithstanding its unwieldiness, they could handle, according to Froissart, with wonderful dexterity, and deal with it such strokes that, according to the great chronicler's favourite phrase, "it was a pleasure to behold them." Of this, indeed, the encounter of Bruce at Bannockburn with De Bohun was a sufficient testimony. While tournaments were seldom held in Scotland, single combats, either judicial or from private feud, were of almost constant occurrence, and were fought out on horseback with the lance, or on foot with the two-handed sword, or axe and dagger. A terrible display of this kind, happily unique in the history of chivalry, was given at Perth in the reign of Robert III., between the chosen champions of two rival Highland clans, thirty on each side, from which only one man escaped unwounded. As in the wars between the English and Scots the former were generally the assailants, their favourite weapon, the long-bow, was well fitted for such a purpose; while the Scots, who stood on the defensive, and generally fought on foot, preferred the spear eighteen feet in length, with which they stood shoulder to shoulder, presenting such a bristly array that neither cavalry could easily break through their ranks, nor infantry reach them. This was well when matters came to a close hand-to-hand engagement, in which the Scots were generally the victors; but when the English, on the other hand, depended upon their archery, and contented themselves with a distant fight, it was then

"Alas, alas for Scotland
When England's arrows fly!"

It was singular that the Scots profited so little by the lesson which Bruce gave them at Bannockburn, when he let loose among the English archers a small body of mounted men-at-arms, who quickly cut them down, or drove them back upon the main army; and thus their defeats were generally caused by those fatal shafts to which their serried ranks offered an easy and unresisting mark. But after the reign of Henry V., the lesson of Bruce would have come too late on account of the sharp-pointed stakes which the former caused his bowmen to carry, and with which they could effectually stockade their position on every part of the field. The Scots, indeed, were not wholly without archers; but these were generally Highlanders or Islesmen, whom the Lowlanders heartily hated; and their bows of four feet long, where the string was only drawn to the breast, could not send an arrow with the same distant range and deadly force that were given to the "cloth-yard shaft." The Scottish

kings, especially James I. and James II., anxious to make their subjects a full match in every kind of conflict to their enemies, endeavoured to introduce among them the longbow, and the careful apprenticeship which it required; and accordingly the popular out-door sports were prohibited. Every male above the age of twelve was to practise archery, and butts were to be erected at every village church, at which every man was to shoot at least six arrows each holiday, while the defaulter was to forfeit two-pence as drink-money to those who gave regular attendance. But the Scots, still more impatient of such coercion than their rivals had ever been, chose rather to be shot with English arrows than learn to requite them, and accordingly the spear of six ells long, which needed little beyond a stout heart and steady hand, continued to be the favourite and national weapon, until, like the English bow, it was superseded by hagbut, arquebuse, and matchlock, and, better still, by the bayonet.

As war was of necessity so much the occupation of the Scots, the war-laws were sufficiently numerous. These chiefly regarded Border inroads and the division of plunder—matters, as we have seen, of paramount importance in the military operations of the country. As invasions also from England were so frequent and sudden, the system of war-signals in Scotland was brought even at an early period to a considerable state of improvement. The laws of James II. in this respect were well suited to the requirement. All the fords and passages of the Tweed by which the English could cross, were to be carefully watched, and bale-fires or beacons to be established at each, to give notice of the coming enemy. The nature of the invasion was distinctly announced by the number of fires that were lighted. Thus, one beacon kindled, gave warning that an inroad from England was apprehended; two such signals announced that it was certain; and when four were lighted, it was a token that the invaders were coming in great numbers. From Hume Castle, the nearest point, these signals were taken up and transmitted to Edgerton; from Edgerton they passed to Soutra Edge, and thence to Dunbar, Haddington, Dalkeith, Edinburgh, and the Lothians, so that in a few hours the most populous districts could be warned and in readiness over the whole kingdom. The military muster, from a band to a numerous army, according to the nature of the warning, could be effected with almost equal promptitude, as every peasant was a trained soldier, bound to repair to the banner of his feudal landlord, and more or less completely armed, according to the amount of land he held in fee. All these points were minutely specified by laws,

which were as familiar as household words, and every man knew his place and duty, however sudden might be the summons. The campaign, however, was necessarily a short one, as each soldier carried his own provisions, and these only for forty days at the utmost; and hence the impatience of the Scottish armies to decide the contest at once, and by a pitched battle, although against more numerous and better armed antagonists. The case, however, was different when the war was carried into England; for there, the Scottish soldier's little bag of oatmeal could be replaced from the well-stored girdles and abundant stalls of the south with richer fare, in which he revelled with a zest for which his previous short commons had fully prepared him. When the English viands were thus found, the ingenuity of military Scottish cookery was by no means wanting; for the bullock's hide supplied not only a regimental caldron for boiling the carcass, but shoes for the march, while the animal's horns sufficed for trumpets to cheer the invaders on the way, or sound to the onset.

In a society so diversified as that of Scotland, and amidst such a constant whirl of events and changes, it is difficult to describe within a narrow compass the every-day life of the people, and the manners and customs that prevailed among them. Not only every district, but every village had its palatial edifice, from the castle of the great noble, to the peel or single square tower of the baron; and in each of these was generally contained the right of pit and gallows, so that its master, however limited his territory, was absolute sovereign over it, and might hang or imprison his offending vassals according to his own good pleasure. To these strongholds also, on the approach of the enemy, the women and children repaired for shelter, while the chief's retainers from the age of sixteen to sixty manned the walls, or marched out to the open field. At the best, however, these castles were but sorry buildings when compared with the stately residences of the English nobility, and even the palaces of the Scottish kings, up to the close of this period, were roofed with thatch. The style of living within these castles was often as coarse as it was precarious, more especially when their victualling depended upon a successful inroad into England, or a foray in which cattle was to be lifted from friend and enemy indifferently—as was, for the most part, the case over the Border counties. As far, however, as attendants went, there was no lack of grandeur, for every tower was a crowded hive of jackmen, grooms, and gillies, while every chief when he rode forth had generally a whole regiment of retainers at his heels. A Douglas was usually accompanied by 1200 followers, practised in battle and armed to

the teeth, while the trains of the chief nobility were scarcely inferior. This was all the more necessary, when each had a score of feuds on his hands, and might have as many encounters in a journey from Jedburgh to Holyrood. While the habitations and style of living among the noblest was so rude and uncomfortable, notwithstanding the external pomp and glitter of feudal authority with which they were surrounded, the condition of the commons corresponded with that of their lords. Such was the case especially in the reign of James I., when Æneas Sylvius, afterwards Pius II., made an adventurous visit into Scotland. Upon the Borders he found that most of the houses were not even huts, as they were generally a small breast-work composed of mud, or such materials as were at hand, and raised to a sufficient height by three or four poles meeting a-top, and covered with straw or turf; while those of the villages were little better, and had no door but a cow's hide suspended at the entrance. As for the towns, the houses were generally built of wood, but if of stone, then lime was omitted. This will sufficiently explain the cause of so little domestic architecture being indicated in Scotland previous to the sixteenth century, except in the ruins of strong castles that either defied every attack, or were thought not worth the trouble of demolition. From the Border to the metropolis, no one thought of building a costly edifice, which a single hour of foreign invasion or domestic feud might level to the ground. That neither the will nor the ability, however, was wanting, was sufficiently attested by the stately cathedrals and monasteries that towered above the huts of their builders, and upon which all the resources of architecture were expended, in the hope that their sacredness would be respected by a Christian foe. But the feeling of the Macedonian conqueror was wanting, and therefore, while temple and tower went to the ground, the "house of Pindarus" would not have been spared. The noble ruins of Kelso, Jedburgh, Melrose, and Dryburgh Abbeys, are melancholy monuments of what Scotland might have achieved in architecture, had not the battle for national independence occurred, to task all her energies, as well as exhaust all her resources.

While comfortable homes and the details of domestic life were thus so materially affected by these wars, the graces that impart a charm to them were not only unknown, but even their very entrance into Scotland was obstinately resisted. This, too, originated, in a great measure, in that intense national hatred which made them regard every refinement as English, and therefore hostile and abominable. Such was especially the case on the return of James I. to Scotland, when

he attempted to cure the barbarism of his subjects by those new arts of life which he had learned in his captivity, and the benefits of which none was better able to appreciate. But although comforts were multiplied by the change to a degree hitherto unknown in the country, the worst evils followed in their train—ease, luxury, and licentiousness—by which public tranquillity was destroyed, and individual sobriety corrupted. Hence arose sumptuous entertainments by day, and revellings by night, a love of attire of the most costly foreign materials, houses built not for use but for show, and a perversion of manners under the name of elegance, so that native customs came to be despised, and nothing was esteemed graceful or becoming that was not new. So says Buchanan, in the full rhetorical style of the ancients whom he loved to imitate; and unfortunately he was not alone in his judgment, for the grim nobles of the court of James were equally hostile to these innovations, so that while they denounced them as the fopperies of the queen and the English courtiers who had accompanied her to Scotland, they condemned them as subversive of that manly courage, hardihood, and simplicity which hitherto had formed the best distinctions of their countrymen. The king was compelled to yield to the storm, and the consequence was a sumptuary law enacted by the parliament at Perth in 1430. By this it was decreed, that none should wear pearls but ladies, and that, too, only in a small collar around the neck, while the use of furs and ermines, and gold and silver lace, was prohibited, as also banquetings, riotous feastings, and all such foreign luxuries. In this way the storm was quieted for the present, but only to break out in a new form, and with greater violence, under his grandson James III. This unfortunate king, imbued with a taste for the fine arts that was considerably in advance of his age, delighted chiefly in the society of architects, musicians, and connoisseurs in graceful attire and ornament. But here again the nobility interposed. Their self-love was wounded, and their ignorance and grossness rebuked, by his attachment to such favourites, whom they stigmatized as masons, fiddlers, and tailors; and their hostility never rested until these unfortunate men were hanged over Lauder bridge, and the king himself despatched by the dagger of an assassin.

Hitherto, the few learned men that Scotland produced, had been indebted for their acquirements to the universities of England or France, but at last, in the fifteenth century, the country was provided with colleges of its own. The first of these was the university of St. Andrews, erected by its bishop, Henry Wardlaw. This eminent individual, who was appointed to the

Scottish primacy in 1404, while he was residing in the Papal court at Avignon, found, on his return to his native country, everything in a confusion that was soon after deepened by the death of Robert III., the capture and imprisonment of the young prince, afterwards James I., and the usurpation of the Duke of Albany. Wardlaw, who was an accomplished scholar as well as able statesman and true-hearted patriot, was keenly alive to the chief source of this disorder and misrule, and addressed himself to cure it by the benefits of education, which the priesthood and nobility needed almost as much as the people at large. This was a formidable as well as hostile aggression, and needed to be cautiously commenced. He first formed an association at St. Andrews of such scholars as the country then possessed, who gave lectures upon the subjects that were usually taught at colleges—divinity, logic, physics, and the canon and civil laws. In this way, having established the reality of a university without the name, his next step was to invest it with a charter or grant of privileges, which he did in 1411; and two years afterwards, these privileges were confirmed by six Papal bulls sent by Benedict XIII., which were received in St. Andrews with the ringing of bells, the lighting of bonfires, and every demonstration of popular triumph. James I., on his return from captivity, fostered the rising institution, which at length comprised thirteen doctors of divinity, and eight doctors of laws, as its teachers, while the students amounted to several thousands. At first, the professors had no fixed salaries, and the students paid no fees, while the only building for the delivery of lectures was a large wooden edifice called the pedagogy. But in 1455, James Kennedy, the successor of Wardlaw, built and endowed the college of St. Salvador. The chief reason assigned for the founding of the university was, the consideration "of the many dangers and inconveniences to which the clergy of Scotland who desired to be instructed in theology, the canon and civil laws, medicine, and the liberal arts, were exposed, from wars and other impediments, in their journeys to foreign *studia generalia*, in consequence of there being no such institution to which they might repair in their own country." The injunctions laid upon these ecclesiastics while they attended college, give us a strange idea of the morals of the Scottish clergy of this period. They were to live decently according to their sacred calling, "so as not to keep concubines *publicly*, nor to be common night-walkers or robbers, or habitually guilty of other notorious crimes." Was it in consequence of these restrictions that so few of the clergy availed themselves of a university so expressly founded for their benefit? At all

events, nothing is more certain than that, while the laity were eager to improve themselves by its instructions, the priesthood stood aloof, or opposed it. But Divine as well as poetical justice required them in the following century for their criminal remissness, for it was chiefly from this university that the Reformation issued, before which they were swept away.

The next Scottish establishment of the kind was the university of Glasgow, founded by William Turnbull. This ecclesiastic having been appointed bishop of that see in 1448, addressed himself to the erection of a college in that city, and obtained a bull to that effect from Nicholas V. at the beginning of 1450. The grant was for the establishment of a university there in all time; and the reason given for the preference of that locality was, on account of its "being a notable place, with gude air, and plenty of provisions for human life," while all the privileges, rights, honours, and exemptions were conferred upon it, that had been bestowed upon the university of Bononia. In order still further to aggrandize the institution, which commenced its labours in 1451, the bull granted a universal indulgence to all faithful Christians who should visit the cathedral of Glasgow during that year. At first the building was a humble tenement on the south side of the Rottenrow near the cathedral, but afterwards, the college was transferred to its present residence, in consequence of a rich bequest for that purpose from Lord Hamilton. Originally, as in the case of St. Andrews, no salaries were attached to the professorships; no lands nor rents belonged to the institution, and the fees of the students were so small as to be scarcely worth taking into account. But the high privileges with which the university was endowed as a self-governing independent body, were a sufficient counterpoise to this lack of funds or emolument; so that rich ecclesiastics as well as poor scholars were glad to enrol themselves among its members. As in the case of St. Andrews, the course of study and form of government were modelled upon those of the university of Paris. Both of these Scottish colleges, instead of being monastic institutions, where the students were lodged within the walls and supported at a common table, were rather great academies, composed of class-rooms which the students attended daily during the prescribed hours. This was all in the way of education that so poor a country as Scotland was able in the first instance to accomplish.

While Scotland was not more distinguished than England had been during this period for men of high attainment in literature and science, the case was different in poetry; for in this respect Scotland has names to offer with which her

more richly-endowed rival was unable to compete. The first as well as the most distinguished was James I., that minstrel king, whose poetical history was as romantic as his political career, but without the same stormy troubles or melancholy termination. His iniquitous capture and detention in England by Henry IV. have been already narrated. As if to quiet his conscience by softening the evils of this unjust captivity, Henry supplied the young prince with an education far beyond what he could have enjoyed in his own country, and by this James profited so highly, that he became an accomplished knight and statesman, as well as ripe and learned scholar. It was with poetry that he seems to have chiefly solaced his imprisonment in the castle of Windsor; and how could he have otherwise than succeeded, under the inspiration that so soon converted his prison into a palace?

"And therewith kest I down myn eye ageyne,
Quhare as I saw walking under the Toure,
Full secretly, new comyn hir to pleyne
The fairest or the freshest young floure
That ever I sawe, methoght, before that houre;
For which sodayne abate, anon astert,
The blude of all my body to my heart."

This beautiful apparition was Lady Jane Beaufort, thenceforth his muse, and finally his queen. He became a poet scarcely inferior to Chaucer himself, who was his model; and his principal poem, entitled the *King's Quhair* (quair or book); is the only work in English worthy of being placed by the side of the *Canterbury Tales*. Several other poetical works have been attributed to him, but from their character and style, they were more likely to have been the productions of James V., his talented descendant.

Another distinguished Scottish poet of this period was Henry the Minstrel, better known among the people at large by the homely epithet of Blind Harry. Of his personal history there is little known, except that he belonged to that class now proscribed in Scotland among the "vagabondis, fuillis, and sic like idill peopill;" that he recited his ballads from house to house for a living, and that he was born blind. All this gave little promise of the celebrity he was afterwards to acquire among his countrymen. But happily he hit upon a popular theme, which was the life and adventures of Sir William Wallace, the almost worshipped national hero, which he must have composed between the years 1470 and 1480; and the materials of the work, he informs us, were chiefly derived from the *Life of Wallace*, written in Latin by John Blair, the chaplain of

the hero, and amplified by Thomas Gray. In classical refinement, depth of reflection, and historical fidelity, the poem of *Wallace* cannot stand comparison with Barbour's *Bruce*; but as a spirit-stirring narrative, as well as descriptive epic, it is greatly superior to that of the philosophical archdeacon; so that while the latter work was chiefly confined to the reflective few, the former obtained a universal acceptance among the peasantry of Scotland, whom it roused and animated in the great struggle for national independence. In this way, the blind minstrel became the Homer of his country. Even, too, when his language had become all but a dead letter to common readers, and when Barbour was almost forgotten, the poetical fame of Henry suffered little diminution, as his *Wallace* was faithfully modernized by William Hamilton of Gilbertfield, the friend and correspondent of Allan Ramsay, and in this condition continues to be a favourite in almost every cottage of Scotland.

A third Scottish poet, but of a different character from the preceding, was Robert Henryson or Henderson, of whose life little is known, except that he was chief schoolmaster of Dunfermline during the fifteenth century. Classical and elegant in taste and refined in language, his poetry is a complete contrast to the rough trumpet-like strains of Blind Harry, as well as his favourite themes, which were chiefly commendatory of peacefulness, purity, and religious contemplation. He wrote a collection of fables, thirteen in number, also the tale of *Orpheus* founded on the old classical story, and the *Bludy Serk*, an allegorical tale, in which the highest doctrines of Christianity are impersonated in the adventures of a young prince freeing a king's daughter from captivity. But the best known of his works are the *Testament of Cresseid*, written as a sequel to Chaucer's *Troilus and Cresseide*, and *Robene and Makyn*, the earliest pastoral poem written in the English language. The poetical merits of Henryson are thus justly summed up by P. F. Tytler: "Of the works of this remarkable man it is difficult, when we consider the period in which they were written, to speak in terms of too warm encomium. In strength, and sometimes even in sublimity of painting, in pathos and sweetness, in the variety and beauty of his pictures of natural scenery, in the vein of quiet and playful humour, which runs through many of his pieces, and in that fine natural taste, which, rejecting the faults of his age, has dared to think for itself, he is altogether excellent."

BOOK VI.

PERIOD FROM THE ACCESSION OF HENRY VII. TO THE END OF THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH.—118 YEARS.

FROM A.D. 1485—1603.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

England.	Spain.	Germany.	
1485 HENRY VII.	1474 ISAB. and FERDINAND.	1440 FREDERICK IV.	1522 ADRIAN VI.
1509 HENRY VIII.	1516 CHARLES I.	1493 MAXIMILIAN I.	1523 CLEMENT VII.
1547 EDWARD VI.	1556 PHILIP II.	1519 CHARLES V.	1534 PAUL III.
1553 MARY.	1598 PHILIP III.	1558 FERDINAND I.	1550 JULIUS III.
1558 ELIZABETH.		1564 MAXIMILIAN II.	1555 MARCELLUS II.
	France.	1576 RODOLPH II.	1555 PAUL IV.
	1483 CHARLES VIII.		1559 PIUS IV.
	1498 LOUIS XII.	Popes.	1566 PIUS V.
Scotland.	1515 FRANCIS I.	1484 INNOCENT VIII.	1572 GREGORY XIII.
1460 JAMES III.	1547 HENRY II.	1492 ALEXANDER VI.	1585 SIXTUS V.
1483 JAMES IV.	1559 FRANCIS II.	1503 PIUS III.	1590 URBAN VII.
1513 JAMES V.	1560 CHARLES IX.	1503 JULIUS II.	1590 GREGORY XIV.
1542 MARY.	1574 HENRY III.	1513 LEO X.	1591 INNOCENT IX.
1567 JAMES VI.	1589 HENRY IV.		1592 CLEMENT VIII.

CHAPTER I.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1485—1492.

HENRY VII.—ACCESSION, A.D. 1485—DEATH, A.D. 1509.

Accession of the Earl of Richmond to the crown as Henry VII.—Edward Plantagenet, son of the Duke of Clarence, imprisoned in the tower—Reception of Henry VII. in London after his victory at Bosworth—His coronation—Adjustment of his royal rights—Date established for the commencement of his reign—Act for the settlement of the crown—Henry unites the rival claims of York and Lancaster by marrying the Princess Elizabeth—Dispensation of the pope for the marriage—Royal progress of Henry through the kingdom—Appearance of a pretender to the throne as Earl of Warwick—He is crowned in Ireland—He invades England—Is defeated at Stoke—Henry's avaricious proceedings—His policy under the growing predominance of France—He receives bribes from France, and deserts the Bretons—Indignation of his subjects at his conduct—Events in Brittany in connection with England—Henry's coalition with foreign powers against France—France obtains possession of Brittany—Henry makes traffic of the popular discontent against France—His pretended invasion of France.



RICHARD being removed from the scene, the person that gave most uneasiness to the conqueror of Bosworth Field was Edward Plantagenet, Earl of Warwick, son and heir to the late Duke of Clarence, who for some time had been kept a prisoner in the manor-house of Sheriff-Hutton, in Yorkshire, by the jealous fears of his uncle Richard. This unfortunate boy was indisputably the next heir of the house of York after the Princess Elizabeth; he had even at one time been treated by his uncle Richard III. as heir-apparent; and as he was already in his fifteenth year, he was not likely to be overlooked by Henry, who had "the ingenious forecast of the subtle serpent." Before leaving Leicester, he sent Sir Robert Willoughby to

remove the captive from Sheriff-Hutton to London, where the young prince, "born to perpetual calamity, was incontinent in the Tower of London put under safe and sure custody."¹ At Sheriff-Hutton² Edward Plantagenet had for a short time a fellow-prisoner, if not a companion, in the Princess Elizabeth, who had been sent thither by her uncle Richard soon after the failure of his scheme for marrying her. This lady, not long after Edward Plantagenet's removal to the Tower, was brought up to London, and was there lodged with her mother, the queen-dowager, Elizabeth Woodville.

¹ Hall.

² This edifice was erected in the time of Stephen (1140) by Bertram de Bulmer, from whose family it descended by marriage to the Nevils, who held it till the battle of Barnet, in 1471, when Richard Nevil, Earl of Warwick, was slain, and his

From Leicester, Henry travelled by easy journeys towards the capital; and when he approached the city on the 27th of August, five days after

"sweating sickness," as it was called from one of its symptoms, is not easy of description; but it was an epidemic that committed great ravages,

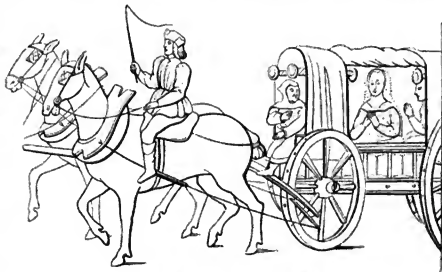


MANOR-HOUSE OF SHERIFF-HUTTON.—From a drawing by Whittock.

the battle of Bosworth Field, the mayor, aldermen, and companies, all clad in violet, met him at Hornsey Wood, and, with great pomp, conveyed him through the city to St. Paul's Church, where he offered his three standards on the high altar—one, an image of St. George; the second, a red dragon; the third, a dun-cow—and after prayers said and *Te Deum* sung, he departed to the bishop's palace, and there sojourned a season; during which time plays, pastimes, and pleasures were showed in every part of the city.¹ These profane amusements were interspersed with religious pageants: immense processions were ordered to express the hearty and humble thanks of the people, who, it was said (rather prematurely), had been restored to liberty and freedom. The concourse of people in the capital, and their constant meeting in great crowds, appears to have spread a disease which had been for some time raging with less violence in the provinces.² The

and which, like the plague, generally proved fatal within a very short time. It began in London about the 21st of September, and continued till the end of October. We are not told that this visitation, so inauspicious at the beginning of a new reign and dynasty, was held to be a judgment, though it may have been so considered by some of the losing party, who had no historians. When the malady abated, Henry prepared for his coronation. On the eve of St. Simon and Jude, he rode from Kennington to Lambeth, and there dined with Thomas Bourchier, Cardinal-archbishop of Canterbury; and after

dinner, with a goodly company of lords, both spiritual and temporal, he went by land towards London, his nobles riding, "after the guise of France, upon small hackneys, two and two upon a horse;" and, at London bridge end, he was met



CARRIAGE OF THE PERIOD.³—Archæologia.

and welcomed by John Warde, the new mayor, with his brethren and the crafts. The king took up his lodging in the Tower. There, on the following day, the 29th of October, he made a num-

estates confiscated. Edward IV. bestowed it upon his brother, subsequently Richard III., and it became the prison of Edward Plantagenet, son of the unfortunate Duke of Clarence, who was confined within its walls until the death of Richard on Bosworth Field: the Princess Elizabeth of York, afterwards consort of Henry VII., was also confined here. The castle and manor remained in the hands of the crown till 1625, when they were granted to the Ingrams.

¹ Hall; Stow.

² It will be remembered that Stanley excused his non-attendance on King Richard by saying that he was laid up with the sweating sickness. See vol. I. p. 650.

³ Henry entered London in a clumsy, close carriage, carefully shut up so as to conceal his person. The Londoners, who had always been accustomed to see their kings ride on horseback, thought this a very bad sign.

ber of promotions. His uncle Jasper, Earl of Pembroke, was made Duke of Bedford; the Lord Stanley, who had put the crown upon his head on Bosworth Field, was made Earl of Derby; and Sir Edward Courtenay was raised to the rank of Earl of Devonshire. On the 30th of October, Henry was, with all ceremonies accustomed, anointed and crowned king, by Bouchier, the cardinal-archbishop, who, little more than two years before, had performed the same ceremonies for Richard.

On the 7th of November, he met his parliament at Westminster for the proper establishment of affairs.¹ It seems quite certain that Henry, from the battle of Bosworth Field to the last days of his life, considered himself indebted for the throne to his sword, and he always fixed that battle as the epoch of his accession.² Now, when the commons waited upon him to present their speaker, he told them that he had come to the throne "by just title of inheritance, and by the sure judgment of God, who had given him the victory over his enemy in the field." It was found immediately that a great many of the members of the new House of Commons were persons attainted and outlawed by Richard or his brother Edward, for their adherence to the house of Lancaster, or for other causes; and it was also remarked that Henry himself, who had called this parliament, had been attainted. The commons therefore questioned whether their house were lawfully constituted, and the king, to his great displeasure, was obliged to refer the case to all the judges, who assembled in the exchequer chamber. The judges determined that such members of the House of Commons, as were attainted by course of law must forbear taking their seats till an act should be passed for the reversal of their attainder: as for what regarded the king himself, they asserted it as a maxim, that the crown takes away all defects and stops in blood,

and that, from the time the king took upon himself royal authority, the fountain was cleared, and all attainders and corruptions of blood discharged.³ The elections had been made before the blood was well dried upon Bosworth Field; the spirit of the aristocracy (and the people were as yet too weak to oppose the royal power without it) was broken and degraded—evaporated with the noble blood shed in the score of battles fought during the wars of the Roses, or upon the scaffold; and men of all classes had acquired, by long practice, a wonderful facility in discovering and siding with the strongest party. No Yorkist opposition of a serious nature was therefore to be expected in the house which, not many months before, had rung with the unanimous praise of King Richard; and, by a single act, all the attainted members were restored to their rights and then took their seats.⁴

Henry in reason ought to have been satisfied with the declaration which effaced all former blemishes and deficiencies, and made him a good and lawful king from the time he assumed the crown, which was on the field of battle; but he resolved to be a king even before that time, in order to punish men for treason which had never been committed, unless he could antedate his royal existence. This antedating involved some very curious points: if he claimed the crown by right of his descent from the house of Lancaster, he might have been expected to date from his boyhood or from the murder of Henry VI.; if people looked to the rights he would derive from his marriage with the Princess Elizabeth of the house of York, though they could not help knowing that this marriage had not even yet been celebrated, they might have allowed him the latitude of dating from the murder of Elizabeth's brothers in the Tower; but Henry took a very different course, and with characteristic nicety, as if so small a theft from time were no

¹ As a new historical era had commenced with the new dynasty, it will be sufficient in this place to point out the principal circumstances in the polity of England, at the accession of Henry VII.

"The essential checks upon the royal authority were five in number:—1. The king could levy no sort of new tax on his people, except by the grant of his parliament, consisting as well of bishops and mitred abbots or lords spiritual, and of hereditary peers or temporal lords, who sat and voted promiscuously in the same chamber, as of representatives from the freeholders of each county, and from the burghesses of many towns and less considerable places, forming the lower or commons' house. 2. The previous assent and authority of the same assembly was necessary for every new law, whether of a general or temporary nature. 3. No man could be committed to prison, but by a legal warrant specifying his offence; and by an usage nearly tantamount to constitutional right, he must be speedily brought to trial, by means of regular sessions of jail delivery. 4. The fact of guilt or innocence on a criminal charge, was determined in a public court, and in the county where the offence was alleged to have occurred, by a jury of twelve men, from whose unanimous verdict no appeal could be made. Civil rights, so

far as they depended on matters of fact, were subject to the same decision. 5. The officers and servants of the crown, violating the personal liberty or other right of the subject, might be sued in an action for damages, to be assessed by a jury, or, in some cases, were liable to a criminal process; nor could they plead any warrant or command in their justification, not even the direct order of the king.

"These securities, though it would be easy to prove that they were all recognized in law, differed much in the degree of their effective operation. It may be said of the first, that it was now completely established. After a long contention, the Kings of England had desisted for near 100 years from every attempt to impose taxes without consent of parliament; and their recent device of demanding benevolences, or half-compulsory gifts, though very oppressive, and on that account just abolished by an act of the late usurper, Richard, was in effect a recognition of the general principle which it sought to elude rather than transgress."—Hallam's *Const. Hist. of England*, chap. i.

² Sir Harris Nicolas, *Chron. of Hist.*

³ Bacon, *Life of Henry VII.*: *Rot. Parl.*

⁴ *Rot. Parl.*: Bacon; Marsolier, *Histoire de Henri VII.*, surnommé Le Sage, et le Salomon d'Angleterre.

theft at all, he only antedated by a single day, making his reign begin on the 21st of August, the eve of the battle of Bosworth, when the crown was on the head of Richard, and he, Henry, was nothing but Earl of Richmond. In this manner the marches and counter-marches, and all the long preparations of the friends of Richard to meet the invader were overlooked, and they were accused of nothing treasonable before that day. In the preamble of the bill which he caused to be introduced in parliament, after a recital of the unnatural, mischievous, and great perjuries, treasons, homicides and murders in *shedding of infants' blood*, with many other wrongs, odious offences and abominations against God and man, committed by Richard late Duke of Gloucester, it was shown how John, late Duke of Norfolk, Thomas, Earl of Surrey, Francis, Viscount Lovel, John, Lord Zouch, Robert Middleton, Robert Brakenbury, Ratcliffe, Catesby, and others, had, "on the 21st day of August, the first year of the reign of our sovereign lord, assembled to them at Leicester, in the county of Leicester, a great host, traitorously intending, imagining, and conspiring the destruction of the king's royal person, our sovereign liege lord," &c.¹

The absurdity of this antedating by a day was too manifest to escape observation, and the whole tendency was startling. It was asked how Richard, and Norfolk, and Surrey, and the other adherents of the late king, could have committed treason against Henry, then only Earl of Richmond, and at a time when he had never publicly laid claim to the crown. All constitutional and legal objections were, however, overruled, and, in spite of a faint opposition within doors and a louder outcry without the subservient parliament passed the bill as required, and attainted the late king, the Duke of Norfolk, his son the Earl of Surrey, Lord Lovel, Lord Ferrers, and twenty-five other noblemen and gentlemen. Henry thus obtained what he much wanted—an immediate supply of money:

¹ Rot. Parl.

some of the confiscated estates, the largest and finest in the kingdom, he kept to himself, and others he distributed among his needy followers. Of the thirty persons thus attainted, some had fallen with Richard and the Duke of Norfolk at Bosworth; some, like Lord Lovel, had taken sanctuary, and some had fled beyond sea. The new king was only fond of executions on great state occasions, and the only blood which was shed at this revolution, was that of Richard's confidential adviser, Catesby, and of two persons named Brecher, who were put to death immediately after the battle.

But the most important operation pursued

during this session of parliament, and that in which Henry most forcibly displayed his wary, hesitating, and equivocating character, was the settlement of the crown by vote and enactment. The act was dictated by the king himself: all mention of the Princess Elizabeth, and of every branch of her family, was carefully avoided; no stress was laid on his descent from an excluded and illegitimate branch of the house of Lancaster; he satisfied himself with repealing in his own favour all such acts as treated Henry IV., Henry V., Henry VI., and Edward of Lancaster, Prince of Wales, as

usurpers and traitors; and in favour of Elizabeth, he merely revoked the bastardly act passed against her and all the children of Edward IV. and Elizabeth Woodville at Richard's accession. He ordered that every record of parliament which contained any mention of his own attainder should be taken off the file, that the original of the bastardy act should be burned, and that all persons who kept copies of it, after a certain day, should be fined and imprisoned. Dropping the high tone of hereditary right and heavenly judgment "shown in issue of battle," he caused it merely to be written in the act of settlement, that "the inheritance of the crown should be, rest, remain, and abide, in the most royal person of the sovereign lord, King Henry VII., and the heirs of his body lawfully coming, perpetually



HENRY VII.—From the family picture painted by Holbein for Henry VIII.

with the grace of God so to endure, and in none other." But this excess of caution excited suspicions and discontents which might have proved fatal, had Henry not been ready to fulfil a contract of a more private nature, through which only—gloze it as he would—he could pretend to any right to the crown. He was well aware of all the manœuvres of the queen-dowager and the Princess Elizabeth; he knew that the first had fallen in with the views of the late king, and that Elizabeth had consented to marry Richard and convey her rights to him. These circumstances were not likely to conciliate Henry; but affection and respect had no part in his political match; his great object in delaying the union was to avoid making the rights of the house of York too prominent—to disguise the fact that, in law at least, he owed the crown to a woman: and even at last he made it appear that he yielded to the prayer of parliament. The friends of the house of York—the parties who had contracted for the marriage in France a year before—were irritated at seeing no allusion made to the Princess Elizabeth; and the nation at large felt that if this new revolution were to have any value, it would only be inasmuch as it put an end to civil war, by uniting the White and Red Roses. When the commons presented to the king the grant of tonnage and poundage *for life* (now a usual grant), they saddled it with a plain and direct request that he would "take to wife and consort the Princess Elizabeth." When this petition was read, the lords, both spiritual and temporal, rose from their seats and joined in it, by bowing with proper solemnity to the throne, and then Henry graciously replied that he was ready and willing to satisfy them on this point.¹

In the same parliament all grants made by the crown since the thirty-fourth year of Henry VI. were resumed; and thus Henry acquired the power to take from the partizans of the house of York, or to confirm to them the possession of whatever property they had obtained in this way. There was also passed a general amnesty in favour of all such adherents of Richard as would submit to the king's mercy and take the new oath of allegiance. But here, again, Henry showed his character: he would not allow the houses of parliament to have anything to do with this act of grace, which was published and proclaimed as originating in his own royal breast, and emanating solely from his own royal mercy. All these things were sufficient indications of the spirit of absolutism—a spirit which would not have been tolerated by the proud and bold aristocracy of former times, but which there was now little to oppose. Several of Richard's adroit

agents were presently employed about the court; and among these were Sir John Tyrrel, the reputed murderer of the sons of Edward IV. in the Tower.*

A.D. 1486. On the 18th of January Henry married the Princess Elizabeth; and thus, at last, the long-desired blending of the rival Roses was accomplished. But her jealous husband allowed her the smallest possible share of authority or influence: her coronation was indefinitely postponed; and, until policy obliged her husband to adopt a different course, she was little more than a queen in name. Nor did her mother, Elizabeth Woodville, reap any great benefit from the revolution; she did not recover her dower, but lived, it should seem, on an allowance made by Henry, who was too fond of money to be liberal.

The Bishop of Imola, Papal legate, had given the dispensation considered necessary for the marriage, as Henry and Elizabeth were related; but the king was determined to make more of this opportunity. He thought that he might gain something over scrupulous minds, by obtaining the express sanction of the pope to his elevation to the throne: and for this he determined to apply in his usual indirect manner. Pretending scruples or apprehensions as to the lawfulness of the marriage he had contracted, he applied for a second dispensation, to be given by the pope himself. Innocent VIII. readily complied. In his document every clause was inserted that Henry required, and contradictory rights were heaped one upon another. It was recited that the crown of England belonged to the gracious Henry by right of conquest—by notorious and indisputable right of succession—by right of election made by all the prelates, lords, and commons of the realm—and by right of the act of settlement passed by the three estates in parliament assembled—but that, nevertheless, to put an end to the bloody wars which had risen out of the claims of the house of York, and at the urgent request of parliament, King Henry had consented to marry Elizabeth, the eldest daughter and true heir of Edward IV., of "immortal memory." The pope, therefore, at the prayer of the king, and to preserve peace in the kingdom, confirmed the dispensation. So far the dispensation did not very much exceed its proper office: but the pontiff proceeded to confirm the act of settlement passed by the parliament, and to define and fix irrevocably the meaning of that act. According to his interpretation, that act meant that, if Queen Elizabeth should die without issue before the king her husband, or if her issue should not outlive their

¹ Rot. Parl.

* Rot. Parl.; Bacon, *Life of Henry VII.*

father, then, and in that case, the crown should devolve to Henry's children by any subsequent marriage. Sentence of excommunication was pronounced against all who should call in question this interpretation, or who should hereafter attempt to disturb Henry in the present possession, or the heirs of his body in the future succession:—and so ended this extraordinary bull.¹

When parliament was dissolved, Henry prepared to make a royal progress through the kingdom, with the more express object of staying some time in the north, in order to gain the goodwill of the people in those parts. "In the prime time of the year he began his journey towards York, and, because the feast of Easter approached, he turned aside to the city of Lincoln, where he tarried during the solemnity of that high feast." Here he was informed that Lord Lovel, with Humphrey and Thomas Stafford, "had fled from the sanctuary of Colchester, and had gone, with dangerous intentions, no man knew whither." On the 6th of April Henry left Lincoln for Nottingham, well attended; by the 17th he was at Pontefract, where he was stopped for awhile by the intelligence that Lord Lovel, with a considerable body of insurgents, had thrown himself between Middleham and York. To retreat might have proved more dangerous than to advance, even in face of an equal force; but the insurgents were greatly inferior, and, on seeing that the enterprise was hopeless, Lord Lovel disbanded them, and fled into Lancashire. After lying concealed there for a short time in the house of his friend Sir Thomas Broughton, he passed over to Flanders. A few of the men who had taken up arms with him were seized and executed. This failure wholly disconcerted the project of the Staffords, who had prepared an insurrection in Worcestershire. The two brothers fled for sanctuary to the church of Colham, near Abingdon; but this time their sanctuary was not respected: they were dragged by force from the church, and had sentence passed upon them as traitors. Humphrey, the elder, was executed at Tyburn, but Thomas, the younger brother, was pardoned.²

On the 26th of April Henry entered York, in which city the memory of King Richard, his mortal enemy, was yet "recent and lively, and not all forgotten of his friends." But the visitor, on necessary occasions, could relax his avarice: he reduced the town-rent to the crown from £160 yearly to £18, 5s.—he dispensed favours and honours—held feasts—exhibited pageants and miracles—fed some poets who recited some bad verses in his honour—and distributed money among the people, who cried, lustily, "King

Henry! King Henry! Our Lord preserve that sweet and well-favoured face!" Having spent nearly a month at York, he turned to the south-west, and visited Worcester, Hereford, Gloucester, and Bristol. In the course of his slow and stately progress he was very attentive to the public observance of religious worship; but he chose his *own* subject for the sermons that were preached. On every Sunday or saint's day one of the bishops read and expounded from the pulpit the bull which Henry had obtained on his marriage from Pope Innocent. On his return to London, in the month of June, he received an embassy from the King of Scotland, who joyfully consented to a treaty of truce and amity, to be followed in due season by a matrimonial alliance between their families.³

On the 20th of September, eight months and two days after her marriage, Elizabeth was delivered of a son, who was christened Arthur, after the hero of ancient romance, with whom Henry claimed relationship on the father's side through the Tudors and Cadwalladers.

We left the young Earl of Warwick, the son of the Duke of Clarence, safely lodged in the Tower. In the month of November a young priest of Oxford, and a beautiful boy, landed at Dublin. The priest gave out that the boy was Edward Plantagenet, Earl of Warwick, who had escaped in a marvellous manner from the Tower of London; and among a people of lively imagination and warm feelings, and enthusiastic in their attachment to the house of York, a ready belief was accorded to the story, and a generous sympathy spread from heart to heart for the young hero of it. What was credulity in the common people was design and craft in some, possibly in most of the Anglo-Irish nobles, who were averse to Henry, who had scarcely submitted to his government, and who were ready to adopt all such measures as chance might offer, provided they held out a prospect of overthrowing the new order of things in England. Thomas Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare, and lord-lieutenant or deputy of Ireland, received the priest and his pupil with open arms, and presented the latter "to all his friends and lovers," declaring "the coming of the child, and afterwards affirming that the crown and sceptre of the realm of right belonged to this young prince." The boy was not only beautiful and graceful in person, but witty and ingenious: he told his touching story with great consistency, and when questioned, he could give minute particulars relating to the royal family. The citizens of Dublin declared unanimously in his favour; and his fame was "shortly bruited throughout all Ireland, and

¹ Rymer.
VOL. I.

² Year Book.

³ Herald's Journal, MS. Lat. Collect.; Hall: Bacon: Rymer.
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every man was willing to take his part, and submit to him, calling him, on all hands, king." When news of these doings reached King Henry, he summoned a great council to meet in the Charter House, near his royal manor of Richmond. His bad faith had made many men desperate; and, in the homely saying of the chronicler, "had set all things at sixes and sevens." The pardon which he had granted in the first parliament was not only hampered with exceptions and restrictions, but the parts that were free from such qualifications had not been observed; several persons who had submitted and claimed the benefit of the amnesty had been thrown into prison and cruelly treated; and in this number was the Earl of Surrey,¹ who was now a close prisoner in the Tower. Henry, trembling at the effect of all this, now resolved to proclaim another general pardon, free from all exceptions. The next resolution adopted in council was to arrest Elizabeth Woodville, the mother of the queen; and the third was to produce the real Earl of Warwick, and show him in the most public manner.



EAST GATE OF BERMONDSEY ABBEY.—From an engraving dated 1794.

The council was held with great secrecy. The resolutions, however, were immediately carried into execution; and, first, the queen-dowager was

¹ Surrey had fought bravely for King Richard at the battle of Bosworth Field, where his father, the Duke of Norfolk, was slain.

² Bermondsey Priory was founded in 1081, by Ailwyn Childe, a citizen of London, for monks of the Cluniac order, first introduced into England by Archbishop Lanfranc. In the reign of Edward III. the priory was sequestered, together with other

arrested, deprived of all her property, and placed as a close prisoner in the monastery of Bermondsey. The motive set forth by Henry was certainly not the true one; it seemed altogether incredible to the historians of the following age, and it was not credited by Henry's contemporaries. It was that Elizabeth Woodville was punished for her intrigues with King Richard, and for delivering her daughter into the hands of the usurper, contrary to her pact and agreement with those that had arranged with her concerning the marriage of her said daughter Elizabeth with Henry himself, then an exile in France. Bacon, and Hall, whom he follows, plainly assign another reason. After observing that the priest of Oxford, who had never seen the real Earl of Warwick, must have had a prompter in a person conversant with the history of the court and family of York, Bacon says, "so it cannot be, but that some *great* person, that knew particularly and familiarly Edward Plantagenet, had a hand in the business, from whom the priest might take his aim. That which is most proba-

ble out of the precedent and subsequent acts is, that it was the queen-dowager from whom this action had the principal source and motion. For certain it is, she was a busy, negotiating woman, and in her withdrawing-chamber had the fortunate conspiracy for the king against King Richard III. been hatched, which the king knew and *remembered, perhaps, but too well*; and was at this time extremely discontent with the king, thinking her daughter (as the king handled the matter) not advanced, but depressed: and none could hold the book so well to prompt and instruct this stage-play as she could."³

Soon after, the Marquis of Dorset, Elizabeth's son by her first marriage, was arrested and thrown into the Tower. The amnesty was of course published immediately; but, not relying wholly on this measure, Henry sent trusty agents to the seaports to prevent fugitives, malcontents, and suspected persons from passing over to Ireland or to Flanders: on a Sunday he brought young Edward Plantagenet, Earl of Warwick, out of the Tower, and conducted him in the most public manner through all the principal streets of London, that he might be seen and recognized by the citizens, many of whom had known the boy up to his tenth year. This well-studied and most open exhibition had its effect in England. "Nevertheless, in Ireland, where it was too late

alien priories, but re established and erected into an abbey in the second year of the reign of Richard II. The abbey was finally surrendered in the year 1539, by Robert de Wharton, who received in compensation the large pension of £330, 6s. 8d., and also the bishopric of St. Asaph in commendam.

³ Bacon, *Life*: i. Hall.

to go back, it wrought none; but contrariwise, there they turned the imposture upon the king, and gave out that *he*, to defeat the true inheritor, and to mock the world, and blind the eyes of simple men, had tricked up a boy in the likeness of Edward Plantagenet, and showed him to the people, not sparing to profane the ceremony of a solemn procession, the more to countenance the fable."¹

But, for a time, the plot thickened even in England. John, Earl of Lincoln, son of John de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, and of Elizabeth, second sister of Edward IV. and Richard III., had, like the Earl of Warwick, fallen into the power of Henry after the battle of Bosworth. It was known that his uncle, the late king, had at one time appointed this young earl to be his successor on the throne, and that many persons looked up to him as the most promising member of the house of York. The young earl is described as a person of great wit, courage, and enterprise, "with thoughts highly raised by hopes and expectations;" yet, if he had been of a different temper, it seems probable that, at a moment when Henry's suspicions and jealousies were so much excited, self-preservation might have induced him to flee, if not to embark in some desperate project. Immediately after the private sitting of the council at Richmond, Lincoln disappeared, and it was not known for some time whither he had betaken himself. The Irish lords had sent emissaries into Flanders. The high personage to whom they addressed themselves was the Dowager-duchess of Burgundy, the widow of Charles the Rash, and sister to Edward IV. and Richard III., who lived in good state in the Netherlands, having sovereign authority in the district which her husband had left as her dower. Good and amiable as she was in other respects, this princess hated King Henry and all his race with a most enduring and implacable hatred. Bacon says, rather ungallantly, that she had "the spirit of a man, and the malice of a woman;" and that, "abounding in treasure by the greatness of her dower and her provident government, and being childless and without any nearer care, she made it her design and enterprise to see the majesty royal of England once again replaced in her house, and had set up King Henry as a mark at whose overthrow all her actions should aim and shoot." It was to her that Lovel had fled on the failure of the insurrection in Yorkshire, and it was to her that her nephew, the Earl of Lincoln, now repaired. The duchess presently got together a body of 2000 Germans, under the command of Martin Swart, a valiant and experienced captain. With these foreign mercenaries, the

Earl of Lincoln, the Lord Lovel, and some other English exiles, embarked for Ireland. In the month of May, a few days after their landing, the Earl of Warwick of that side of the water was crowned in the cathedral church of Dublin in the most solemn fashion, the Bishop of Meath performing the ceremony. This was done without any show of opposition, there being not a single sword drawn for King Henry, and, indeed, no displeasure testified in Ireland, except in the city of Waterford and among the people of the Butlers, who were old Lancastrians and hereditary enemies of the Earl of Kildare, the lord-keeper.² Edward VI., as the new king was styled, issued writs, convoked a parliament, and caused penalties to be enacted against the Butlers and the citizens of Waterford.

Henry, meanwhile, levied troops in different parts of the kingdom, put on a smiling, yet at the same time a devout face, and, with great policy, resorted to the best means for disconcerting the plots hatching in England, and for securing the good-will of the people. Shortly after the sudden flight of Lincoln, he travelled leisurely through Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk, in which counties the young earl's influence was high. He was courteous to all the gentry, many of whom held themselves ready to do him service.³ From Bury St. Edmunds he went to Norwich, and, to captivate the populace, he went from Norwich "in manner of a pilgrimage" to Walsingham, where he visited our Lady's Church, famous for miracles. He then proceeded by way of Northampton and Coventry, to Kenilworth Castle, within the strong walls of which he had placed his mother, his wife, and his infant son, Prince Arthur. While he lay at Kenilworth, the king, from Ireland, landed at the pile of Foudray, in the southern extremity of Furness. Immediately on their landing, the Earl of Lincoln and the Lord Lovel were joined by their sworn friend Sir Thomas Broughton, whose estates lay in Lancashire. From the coast they advanced boldly towards York, expecting to be joined on the road by many malcontents. "But their snowball did not gather as it went; for the people came not in to them, neither did any rise or declare themselves in other parts of the kingdom for them, which was caused partly by the good taste that the king had given his people of his government, joined with the reputation of his felicity (good luck), and partly for that it was an odious thing to the people of England to have a king brought in to them upon the shoulders of Irish and Dutch, of which their army was in substance con-

¹ Three or four of the bishops, however, kept aloof.

² We learn, from one of the Paston letters, dated in the month of May, that the king and his lieutenant, the Earl of Oxford, were right well content at the conduct of the Norfolk gentry.

³ Bacon.

pounded."¹ Though cruelly disappointed, the young Earl of Lincoln boldly turned southward to meet Henry, who was advancing upon York by way of Coventry, Leicester, and Nottingham, at the head of a well-appointed and numerous army. On the 16th of June the Earl of Oxford, who led Henry's van, was brought into action at Stoke, then a little village upon the brow of a hill not far from Newark. Henry remained with the rear-guard, which never came into action. The battle was fierce and obstinate for about three hours; but the invaders had little or no cavalry, and the mass of them were ill provided with arms. "Martin Swart, with his Germans, performed bravely, and so did those few English that were on that side; neither did the Irish fail in courage or fierceness, but being almost naked men, only armed with darts and skeins, it was rather an execution than a fight upon them; inasmuch as the furious slaughter of them was a great discouragement and appalment to the rest." The veteran Germans died in their ranks almost to a man; nor was the victory decided till one-half of the whole invading force and many hundreds of the Earl of Oxford's men had perished. His majesty Edward VI., now plain Lambert Simnel, the son of a baker, and the priest of Oxford, whose proper name was Simons, were taken prisoners; the Earl of Lincoln, the Lords Thomas and Maurice Fitzgerald, Sir Thomas Broughton, and Martin Swart, died fighting like brave men. The Lord Lovel was seen to escape from the field: his name was not included in the mournful list of the dead, made as usual by an herald, but, as he was never more seen, it was believed that he had been drowned in attempting to swim his horse across the river Trent. Long after, when the race of the Tudors had gone to their account, and when the dynasty of the Stuarts had been driven out of the kingdom—nearly 200 years from the time of this forgotten battle of Stoke—some workmen accidentally discovered a subterranean chamber at Minster Lovel, in Oxfordshire, the ancient seat of the adventurous lord. Within this chamber was a skeleton of a man seated in a chair with his head resting upon a table; and these sad relics were supposed, with some reason, to tell a tale of horror.²

Henry's conduct after the victory of Stoke was very characteristic. "For Lambert (Simnel)," says Bacon, "the king would not take his life, both out of magnanimity—taking him but as an

image of wax, that others had tempered and moulded—and likewise out of wisdom, thinking that if he suffered death, he would be forgotten too soon, but being kept alive he would be a continual spectacle, and a kind of remedy against the like enchantments of people in time to come. For which cause he was taken into service in his court, to a base office in his kitchen; so that he turned a broach³ that had worn a crown. . . . And afterwards he was preferred to be one of the king's falconers. As to the priest, he was committed closer prisoner, and heard of no more—the king loving to seal up his own dangers."⁴

One of the king's first cares after the battle of Stoke was to return a solemn thanksgiving, and to offer up his banner at the shrine of our Lady of Walsingham. He then travelled northward to punish such persons as had assisted or favoured the rebels. His proceedings were wholly independent of the ordinary courts of justice; but, as on many other occasions, his revenge was subservient to his avarice, so that the chief punishments he inflicted were by fine and ransom. But the pleasure Henry derived from a harvest of this kind, and from seeing that all immediate opposition had vanished, did not blind him to the facts, that his behaviour to his queen had created him many enemies, and that his jealousy of the whole house of York, instead of strengthening had weakened him, by alienating the affections of the people. Elizabeth, the rightful heir, was kept in obscurity: she had been his wife a year and a half, and had borne him a son, and still she was not crowned. Now, however, he was "willing to give some contentment of that kind, at least in ceremony." Elizabeth was crowned at Westminster, on the 20th of November, Henry witnessing the whole ceremony, and the feast which followed, from behind a screen or lattice that concealed his person.⁵ He liberated the Marquis of Dorset from the Tower, but it appears that he still left Elizabeth Woodville, that nobleman's mother, and the mother of his queen, in the hands of the monks of Bermondsey. The chief business of the parliament when it met was to vote supplies and a bill of attainder, which, on slight evidence, included a great number of persons said to have been concerned in the late insurrection. It appears that no names were inserted except of persons who had property to forfeit.⁶

Ever since his accession Henry had been occu-

¹ Bacon. ² Bacon: *Hall: Rot. Parl.*: Carte, *Hist. Eng.*

³ A spit; French, "broche."

⁴ Bacon.

⁵ A curious account of the coronation is given by Ives. See *Select Papers*, &c.

⁶ "Next the king required their aid to put down the dangerous and unlawful practice of 'maintenance.' The reader will recollect that by maintenance was understood an association of individuals under a chief, whose livery they wore, and to whom

they bound themselves by oaths and promises, for the purpose of maintaining by force the private quarrels of the chief and the members. Hence the course of justice was obstructed, jurors were intimidated, and offenders escaped with impunity. Hence also (and this it was that chiefly provoked the hostility of the king) powerful noblemen were furnished with the means of raising forces at a short warning to oppose the reigning, or to assist a new claimant. In the preceding parliament an oath

pired exclusively in settling his affairs at home; but now, complicated intrigues and great political movements forced him to look abroad. The aspect of affairs in France, even before these demonstrations, was sufficiently alarming: the dis-severed parts of that country were gradually uniting into a consistent whole, and forming a great and compact kingdom, while the much narrower extent of Britain was still divided into two rival kingdoms, frequently at war with one another. The rapid growth of the French power threatened to cast a dangerous shadow over all the neighbouring countries; and, both according to the principles of common policy, which seeks to check the too rapid aggrandizement of a rival, and to the juster and nobler policy which opposes itself to the conquest of small and weak states by strong ones, Henry seemed bound to take an active part in the affairs of the Continent. But Henry was no warrior, and his avidity for money, his juggling and double-dealing, prevented him from taking up the honourable position of an arbiter and peacemaker; for, with the means he had in his hands, he might have curbed the ambition of France without any war. At the time of the death of Louis XI., which happened on the 30th of August, 1483, about two months after the accession of Richard III., by craft and policy, by fortunate marriages, and by the sword, the French monarchy had swallowed up all the independent principalities, except Brittany, which still preserved its duke and its comparatively free institutions. Charles VIII., the son of Louis, was only fourteen years of age when he ascended the throne of France; and, according to arrangements made by his father, he was placed for a fixed time under the tutelage of Madame Anne, his elder sister, who had married Peter of Bourbon, Lord of Beaujeu. What followed was according to precedent:—the Duke of Orleans (afterwards Louis XII.), who hated Bourbon and his wife, flew to arms; but Orleans was unsuccessful and driven to seek refuge in Brittany. Duke Fran-

cis II. had always been a weak prince, and he was now growing old and infirm. His guest, notwithstanding he was already married to one of the daughters of Louis XI., conceived the idea of obtaining possession of the duchy by marrying Anne of Brittany, the elder daughter and heiress of Francis; and a party among the turbulent Breton nobles entered into his views. At the same time there was another faction that favoured the French court, and another that inclined to an alliance with England. The country was ravaged by a civil war. Encouraged by the prevailing disorders, the French regency precociously betrayed their design of seizing the duchy, upon the ground of some inexplicable right. Duke Francis thereupon summoned the three estates of the duchy, who took a most solemn oath of allegiance to the Princess Anne, and, in case of her dying without issue, to her younger sister Madame Isabeau. This act fixed the eyes of several princes upon the heiress of Brittany, and, besides the Duke of Orleans, who had many formidable difficulties to overcome, the Sire d'Albret, whose dominions lay in Gascony and at the foot of the Pyrenees, and Maximilian, son of the Emperor Frederick IV., aspired to her hand. The poor duke, who had engaged to consult the three estates on the choice of his son-in-law, neglected so to do, and encouraged the hopes of these three suitors, and even treated with others at one and the same time. The Duke of Orleans made his peace with the French court and returned to Paris, but he was soon detected in a fresh conspiracy, and was again obliged to flee to Nantes. He soon found that his party was losing ground in Brittany, where the nobles were disgusted at seeing that he did what he chose with their imbecile prince, and filled all the offices with French adventurers, his own adherents. The course they pursued to correct this evil was absurd enough: a great many of the Breton nobles opened a correspondence with the French court, and implored its aid. At this moment a

had been required from the lords, and was ordered to be taken by the commons in each county, that they would not keep in their service men openly cursed, or murderers, or felons, or outlaws; that they would not retain persons by indentures, or give liveries contrary to law; and that they would not make riots or maintenances, nor oppose the due execution of the king's writs."—*Lingard*, vol. iv. p. 139.

"From the time of Edward I., the feudal system and all the feelings connected with it declined very rapidly. But what the nobility lost in the number of their military tenants, was in some degree compensated by the state of manners. The higher class of them, who took the chief share in public affairs, were exceedingly opulent; and their mode of life gave wealth an incredibly greater efficacy than it possesses at present. Gentlemen of large estates and good families, who had attached themselves to those great peers, who bore offices which we should call menial in their households, and sent their children thither for education, were of course ready to follow their banner in a rising, without much inquiry into the cause. Still less would the vast body of tenants and their retainers, who were fed in the castle

at time of peace, refuse to carry their pikes and staves into the field of battle. Many devices were used to preserve this aristocratic influence, which riches and ancestry of themselves rendered so formidable. Such was the maintenance of suits, or confederacies for the purpose of supporting each other's claims in litigation, which was the subject of frequent complaints in parliament, and gave rise to several prohibitory statutes. By help of such confederacies, parties were enabled to make violent entries upon the lands they claimed, which the law itself could hardly be said to discourage. Even proceedings in courts of justice were often liable to intimidation and influence. A practice much allied to confederacies of maintenance, though ostensibly more harmless, was that of giving liveries to all retainers of a noble family; but it had an obvious tendency to preserve that spirit of factious attachments and animosities which it is the general policy of a wise government to dissipate. From the first year of Richard II., we find continual mention of this custom, with many legal provisions against it; but it was never abolished till the reign of Henry VII."—Hallam, *Hist. of England during the Middle Ages*, vol. iii. p. 245.

French army was on their frontiers; for the Regent Anne had made up her mind to take advantage of the condition of affairs. The Bretons formed a confederacy at Châteaubriant, and stipulated that the king should not send more than 400 men-at-arms and 4000 foot into their country—that the liberties of the duchy and private property should be respected—and that, as soon as the Duke of Orleans should be expelled, the French should recross the frontier. Charles poured 16,000 men into the country, and, of course, broke all his engagements as soon as he was able. In the month of May, 1487, while Henry was expecting Lambert Simnel from Ireland, the French army advanced in three divisions; the first took Ploërmel, the second Vannes, and the third laid siege to Nantes, within the walls of which Duke Francis took refuge with his daughters. Maximilian, now titular King of the Romans, sent a body of 1500 German and Flemish soldiers to the assistance of Francis; and these, being joined by some Bretons, under the command of the Count of Dunois, cut their way through the French lines, and relieved Nantes in the beginning of August. Another of Madame Anne's suitors was less fortunate. As the Sire d'Albret was marching through the Limousin, with 3000 or 4000 Gascons, to succour Duke Francis and the ladies, he was attacked by a superior force of French, to which he capitulated. Though foiled before Nantes, La Tremoille, Charles' general, took Auray, Vitré, and St. Aubin-du-Cormier: at the same time fresh troops poured

the fact to be, that he had already accepted of a *retainer* from the French court. If this were not the case, he must forfeit his reputation for cunning and quick-sightedness, and stand in this particular in the light of a dupe. "King Charles," says Bacon, "knew well he could not receive any opposition so potent as if King Henry should, either from policy of state, in preventing the growing greatness of France, or upon gratitude unto the Duke of Brittany¹ for his former favours in the time of his distress, espouse that quarrel, and declare himself in aid of the duke. Therefore, he no sooner heard that King Henry was settled by his victory (at Stoke), than he sent ambassadors unto him, to pray his assistance, or at the least that he would stand neutral: which ambassadors found the king at Leicester."²

Henry, to acquit himself, as he said, of his gratitude to both the King of France and the Duke of Brittany, for whom he "was ready even to go a pilgrimage," and to "satisfy all obligations both to God and man," offered himself as mediator. Upon this the ambassadors departed well pleased, for they knew that his mediation would not stop the progress of their army. Charles' generals, indeed, proceeded with more vigour than ever; and, while they were fighting, Henry despatched Christopher Urswick, his chaplain—"a person by him much trusted and employed"—to talk to the French court. From Paris Urswick went to Rennes, the capital of the Duke of Brittany. When Francis saw the priest, he told him that, having been a benefactor and a kind of foster-father to Henry for many years, he looked, at this time, from the "renowned King of England" rather for succour in a brave army, than a vain treaty of peace. The chaplain then returned to Paris, and the court there sent him back to London, to tell his master of the obstinacy and disrespect of Duke Francis. And still the French troops continued their operations, and whenever they gained a battle or took a town they emphatically repeated that they had no wish to make conquests, but were most anxious for the success of Henry's mediation. Another



THE CASTLE AND CATHEDRAL, NANTES.—From Touchard Lafosse, La Loire.

across the French frontier, while Maximilian could send no further reinforcements. At the approach of the storm Duke Francis applied to England for assistance. At that moment Henry was absorbed by his own troubles; but when those difficulties were over he was in no haste to accede to the prayer of the Bretons. We believe

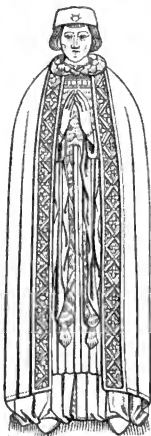
embassy was sent over to England, and Henry could not do less than return the compliment. Urswick was despatched again to the French court, and with him were associated the abbot

¹ "Britain" is the form of the name used by Bacon; to prevent confusion, we have substituted the more usual form in this and other places.

² *Eucœa*.

of Abingdon and Sir Richard Tunstal, a layman. But by this time the people of England were beginning to lament that the French king should be allowed to aggrandize himself at the expense of an ancient ally of their country; and some gallant knights, in whom the spirit of chivalry and the recollections of Crecy and Azincourt were not yet extinct, were all on fire to hasten to the rescue of an unfortunate prince, and measure swords with the French. Sir Edward Woodville, one of the queen's uncles, collected a brave band of 400 men, and set sail from the Isle of Wight for St. Malo, on the coast of Brittany. When the news of this expedition reached the French court, the poor chaplain Urswick and his brother ambassadors there had a narrow escape from the fury of "divers young bloods." But "presently came an agent from King Henry to purge himself touching Lord Woodville's going over, using for a principal argument, to demonstrate that it was without his privy, for that the troops were so small, as neither had the face of a succour by authority, nor could much advance the Brittany affairs. To which message, although the French king gave no full credit, yet he made fair weather with the king, and seemed satisfied."²

This was, indeed, a business where everybody was seeking to deceive everybody. Henry, however, forbade other English adventurers to join Duke Francis; and, as the zeal of the nation blazed the more from repression, he determined to turn it to his advantage financially. "Wherein first he thought to make his vantage upon his parliament, knowing that they, being affectionate unto the quarrel of Brittany, would give treasure largely."³ The wily Morton, now Archbishop of Canterbury and chancellor, was instructed so to address par-



CHRISTOPHER URSWICK. 1.—
From his monumental brass
in Hackney Church.

liament as to affect them towards the business, but without engaging the king in any express declaration of war; and the ambiguous speech of the right reverend minister fully answered these ends. Parliament eagerly caught at the bait, and recommended strong measures, "as well in respect of the emulation between the nations, and the envy at the late growth of the French monarchy, as in regard of the danger to suffer the French to make their approaches upon England, by obtaining so goodly a maritime province, full of sea-towns and havens that might do mischief to the English either by invasion or by interruption of traffic." They were also indignant at the injustice and oppression used in Brittany, for no one could be well deceived by the manifestoes of the French court; and they advised the king to embrace the cause of the Bretons openly and manfully, and then they, with "much alacrity and forwardness," voted an unusually large subsidy. When Henry got the money, he sent his chaplain to warn the French court, and to explain that, with all his friendly feelings, it would be impossible for him to resist the motion of his people. At the same time the priest was to hint that the English succour to be sent to Duke Francis would be limited, and that the troops would be instructed not to wage war against the French beyond the limits of Brittany. The French did what might be expected; they reinforced La Tremoille, who carried the towns of Châteaubriant, Ancenis, and Fougères. By this time the Breton nobles were fully aware of the folly they had committed in inviting them into the country: the factions united for common defence, and an army of the unfortunate duke, strengthened by the few English under Woodville, by the 1500 Germans sent by Maximilian, and by a few companies of Gascons and of Basques, sent by the family of D'Albret, took the field under the supreme command of the Duke of Orleans. After some minor operations, the two armies engaged in a general battle on the 20th of July, 1488, between Andouillé and St. Aubin-du-Cormier. La Tremoille, by his superiority in numbers and in field artillery, gained a complete and sanguinary victory. Sir Edward Woodville was slain; and of his 400 men and 1700 Bretons who had assumed the white coats and red crosses of the English, to deceive the enemy, but very few escaped. The Duke of Orleans, who had fought bravely on foot, was taken prisoner, and

¹ The monument of Christopher Urswick is an erection resembling an altar tomb, surmounted by an obtuse arch ornamented with foliage and tracery. Beneath the arch is the following inscription—"Christophoro Urwyk, Rectore, Aged 1519." On each side are the contractions MIA (Misericordia). On the slab of the altar is the effigy in brass of Urswick, with the word "Misericordia" at length, and on the stone beneath the arch is, likewise, a brass plate inscribed with his epitaph in Latin—

"Christopher Urswick was a man of equal talent and piety. He was chaplain to Henry VII., and employed in promoting the union between that king and Elizabeth of York. Refusing an offered bishopric, and resigning several valuable preferments, he retired to his rectory at Hackney, where he passed the decline of life in the exercise of religious offices. He died in 1521, in the sixty-fourth year of his age."

² Bacon; Daru, *Hist. de la Bretagne*; Lobineau.

³ Bacon.

Brittany lay helpless at the foot of the conqueror.¹

When the news of this disastrous battle, and of the slaughter of their countrymen, reached England, the people raised so loud an outcry that Henry was startled from his pleasant dream. Still, however, he was disposed to wait events, hoping that Maximilian would succour Brittany, and that he should be allowed to keep the money which parliament had voted for the war. But the course of events did not improve. La Tremoille took Dinant and St. Malo, and threatened to besiege the unfortunate Duke Francis in Rennes, his capital. Finding that no assistance arrived from England or from any other quarter, Francis at last accepted the hard terms offered by the French court; and in the middle of August (1488) he signed the treaty of Verger. Hereby the claims of the French crown to the duchy were submitted to the consideration of certain commissioners: the French were to retain the conquests they had made, and the duke was bound never more to call in troops from England or any other country, and not to marry either of his daughters without the full approbation of his suzerain lord, the King of France. The Bretons prepared for a fresh struggle, but their poor duke, who seemed heart-broken, sickened, and died on the 7th of September, about three weeks after he had signed the treaty.²

The Princess Anne was even now only in her twelfth year, and her little court was distracted by the intrigues of the rivals for her hand. D'Albret, one of her suitors, who had found his way into Brittany in a beggared state, attempted to carry her off and marry her by force, for Anne felt a very natural aversion to a man who was old, exceedingly ugly, and of a ferocious temper. The Count of Dunois rescued her, and carried her off, seated behind him on his war-horse, and she was subsequently protected by the people of Rennes. While men were disputing within Brittany who should be her husband, the French court claimed the right of being her guardian; and before the bishops and barons could get ready a proper answer, a French army took the field, and carried by assault Pontrieu, Guingamp, Concarneau, Brest, and other places of less importance. This most unequal war now excited fresh cries of indignation in England, and Henry was urged, as the sovereign of a generous people, as a father, to save the helpless orphan. The king conceived the notion of forming an extensive coalition. He despatched ambassadors to Maximilian, King of the Romans, to his son the Archduke Philip, to the King of Spain, and to

the King of Portugal, calling upon them to act in concert with him, in order to check the lawless ambition of the French court. He then summoned another parliament, and asked for more money to carry on the war.

Parliament, which could not be A.D. 1489. ignorant of the use made of the sums already voted for the defence of Brittany, reduced Henry's demand from £100,000 to £75,000.³ But the levying even of this diminished amount, in the temper in which the nation was, occasioned alarming commotions. These we shall presently notice. Meanwhile Henry offered to the Breton government the services of 6000 archers, but he limited the time of their service to six months, and would not send them at all until two of the best seaport towns of Brittany were put into his hands as security for the repayment of the entire expense of the armament, and until the young duchess had taken an oath never to marry without his consent. In the spring the Lord Willoughby de Broke landed in Brittany with his small army; at the same time a Spanish force advanced through Roncesvalles, to make a diversion in the south of France; and Maximilian hoped, after subduing an insurrection of his Flemish subjects, to attack the French on their northern frontier. By this plan of operation the French were prevented from concentrating in full force in Brittany, and Lord Willoughby de Broke, with his small army, was enabled not only to keep them completely in check, but also, with the help of some Breton troops, to gain several advantages over them. Though nearly half a century had passed since the last real battle fought by the English on the Continent, the French had not forgotten the old campaigns, and they paid such a respect to the valour of the Islanders, and their conduct in the open field, that they cautiously avoided anything like a pitched battle. They kept themselves in fortified towns and entrenched camps, and limited their operations to skirmishes. The Lord de Broke, instead of being encouraged to risk his little army frankly, was constantly checked by the unwelcome and most cautious king, who, moreover, recalled him and his troops in less than six months. The French had been obliged to detach a great army towards Fuenterrabia to oppose the Spaniards; and Maximilian, aided by a small force of English, chiefly drawn from Calais, had gained some important advantages in the north, and taken the town of St. Omer. Not more for these reasons, than for others of a less apparent nature, resulting from a change of plan which was not made visible until a year and a half later, the French court offered to treat for peace, and soon after signed a treaty at Frank-

¹ Daru, *Hist. de la Bretagne: Actes de Bretagne; Mezereai; Bicon; Hall.*

² Original MSS. and *Actes de Bretagne*, quoted by Daru.

³ *Rot. Parl.*

fort with Maximilian. The chief clauses were—that the French troops should retire from Brittany; that the Duchess Anne should dismiss all her foreign auxiliaries; that the fortresses of St. Malo, Fougères, Dinant, and St. Aubin, should be put into the hands of the Duke of Bourbon and the Prince of Orange, to be by them held till all the differences between France and Brittany should be amicably settled; and, finally, that a congress should be held at Tournai for that settlement. Maximilian pretended to act merely as a friendly mediator, and the French had their eyes too constantly fixed on their own intrigues and deceptions to perceive his.¹

Thus finished the war of 1489. The English had expected great glory, and they got none. The harshness used in levying the subsidy had driven the northern counties into insurrection, and had cost the life of the king's lieutenant, the Earl of Northumberland, who was murdered by the people. At one moment this insurrection threatened to shake the throne, but it was put down by an army commanded by the Earl of Surrey. John à Chambre, "a very *boute-feu* (fire-brand), who bore much sway amongst the vulgar and popular," was taken alive; and Sir John Egremont, who had joined the insurgents for higher objects, "fled into Flanders to the Duchess of Burgundy, whose palace was the sanctuary and receptacle of all traitors against the king."² John à Chambre was executed at York in great state, for he was hanged upon a gibbet raised a stage higher, as a traitor paramount, and a number of his men were hanged upon the lower story, round about him.

In the beginning of this year parli-
A.D. 1490. liament made up the deficiency in the subsidy (which, instead of £75,000, had produced only £25,000) by passing a new grant of a tenth and fifteenth, in order that the war with France might be carried on with vigour; for Henry's interests were not taken into account by the treaty of Frankfort, and it was already evident that that treaty would not preserve the independence of Brittany. The English people again expected to be gratified by an active war, but Henry put their money into his coffers, and sent some priests to the Continent to negotiate with the various courts. A new coalition was now formed, the principal members being Henry, Ferdinand of Spain (a sovereign who was his match in craft), and Maximilian, King of the Romans,³ wherein each sovereign, under the pretext of aiming at the benefit of Europe by checking French ambition, sought nothing but his own selfish aggrandizement.

Maximilian, whose suit had formerly been ap-

proved by Duke Francis, in spite of the treaty of Frankfort, and without consulting his new allies, whose treaty, as yet, remained a secret, proposed an immediate marriage with the young duchess, and Anne was induced to give her consent. But at the moment, Maximilian feared to make the journey into Brittany either by land or water, and sent the Prince of Orange in his stead. A marriage, by proxy, was performed at Rennes with so much mystery, that the servants of Anne were not aware of it until some time after, and the date of the ceremony has never been precisely ascertained. As soon as that disappointed suitor, the fierce D'Albret, ascertained the object of the Prince of Orange's mission, he gave information to the French court, and betrayed the important city of Nantes, which he had surprised, to a French army. As the treaty of Frankfort had been but indifferently observed by the French, and as they had kept possession of many of the fortresses in the heart of Brittany, they renewed the war with many advantages. The young duchess applied to her husband for aid; but he was again distressed by the revolt of his Flemish subjects, and could give her nothing but the empty title of "Queen of the Romans," which she now publicly assumed; and King Henry, in reply to her demands for English troops, increased her distresses by asking her for money at a time when her coffers were quite empty, and when the only money current in Brittany was stamped leather cut into pieces of different sizes.

About the same time an important revolution had taken place in the French court. King Charles, who was now in his twenty-first year, freed himself from the authority and guardianship of his sister, released the Duke of Orleans from his dungeon at Bourges, changed most of the ministers and officers, and took upon himself the business of government. This politic and crafty king, who, however, was excessively ignorant in other respects, saw that to obtain possession of Brittany by force of arms would, after all, be a work of great danger and difficulty, and he resolved to obtain his end in a very different manner. For more than seven years he had been solemnly affianced to Margot—the "gentle demoiselle," the daughter of the fair Mary of Burgundy and Maximilian. Margot had been "nourished and brought up" at the French court, and, as she was now in her eleventh year, it was expected that the marriage would be consummated in two or three years. But Charles, who had now firm possession of the rich provinces of France which had been constituted her dower, and who saw but a distant and uncertain prospect of deriving any further advantage from the contract, determined to break it, and marry the Duchess Anne, in spite of that princess'

¹ Daru; Bacon.

² Bacon.

³ Rymer—Rot. Parl.; Bacon; Daru.

marriage by proxy to Maximilian, the *father* of Margot; for thus he confidently hoped to obtain quiet possession of Brittany. This sudden move took all parties by surprise. At the same time Charles bribed most of the ladies in the court of Brittany, and cajoled or terrified the ministers of that weak and distracted government. The Countess of Laval, the Countess of Dunois, the Marshal de Rieux, and Montauban, chancellor of the duchy, engaged to obtain Anne's assent; and the Duke of Orleans, who had formerly aspired to her hand, now pleaded and intrigued in favour of his sovereign. But they had a greater difficulty than they expected. The young duchess, or "Queen of the Romans," considered her marriage contract with Maximilian as binding, both by Divine and human law; and she was well aware of the contract which existed between the King of France and Margot of Burgundy. She was now in her fifteenth year, and her natural talents had been developed by an unusually careful education, and by an early experience in the affairs and troubles of the world. She saw that this new husband they wished to force upon her was the oppressor of her country—the despoiler of her family; it was sword in hand that he wooed her, and he was not a generous conqueror. Besides all this, he was rude, ugly, and illiterate, while she was learned, accomplished, and remarkably beautiful. Though constantly assailed by her ladies and her ministers, her repugnance did not yield until a French army advanced and threatened to besiege her in her capital. Then, seeing that she must be either the wife or the captive of Charles, she consented to a treaty, the principal article of which was, that she should marry the French king, and convey to him her rights over Brittany. Charles paid Anne a short visit in Rennes, and then retired into Touraine. His court maintained a specious farce to the last: they treated his affianced bride Margot as Queen of France, giving her splendid fêtes at the very moment that Charles was enforcing another marriage; and still farther to lull and delude Maximilian, they drew up and published an extraordinary passport or safe-conduct, permitting the Duchess Anne to travel through France to join her husband, the King of the Romans, in Flanders. But now the scene changed: instead of his bride, it was his rejected daughter that Charles sent to Maximilian; and the fair bride, the heiress of Brittany, was conducted to the castle of Langeais, in Touraine, and there married to Charles on the 6th of December, 1491.¹

A.D. 1492. Maximilian, who had lost for himself a wife and a great terri-

tory, for his daughter a husband and one of the first thrones in Europe, made every court in Europe resound with his complaints and imprecations; and he threatened France with an invasion from the co-operating armies of the house of Austria, of Spain, and of England. Henry, seeing that there was business to be done in the way of money-making, pretended to be greatly shocked (irritation was a state of mind he never felt or affected) at the double-dealing and over-topping ambition of his cousin of France: he addressed himself to the gathering up of the loosened threads of the European coalition, and he summoned a parliament to vote him fresh supplies—almost the sole duty which parliament had to perform in his reign. During the preceding summer he had levied a few troops, and as recently as the month of October he had obtained a grant of two tenths and two fifteenths.² He now, in the month of January, pressed for an accelerated rate of payment, and got a parliamentary sanction to measures by which the English gentry might ruin themselves in bearing personally the expenses of a campaign. An act was passed to allow the warlike spirits, who were eager for glory, to alienate their estates without payment of the ordinary fees or fines, and to enfeoff lands, to the end that their executors might have funds to fulfil their bequests.³ Many persons of the best quality, knights and noblemen, thus encouraged, proceeded at once to sell their estates, or to raise money upon them. They hoped to indemnify themselves by conquests and possessions in France; but, in the event, they found that they had impoverished—in many instances utterly ruined—themselves and their families to no purpose. Henry had declared in parliament, with his own mouth, that Charles was a disturber of the Christian world, and that he was now determined to conquer the French crown, his rightful inheritance, for himself. The levies of troops proceeded with rapidity; and from one end of England to the other nothing was heard but the magical words of Crecy and Poitiers, Azincourt and Verneuil. "But, for all this," says Bacon, "and though the king showed great forwardness for a war, not only to his parliament and court, but to his privy council likewise (except the two bishops⁴ and a few

¹ He had also issued a commission to extort money in the different counties and cities, under the illegal name of "Benevolence." The citizens of London were forced to pay £10,000. Archbishop Morton, now chancellor, put men between the horns of a cruel dilemma: if they lived frugally and without show, they were told that they must be rich from their parsimony, and therefore could well afford to pay; if they lived hospitably and splendidly, their rate of expenditure proved that they must be opulent, and therefore they could well afford to pay.

² Rot. Parl.

⁴ Morton and Fox.

¹ Daru; Bacon; Archives de Nantes and Actes de Bretagne, quoted by Daru.

more); yet, nevertheless, in his secret intentions, he had no purpose to go through with any war upon France. But the truth was, that he did but traffic with that war to make his return in money." Some suspicion was excited by seeing that he let the spring, and the summer too, go by without taking the field. At last, in the month of October, a season in which commanders usually thought of retiring into winter quarters, and not of opening a campaign, he embarked, and sailed for Calais, where he safely landed with a magnificent army of 25,000 foot and 1600 horse. Some of his captains ventured to hint that, after all, this would prove a mere demonstration, and that the king would not have taken the field at such a time of the year if he were not sure of concluding a peace presently.¹ The fact was, Henry had arranged a treaty three months before this, and peace was in substance concluded with Charles before the army left England: but this he was anxious to conceal; and he silenced the captains by asserting that, as he had come over to make an entire conquest of France, which was not the work of one summer, it was of no consequence at what season he began the invasion, especially as he had Calais ready for winter quarters. To have an air of doing something, he marched from Calais to Boulogne, and sat down before that place as if he meant to besiege it. So completely was this campaign settled beforehand upon paper, that the French did not employ the useless and expensive ceremony of setting an army on foot to resist the invaders. There were scarcely any troops between the coast and the capital. This reliance upon a secret bargain might have proved dangerous, but King Charles had a secret security in his hands, as we

shall see presently. Instead of pressing the siege, Henry caused letters from his ambassadors to be published in the camp, showing that no co-operation was to be expected from Ferdinand and Maximilian, and that no reliance was to be placed on either of those allies. On the 27th of October, eight days after his arrival before Boulogne, he summoned twenty-four of the principal officers of the English army to a solemn council, and submitted to their consideration the preliminaries of a treaty of peace with France. Those great captains did what they were required to do, and what they had been paid to do (for all Henry's favourites touched some French gold): they put their names to a report, and strenuously advised him to sign the treaty. Early in November two treaties were duly signed—one public, the other private. By the first,² Henry and Charles were to live in peace and alliance all the days of their lives; and the peace between the two countries was to last for one year after the death of the survivor of the two kings. By the second, Charles was to pay Henry, by instalments, the sum of £149,000 sterling; £124,000 to go in discharge of all claims upon Anne of Brittany, and £25,000 in payment of the pension (our kings called it tribute) due to Edward IV. It was thus that Henry, under the full sway of his money-making spirit, sold war, or the hopes of it, to the people, and peace to his enemies. "But the truth is, this peace was welcome to both kings: to Charles, for that it assured unto him the possession of Brittany, and freed the enterprise of Naples: to Henry, for that it filled his coffers, and that he foresaw, at that time, a storm of inward troubles coming upon him, which presently after broke forth."³

¹ Siemond remarks that at this time, France had considerably outstripped England in the military art. "Henry VII.," he says, "was clear-sighted to be aware that no sooner should he be engaged in a war with France, than a rebellion would break out in England. He knew the Continent, where he had lived long, and that the time of Crecy, Poitiers, and Azincourt, perpetually recalled to the remembrance of the English, had passed away. The military art had undergone great improvements in France. Charles VIII. had at his disposition a superb artillery, superior to that of all Europe beside; a body of men-at-arms, as constantly exercised during peace as during war;

francs-archers, whom his predecessors had for thirty years been training for the field; and brave bands of Swiss, ever ready to rally under the flag of France. The English, on the contrary, for two generations, had no military practice, beyond the sudden ebullitions of their civil wars, which lasted only for a few days; they had no troops of the line, and they had brought their artillery to no perfection. Besides, they were far from prodigal in their subsidies, and could not long maintain a war requiring enormous expense for the transport of troops and provisions by sea."

² This treaty went by the name of the peace of Etaples.

³ Bacon.

CHAPTER II.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1492—1509.

HENRY VII.—ACCESSION, A.D. 1485—DEATH, A.D. 1509.

Perkin Warbeck, a new pretender to the crown—He is used as a tool by the courts of France and Burgundy—Contradictory reports of his real origin—Execution of Warbeck's abettors in England—Sir William Stanley executed as a traitor—Warbeck makes an unsuccessful landing in England—He repairs to Scotland—State of Scotland at this period—Rebellion against James III. its king—His defeat and assassination—Succeeded by James IV.—Plots of Henry VII. against James IV.—James adopts the cause of Warbeck—He invades England in Warbeck's behalf—Unsuccessful result of the invasion—Warbeck dismissed from Scotland—He again lands in England—He is defeated and taken prisoner—His attempts to escape from the Tower—He is executed—Execution of the Earl of Warwick—Attempts of Charles VIII. of France to obtain Naples—His death—Marriage of Margaret, daughter of Henry, to James IV. of Scotland—Death of Prince Arthur, son of Henry—His widow espoused to his younger brother—Henry's extortions—His agents, Dudley and Empson—Henry entraps the Earl of Suffolk—Inquiry about the murder of the sons of Edward IV. in the Tower—Henry dispenses with parliaments—The Archduke Philip lands in England—Ungenerous advantages taken of the event by Henry—He seeks in marriage the widow of Philip—His negotiations with Ferdinand of Spain—Last sickness and death of Henry VII.—His character.



HE "storm of inward trouble," which Henry had foreseen, proceeded from a new pretender to the crown, in right of an assumed descent from the house of York.

In the preceding year a stranger—a beautiful young man—landed in the Cove of Cork, and gave himself out to be Richard, Duke of York, the second son of Edward IV. The murder of the elder son by order of their uncle Richard was admitted, but this youth (so went the story) had escaped by some marvellous means from the Tower; and, after being a fugitive and a wanderer for seven long years, had come to claim his inheritance. Without caring for the recent case of the baker's boy, the citizens of Cork warmly declared in favour of the adventurer, whose name was soon spread over the greater part of Ireland. Many of the Anglo-Irish nobles were quite ready to draw the sword; but the powerful Earl of Kildare was rather more cautious than he had been on the previous occasion, and the young man was induced to accept a pressing invitation to the French court. King Charles, who was then expecting the invasion of Henry, and who had not as yet begun his secret negotiations, saw the use that might be made of him in disturbing and alarming the English government, and he therefore gave him a most courteous reception, and caused his whole court to treat him as the real Duke of York and heir to the crown of England. A royal body-guard was appointed to wait upon him; the story of his adventures, and the list of his accomplishments, were diligently circulated; and Sir George Nevil, Sir John Taylor, and about 100 English exiles, went to Paris and bound themselves to his service. The person of this

claimant was the security which Charles had against Henry, and of which he made the most, threatening to espouse his cause and to let him loose in England, backed by a French army; and it was this consideration that hastened the conclusion of the peace of Etaples. When that treaty was concluded, Charles turned the adventurer out of France. Henry endeavoured to make the French court deliver him up; but Charles, probably thinking that he might be useful hereafter, said that such a measure would be inconsistent with his honour. The wanderer then retired for protection and assistance to the Duchess of Burgundy. This princess pretended many scruples, and submitted his whole story to a studied and imposing scrutiny, in order that the world might see that she did not take up his cause lightly. All this, and something more, may have been necessary to counteract the recollections left by her conduct in relation to Simnel. But in the end she embraced her guest as her dear nephew, the living image of her loving brother King Edward IV. She bestowed on him the poetical surname of "The White Rose of England," in allusion to his pure Yorkist descent. The people of Flanders, out of their love and respect for the duchess, showed a great alacrity in believing what she desired, and, by means of the active commercial intercourse between them and the English, the present condition of the young man was soon made known, and a correspondence was opened in his behalf in England. Sir Robert Clifford was despatched as the confidential agent of these malcontents to the court of the Duchess Margaret, to ascertain whether this were a true prince or not. Sir Robert

¹ Bacon says, "The news came blazing and thundering over into England that the Duke of York was sure alive."

reported that he had seen "The White Rose," had conversed with him and his aunt, and that there could not be a shadow of doubt as to his birth and rights. But Henry also had sent his secret emissaries into the country, and they framed a report of a very different nature, stating, as the result of their diligent researches, that "The White Rose" was none other than one Perkin or Perkin Warbeck, the son of a merchant—a converted Jew—of the city of Tournai; that he had lived much with the English merchants in Flanders, and that he had recently been travelling about Europe as a servant to Lady Brompton, the wife of one of the exiles. In the summer of 1493 Henry despatched an embassy to the Archduke Philip, son of Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy, grandson of Charles the Rash, and now sovereign prince. The ambassadors were charged to demand the surrender, or at least the expulsion of Warbeck; but the answer they received was, that, to have the love and favour of the King of England, the archduke from that time forward would neither aid nor assist Perkin or his accomplices, but that it was not in his power to interfere with the duchess-dowager, because she, in the lands assigned to her for her dower, might, as a sovereign princess, do and order all things at her own will and pleasure. Henry upon this withdrew the mart of English cloth from Antwerp to Calais, and prohibited all intercourse with Flanders. "After this the king, looking circumspectly to his matters, purposed to pacify the storms and blasts that he perceived to be growing rather by policy and council than by dubious war." The first thing he did was to bribe Sir Robert Clifford and William Barly, his associate; and these secret agents of the English malcontents, won by his money and promises, betrayed the names of all the gentlemen in England who had entered into Warbeck's scheme. On the same day Henry caused to be arrested, in different places, and brought before him in London, John Ratcliffe, Lord Fitzwalter, Sir Simon de Mountford, Sir Thomas Thwaites, William Daubeney, Robert Ratcliffe, Thomas Cressemer, Thomas Astwood, "as also certain priests and religious men," as Sir William Richeford, doctor of divinity, and Sir Thomas Poynes, both friars of St. Dominic's order, Dr. William Sutton, Sir William Worsely, dean of St. Paul's, Robert Layborne, and Sir Richard Lessey. It was not possible to keep secret so many arrests of conspicuous persons, and many who had been sharers in the same treason fled and took sanctuary. Judgment of death was passed upon all the prisoners, and Sir Simon de Mountford, Sir Robert Ratcliffe, and William Daubeney, were beheaded immediately. The others were pardoned, and all the priests for their order's sake; "but," adds

the chronicler, "few of them lived long after." Lord Fitzwalter was pardoned of his life; but afterwards, being sent to Calais and there laid in hold, he was beheaded, because he corrupted the keepers in order to escape out of prison, intending, as was thought, to have gone to Perkin.

These transactions passed towards the end of the year 1494, or nearly two years after the peace of Etaples.¹

A.D. 1495. Henry's suspicions had fallen upon Sir William Stanley, brother to

Lord Stanley, who had placed the crown upon his head at Bosworth Field. After the festival of Christmas the king and court went to lodge in the Tower of London. One day, as Henry sat there in council, the false Clifford was introduced suddenly to enact a part. Falling upon his knees, as if he who had sold his party were in fear of his life, he implored the royal pardon; and Henry, as good an actor as the traitor, granted it with much benignity of countenance. The traitor was then questioned concerning the full extent of the conspiracy, and Clifford named Sir William Stanley. Henry expressed both horror and incredulity, but he recommended his friend Stanley to keep his room in the Tower, where Sir William was residing with the court in discharge of his duties as chamberlain. Regard had no doubt been paid to the convenience of having the court and prison within the same walls. On the following morning, when he was brought before the council, Stanley "denied little of that wherewith he was charged, nor endeavoured much to excuse or extenuate his fault, so that (not very wisely), thinking to make his offence less by confession, he made it enough for condemnation."² The judges at Westminster considered his confession sufficient grounds for a sentence of death. People could scarcely believe that Henry would refuse the royal pardon in such a case. To the Stanleys he had been chiefly indebted for the crown; the criminal himself had saved his life at Bosworth Field, when he was near falling under the furious charge of Richard; and the Lord Stanley, Sir William's brother, in addition to his many important services, was husband to the king's mother, who was still living. But the prisoner was "the richest subject for value in the kingdom"—and, accordingly, he died the death of a traitor on the 15th of February. Other political reasons, such as a wish to inspire terror by striking down a great man, have been assigned; but nearly all the writers who lived near the time seemed to agree in thinking that Stanley would have had a much better chance for his life if he had not been so very rich.³

¹ Hall; Stow; Bacon; Rot. Parl.

² Bacon.

³ Bacon; Hall; P. Virgil; André (MS. in Brit. Mus.); Stow.

The party of Perkin Warbeck, after all these executions, and the treachery of Sir Robert Clifford, were filled with despair and distrust. At the same time, the Flemings, who suffered severely from the interruption of the trade with England, began to murmur, and even to threaten the pretender. Warbeck, upon this, adopted the bold resolution of landing in England. On the 3d of July, while the king was in Lancashire on a visit to his mother, a few hundred desperate men—English exiles or foreign adventurers—landed near Deal, and attempted to raise the country in favour of "The White Rose." The people were easily moved, but it was fiercely to repel, not to join, the invaders, who, after a sharp conflict, were driven back to the sea-shore. One hundred and sixty-nine were taken prisoners; the rest, with Perkin among them, returned with a press of sail to Flanders.¹ All the captives were driven to London tied together like a great team of cattle, and they were executed to a man, some at London and Wapping, others at different places upon the coast of Kent, Sussex, Essex, and Norfolk, their bodies being gibbeted, "for sea-marks or light-houses to teach Perkin's people to avoid the coast."²

The interruption of the commercial intercourse with Flanders was of necessity almost as injurious to the English as to the Flemings, and Henry agreed to a reconciliation with the Archduke Philip. A "great treaty of commerce" between the two countries was signed in the month of February, bearing this important appendage—that Philip should prevent the Dowager-duchess of Burgundy from assisting or harbouring the king's rebels, and that each of the contracting parties should banish from his dominions the enemies of the other.³ Upon this, Warbeck, who could no longer stay in Flanders, returned to Ireland, where he met with a cold reception. From Ireland he crossed over to Scotland, where the court, which was incensed against Henry, received him with open arms.⁴

To James III., who had so readily recognized his accession, and made treaties with him, Henry was never a warm friend, or an open enemy. He kept up a correspondence with the factions in Scotland even at a time when he had no ground whatever for a quarrel with the king. But in the summer of 1487, when he was preparing to take part in the war on the Continent, he despatched his favourite negotiator, Richard Fox,

lord privy seal, who had recently been appointed to the bishopric of Exeter, to negotiate with James, who referred him to the Bishop of Aberdeen. The two bishops agreed that the truce subsisting should be prolonged till the 1st of September, 1489; and then, taking up a project which had already been entertained in the English court, they settled the following extraordinary marriages: 1. The King of Scots was to take to wife Elizabeth Woodville, widow of Edward IV.; 2. James, Prince of Scotland and Duke of Rothesay, was to marry one of the daughters of Elizabeth Woodville and Edward IV.; and, 3. The Marquis of Ormond, the second son of the Scottish king, was to marry another daughter.⁵ This treaty, however, soon fell to the ground, because the Scottish monarch, as a preliminary, insisted upon the surrender of the town of Berwick, which, it appears, Henry had at one time promised. From this moment the English court gave a more decided countenance to the faction of the Scottish aristocracy. Although the turbulent Albany had been killed at a tournament in France, and the great Douglas had been confined like a monk to the monastery of Lindores, the barons were still powerful, and still bent on the destruction of the king, whom they had treated so harshly, that they could never believe in the sincerity of his reconciliation and forgiveness. When the unfortunate James began to display more activity and vigour than had been customary with him, and to adopt measures for curtailing their authority, they won over his eldest son, the Duke of Rothesay, a youth only in his sixteenth year, but who had some ability, and all that impatience which has so frequently distinguished the heirs of weak kings. At the same time they strengthened their party with some of the Scottish bishops and higher clergy, who were irritated by the king's denunciation of the practice of buying and selling church promotions. The King of England secretly sanctioned the unnatural conspiracy of the son against the father; but so adroitly did Henry manage this matter, that it could never be discovered to what extent he went. James was not very wise in his new energy: he set up his second son, the Marquis of Ormond, in opposition to his first; and he still further irritated the higher order of the clergy by insisting that the right of disposing of vacant benefices belonged solely to him, and not to the court of Rome. His parliament went along with him in this measure, and interdicted appeals to the pope in such cases. They also passed acts of great severity against the Earls of Argyll and Angus, the Lords Drummond, Hailes, and Lyle, the Bishop of Glasgow, and many others. As

¹ It appears that Warbeck never landed, but kept himself on board with sails bent, to make off in case of not finding the people favourable.

² Bacon; Fabyan; Hall; Stow; Rot. Parl.

³ Rymer. This last clause Henry continued to insert in all his treaties with foreign powers.

⁴ Hall; Polydore Virgil; Stow; Tytler, *Hist. Scot.*

⁵ Rymer.

soon as this parliament adjourned, the barons collected their vassals in arms; and the Duke of Rothesay, who was now addressed as "King of Scotland," issued from Stirling Castle, and put himself at their head. Upon this, James sent the Earl of Buchan, the Lord Bothwell, and the Bishop of Murray, on an embassy to Henry, to solicit the assistance of a body of English troops—in every respect the worst step he could have taken. This application was soon known, and it was made one of the strongest grounds upon which the Scottish insurgents declared that he had forfeited the crown. His son was immediately proclaimed under the title of James IV.; and a new administration was formed, which acted in his name. Henry, hoping to profit by these troubles, and caring little in what manner, did not hesitate to recognize the son as king. The unfortunate father was soon driven from Edinburgh; his baggage and money were seized at Leith; and he escaped with difficulty into Fife, by throwing himself on board a ship belonging to the brave Sir Andrew Wood. As the whole of the south had risen in arms against him he fled to the north, where he was soon joined by the Earls of Athole, Huntly, and Crawford, the Lord Lindsay of the Byres, a veteran who had served the French in the wars on the Continent, and by many other noblemen of great name. Old Lindsay presented him with a gray charger remarkable for height, power, and spirit, and said, "Only keep a good seat, and his speed will outdo all I have ever seen, either to flee or follow." From the north James soon turned southward, with an army of 30,000 men. He found his enemies, with his own son at their head, at Blackness, near Linlithgow. His force was far superior; but by the advice of some of his friends he listened to terms of accommodation, and even signed a pacific treaty. But almost immediately after, either with or without his consent, the Earl of Buchan fell unawares on the prince's army, gained a decided advantage, and killed a great many men; though the affair did not break up the array, or even force the prince to retreat. Indeed, within a few days the king renewed the treaty with his enemies, who stood with arms in their hands, and who obtained very advantageous conditions. He then retired to Edinburgh Castle, and dismissed his northern forces. But the prince's party, or rather the faction which made that youth their instrument, either kept together their forces, or re-collected them immediately after the pacification of Blackness, and once more forced the king into the field. After some minor operations, this short but sanguinary civil war was terminated on the 18th of June, 1488, at Little Craglar, a moor upon the east of a brook called Sauchie Burn, about two miles from Stir-

ling, and one mile from the memorable field of Bannockburn. The royalists were rather inferior in number, and the naked Highlanders were not a match for the hardy and well-armed Galwegians, and the yet better equipped Borderers of Liddesdale and Annandale. While his followers still maintained a desperate conflict, the king, who was no warrior, and apparently no horseman, stuck his spurs into his charger, and galloped from the field. The horse he rode was the gallant gray which had been presented to him by the Lord Lindsay of the Byres, and which probably proved too much for an unskilful or a timid rider. It is possible that James may really have been killed by a fall from this horse; but the following is the singular account given by all the Scottish chroniclers who lived nearest to the time, and also, we believe, universally adopted by later writers, as well as still attested by popular tradition. As the king crossed the brook of Bannock, close to a small hamlet called Miltoun, a poor woman who was drawing water from the brook, threw down her pitcher in alarm close before him; upon which his bounding steed took fright, swerved in his course, and threw him to the ground with such violence as to deprive him of his senses. The cotters ran to his assistance, and, wholly ignorant of his quality, carried him into the house of the miller, took off his heavy armour, and laid him upon a wretched flock bed, with a coarse rug thrown over him. As soon as he recovered his senses he asked for some priest or monk to whom he might confess before he died. The poor people then asked who he was; and James, as the story goes, said incautiously, "Alas! this morning I was your king." Then the woman of the house ran forth wringing her hands and crying out for a priest to shrieve the king! Attracted by her clamour, a man, who was one of a party of stragglers from the victorious army of the prince, went into the house, and recognizing the king, stooped over him, as if he were a priest about to administer the last consolations of religion, and stabbed him to the heart with a dagger. James III. was only thirty-five years old when he perished. At the dismal news of his death his undutiful son was overwhelmed with remorse; but though this feeling embittered the remainder of his life, and cast a gloom upon his most festive hours, it did not prevent him from ascending the throne, nor from embarking most ardently in the pursuit of pleasure. He attended his father's funeral, and then proceeded to Perth, and was crowned at Scone Abbey, with the usual pomp and rejoicings, on the 26th of June. He had set an example highly dangerous to kings; but this did not seem to affect Henry, who granted passports to the ambassadors of his "dear cousin," James IV., taking care, however,

at the same time, to send strong reinforcements to Berwick, which might be attacked with the vigour which generally characterizes a new revolution. Having agreed with the young king for a three years' truce, he then waited events; and the course they took, for some time, seemed likely to lay Scotland at his feet without his making war, which he disliked, and without his touching his treasures, which he disliked still more.

The late King of Scotland had not died unlamented, and there were some bold and desperate men who were quite ready to try another revolution. In the following year the Lord Forbes took up arms, and marched through the country with a bloody shirt, said to be the late king's, fixed upon a spear, as his banner; and this ghastly token had a wonderful effect upon the common people, who had always been rather attached to the deceased sovereign. At the same time the Lord Lyle occupied the strong castle of Dumbarton in defiance of the new government, and the Earl of Lennox, the Lord Darnley, and some others, armed their vassals and put their castles in a state of defence. But James, who was as active and warlike as his father had been sedentary and pacific, and who was surrounded by men of energy, rapidly collected an army, and, after a few sieges and a desperate nocturnal fight at Talla Moss, about sixteen miles from Stirling, he completely suppressed this revolt. His clemency in the hour of victory and triumph was still more effective than his arms, and the disaffected nobles were pretty generally reconciled, and even attached to his government.

In the following year (1490), at the very moment when the Scottish king was negotiating with Henry in the most friendly manner for the settlement of some Border differences, and for a prolongation of the truce, a dark plot was hatched at the English court for the seizing of his person, together with that of his brother, the Duke of Ross, the heir-apparent to the throne. Ramsay, Lord Bothwell, the favourite of the late king, who had fled into England, the Earl of Buchan, who had recently been received into James' favour, and one Sir Thomas Tod, of the realm of Scotland, entered into an agreement with Henry to seize the two princes and deliver them both into his hands. For present aid in this treasonable enterprise Henry advanced the sum of £260; but, with his accustomed parsimony, he stipulated that the money should be restored to him by a certain day. The bargain was drawn up at Greenwich, and Tod delivered his son as an hostage or security.¹ But although

James had no suspicion, and had probably never learned that such a plan was on foot, the project came to nothing. In the following year Henry received with open arms the Earl of Angus, one of the most powerful of the Scottish nobles, and concluded another dark agreement with him; and though this conspiracy, which was known, at least in part, to James, failed, like that of Bothwell, Buchan, and Tod, he did not, for that, cease to maintain a secret intercourse with the disaffected portion of the Scottish nobility, nor neglect to keep spies in the court. James, though he was very imperfectly informed of these practices, still knew enough to excite his indignation; and his natural disposition alone made him hate the cold and crafty character of Henry. The young king, moreover, had, from the time of his accession, kept up a friendly correspondence with Henry's implacable enemy, the Duchess of Burgundy; and there are good reasons for believing not only that James knew of Warbeck's coming, but that he had negotiated with him several years before he came.

Whether James entered into these relations with his eyes open to the fact that Perkin was not what he gave himself out to be, or whether he, at this or at any later time, believed him to be an impostor, must remain matter of doubtful speculation. What is certain is, that he and his people had long entertained the notion of breaking with Henry, as with a man who could never be trusted, and who had the art of making peace more dangerous than war. When, therefore, the wanderer presented himself, he found the Scots in a humour which would not dispose them to be very critical in the examination of his proofs of royal birth; but such was the wonderful tact, such the winning manners of Perkin, that he soon convinced people through their feelings to himself personally, and most of them seem to have proceeded in the honest belief that their interesting guest was really the person that he reported himself to be. There was certainly no real prince at the time more beautiful, and graceful, and accomplished, than this extraordinary pretender. Immediately after his arrival in Scotland, James IV., who always addressed him as "cousin," entertained him with tournaments and other great festivals; and when these were over he took him with him on a royal progress through Scotland, by which means he was seen and enthusiastically admired by all classes. As if to prove the warmth of his attachment, and the sincerity of his conviction that Perkin was the real Duke of York, he married him in a short time to the Lady Catherine Gordon, the beautiful daughter of the Earl of Huntly, who, on the mother's side, was nearly related to the royal house of Stuart.

¹ The industrious Rymer first brought this transaction to light. The original agreement is published in his *Fœdera, Conventiones, &c.*

Henry was much disquieted by these transactions; nor were his apprehensions abated when he learned that James had summoned all his lieges to meet him in arms at Lauder. The first thing he did was to renew an old friendship with Ramsay, Lord Bothwell, the discontented favourite of the late king;¹ to send a present to the reigning king's brother; and to employ one Master Wyat, an Englishman, and an old servant in this kind of business, as a secret envoy in Scotland. Henry's bosom friend, Fox, now Bishop of Durham, was commissioned to negotiate in a more open manner; but he was less successful than Wyat. The English bishop was soon succeeded at the Scottish court by a French knight, a more welcome ambassador, from Charles VIII. This was the Sire de Concessault, who had been captain of the French guard of honour assigned to Perkin by King Charles in 1493. In public, the accomplished diplomatist showed himself as a mediator anxious to reconcile the differences existing between the French and English sovereigns; in private, he favoured Perkin and the war party, and pressed for the invasion of England; for his master Charles was irritated and alarmed by the conduct of Henry, who had now formed a league with the pope, the King of the Romans, the King of Spain, the Duke of Milan, and the Doge of Venice, in order to prevent the French from establishing themselves as conquerors beyond the Alps. In a short time Ramsay, Lord Bothwell, wrote secretly to Henry, informing him that the Earl of Buchan² took it upon himself to fulfil what was meant, and that he hoped to be able, "in the long nights," to surprise Warbeck in his tent, and take him prisoner. He went on to tell his employer that he had spoken to the king's brother, who engaged to do his grace service, and not to join the army against his grace for aught the king might do, and that the Bishop of Moray undertook to solicit the young prince to go over to his grace, in case his brother King James should persist, against the will of his baronry and his whole people, in making this war. This spy, who was trusted by King James all the time, certainly worked hard to earn Henry's money, and scrupled at no measures, however base. In other letters he mentions the names of the Daeres, Nevils, Lovells, and Herons, and some other gentlemen of the north of England, as being in correspondence, or having stolen interviews, with King James and Warbeck.³

The Dowager-duchess of Burgundy contrived to send to Scotland sixty picked men-at-arms,

and a supply of crossbows, arms, armour, and other military stores; and Perkin soon found himself at the head of 1400 men of all manner of nations. James now concluded a treaty with Warbeck as with a sovereign prince. Many of the Scottish nobles besides Bothwell and Buchan were sold to Henry, and ready to betray the army; others, out of prudence and good policy, were against the war, for Scotland had been much weakened by the recent internal dissensions; but James, who was young and ardent, knew not the treachery of one party, and rejected the advice of the other. By some means not explained, Buchan failed in his plan of seizing Warbeck in his tent; and on the 8th of September Bothwell informed Henry that, on the 15th day of the same month, James would be at Ellam Kirk, within ten miles of the marches of England, with Perkin and his followers, and all the Scottish troops he could muster.⁴ The spy made a trifling mistake in point of date; but early in the winter James crossed the Borders, being preceded by a declaration of war, and an address on the part of Perkin to his faithful subjects, the people of England. Had Perkin come alone, or with the few Englishmen who had joined his standard, his chance would have been better, though in no circumstances could that chance have been a good one. Warned in proper time by Bothwell, Henry had adopted measures to indispose men's minds to insurrection.

Instead of a general rising in his favour, Perkin saw that he, and the Border gentlemen who had joined him, were regarded with detestation, as being in close league with the natural enemies of England. At the same time, the French adventurers could not agree with the Germans and Flemings, and the Scots quarrelled with all the foreigners alike. Then, to convert Warbeck's last faint hope into despair, the ill-disciplined invaders, with or without James' consent, began to plunder the country, and thereby to convert every yeoman and every peasant into a determined enemy. Warbeck said (or at least it is reported, to his honour) that he would rather lose the throne than gain it by the sufferings of Englishmen. It should appear that the cattle and stores had been removed betimes from the open country, and that this marauding expedition was not very productive in the article of victuals; for the invaders soon felt the want of provisions, and thereupon retreated across the Borders without fighting a battle, or waiting for a sight of an English army, just as Bothwell had foretold.⁵

¹ At the memorable execution in 1482, when James III.'s favourites were hanged by the barons on the bridge of Lauder, this Ramsay was the only one that escaped. As the plot for seizing King James and his brother seems to have originated with him, he must have had a genius for this kind of undertaking.

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² Buchan, it will be remembered, had also been concerned in the Greenwich plot for seizing James and his brother.

³ *Original Letters illustrative of English History*, by Sir Henry Ellis.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Bacon; Hall; Stow; Tytler's *Hist. Scot.*; Sir Henry Ellis' *Letters*.

This incursion, though little better than a foul raid, was productive of serious consequences; for the people of Cornwall, considering themselves over-taxed by Henry to meet the expenses of the war,¹ rose in open rebellion, and crying for the execution of the Archbishop Morton, chancellor and chief minister, and of Sir Reginald Grey, they poured into Devonshire to the number of 16,000 men. From Devonshire they advanced into Somersetshire, where they were joined by the Lord Audley, and many other persons of less note. They then marched through Wiltshire, Hampshire, and Surrey, into Kent, and encamped on Blackheath. Henry, whose great sagacity did not preserve him from superstition, believed that Saturday was his lucky day; and, accordingly, he ordered battle to be given on a Saturday. While the Lord Daubeney moved from London to attack in front, the Earl of Oxford made a circuit to attack in rear; and the king, with a great body of reserve and most of the artillery, kept his person out of danger at St. George's Fields, in the suburbs of London. Lord Daubeney, after a sharp conflict, in which the Cornish archers did great execution, drove in the advance post of the insurgents at Deptford-Strand, carried the bridge, ascended the hill, and established himself on the heath. At the same time, Oxford showed himself in their rear. Though without horse or artillery, or any good officers to command them, the Cornish men fought bravely, until 2000 of them were slain. Fifteen hundred were taken with arms in their hands; and among the prisoners were Lord Audley and Flammoek, an attorney, and Joseph, a blacksmith. The Lord Audley was beheaded at Tower Hill; Flammoek and Joseph were hanged, drawn, and quartered, at Tyburn. The blacksmith died like a hero. All the rest were pardoned by proclamation, and the prisoners were permitted to compound for their liberty with the men that had taken them.

The battle of Blackheath was fought on the 22d of June, 1497. A short time before it happened King James again crossed the Tweed, and swept the country as far as the Tees; but he retreated when the Earl of Surrey marched northward with a powerful army. The English then ravaged a part of the Scottish borders; but after gaining or losing a few insignificant conflicts they retired, and the war languished. Henry's correspondents were not slow in informing him that James wished for peace; whereupon the English king repeated an offer he had already

made of the hand of his eldest daughter, Margaret, to his cousin, the King of Scots. Some time elapsed before the treaty was signed, and the marriage was not concluded till more than five years after. James, though young, thoughtless, dissipated, and extravagant, was too honourable to think of selling Perkin Warbeck, for whom he had coined his plate, and even converted the great chain of gold which he was accustomed to wear into money. Before dismissing his army, or concluding anything with Henry, he permitted Perkin to depart; being no longer able to assist him, and seeing that, if he remained, his presence would only embarrass the negotiations. A ship was privately got ready at Ayr, and a delicate attention was paid to whatever might contribute to the comfort of the passengers. Warbeck was escorted to the sea-port by a guard of horse, and he embarked with a few followers who were much attached to him, and who would on no account leave him. Though he had nothing to offer her but a wandering and perilous life, his wife resolved to share his fortunes to the last—for, prince or impostor, he had won the heart of that beautiful woman. At the end of July the "Duke and Duchess of York"—as they were still called—left Scotland for ever.² They stood over to Ireland, and, landing at Cork, Warbeck tried once more to raise the Irish. Failing in this attempt, he acted on the bold resolution of trying his fortunes in Cornwall. At the beginning of September he arrived in Whitsand Bay, with four small barks and some six or seven score fighting men. From the coast he marched inland to Bodmin, the native place of Joseph the blacksmith, whose fate at Tyburn seemed to his townsmen to call for vengeance. In other parts of the country there were many thousands who had lost relations and friends in the fierce fight at Blackheath, and who were equally eager for revenge. Warbeck soon found himself at the head of a host. Having assumed the title of Richard IV., King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland, and having sent his wife, "for present safety," to Mount St. Michael, he advanced into Devonshire, and, being joined by many disaffected persons, appeared before the city of Exeter on Sunday, the 17th of September, with an irregular force, estimated by those within the walls at 10,000 men. The nobility and gentry of all the neighbouring country had flocked into that city, where, headed by the Earl of Devonshire, and seconded by the wealthier burghers, they bade defiance to the insurgents, who had no artillery, nor any kind of engines proper for a siege. The Cornish men, however, boldly as-

¹ On the 13th of February, 1497, soon after receiving news that James and Warbeck had crossed the Borders, parliament passed a grant of two-tenths and two-fifteenths. The Cornish men pretended that the men of the north alone ought to pay for the defence of their own provinces.

² Tytler's *History of Scotland*. Mr. Tytler's curious extracts from the "Treasurer's Books" establish several very interesting points.

saulted the east and north gates; but they failed, and lost about 300 or 400 men. On the following morning they repeated their assaults upon the same two gates, and "especially at the north gate, which was again well and truly defended, and put Perkin from his purpose there; . . . insomuch, as when Perkin and his company had well assayed and felt the guns, they were fain to desire to have license to gather their company together, and so to depart and leave the city."¹ This failure disheartened such of the men of Devonshire as had joined the insurgents, and they began to return to their homes as quietly as they could; but the hardy men of Cornwall advised Warbeck to continue his march eastward, vowing that they were ready to die for him to a man. Making rapid marches, they reached Taunton, in Somersetshire, on the 20th, but they found no accession of force, though the country people, who were still complaining of the king's tax-gatherers, wished success to their enterprise. At Taunton their farther progress was checked by the presence of a royal army, numerous, provided with artillery, and well appointed in all particulars. The half-naked Cornish men, thus confronted, neither fled nor spoke of retreat; and Warbeck, showing a good countenance, rode along their lines, and made his dispositions for a battle, to be fought on the morrow; for the quiet shades of evening were stealing along the beautiful valley of Taunton Dean, and the royalists had pitched their tents and tethered their horses for the night. But Warbeck, with all his princely qualities, was deficient in one, very essential to princes in those days—he wanted courage; he was appalled by the sight of the measureless superiority of Henry's forces, and during the night he mounted a swift horse and fled from his company at Taunton, taking no leave nor license of them.² When morning dawned, and his flight was discovered, the Cornish men, without heul or leader—"without

stroke stricken"—submitted to the mercy of Henry, who hanged the ringleaders, and dismissed the rest, naked and starving. Great numbers of well-mounted men were despatched in every quarter in pursuit of Perkin, but his steed carried him well, and he reached the sanctuary



THE REFECTORY, BEAULIEU.³—From an engraving by Spartow, dated 1766.

of Beaulieu, in the New Forest. There was also sent, with all speed, a troop of horse to St. Michael's Mount, in Cornwall, to seize, at all hazards, the person of the Lady Catherine Gordon, who had been sent there by her husband, "whom in all fortunes she entirely loved." "The king," adds Bacon, "sent in great diligence, not knowing whether she might be with child; *whereby the business would not have ended in Perkin's person.*" The horsemen easily got possession of the fair Catherine, and brought her like a captive and bondswoman to the king, in whose presence she blushed and wept bitterly. Her beauty and amiable countenance touched even the cold, impassive heart of Henry; he treated her with respect, almost with tenderness, and sent her to his wife, the Queen Elizabeth, in whose court she was received with great kindness.⁴

The sanctuary of Beaulieu was soon surrounded by the king's troops, but Henry hesitated to force so holy a place, and he proceeded by artifice, in which he was not often unsuccessful. He sent some of his skilful agents to work upon the

¹ Letter from the Earl of Devonshire to the king, dated the 18th of September, the same day on which this second attack was made.—*Ellis's Letters*.

² Letter from the king, dated the 25th of Sept.—*Sir H. Ellis*.

³ The Cistercian abbey of Beaulieu was founded A.D. 1204, by King John. The stone wall which surrounded the precincts of the abbey is in several places nearly entire. The abbot's apart-

ments, after the dissolution converted into a family seat, a long building, supposed to have been the dormitory, the ancient kitchen, and the refectory, are still standing. The church is entirely gone. The refectory, a plain stone building, with strong buttresses, and a curiously raftered oak roof, forms the parish church of the village of Beaulieu.

⁴ *Hall; André; Bacon; Sir Henry Ellis's Letters.*

fears of Perkin, who, finding himself without help or hope, accepted the royal pardon, and, of his own will, frankly and freely departed out of sanctuary. Henry would not admit him into his presence, but his curiosity induced him to take a secret view, from behind a screen, of the spirit which had so long tormented him. A part of the royal army, whose presence was necessary for the enforcement of taxes and fines, marched westward into Devonshire and Cornwall. The commissioners appointed to levy fines upon the wealthier insurgents, according to one old writer, "like a whirlwind, tossed and pierced the coffers and substance of the people;" and Bacon says that "they proceeded with such strictness and severity, as did much obscure the king's mercy in sparing of blood, with the bleeding of so much treasure."

When Henry returned to London, Warbeck rode behind him at a little distance, but not in any ignominious fashion. In order that he might be seen by all the citizens, he was sent through Cheapside and Cornhill to the Tower, riding on horseback in slow procession. The people crowded to gaze upon the handsome prisoner, whose wonderful adventures had occupied their minds during so many years. Some hooted and scoffed, but the majority preserved a wondering and respectful silence. When they saw the dismal gates close upon him they thought never to see him again; but presently he came forth of the Tower, and he was conveyed in the same slow state back to the palace at Westminster. In appearance, he lived at liberty in the court; in reality, he was watched by certain keepers, who were ordered never to lose sight of him, nor permit him to move from them a nail's breadth. He was not converted into a menial, like Simeon, but was treated with an outward show of respect. He was repeatedly examined before a select commission; but, except a few particulars, which in no way explained the most mysterious parts of his story, his confessions were kept secret.²

A.D. 1498. Without speculating on Henry's motives, which it is clear were not penetrated by any of the contemporary writers, we will proceed to relate the outward and visible facts which wound up the marvellous history of Perkin Warbeck. In June, when he had resided some six or seven months in Henry's court, he contrived, or, what seems more probable, he was permitted to escape. Being immediately pursued, he took refuge in the house of Bethlem, called the Priory of Shene, beside Richmond, in Surrey. This house was one of those which enjoyed the right of sanctuary; but the prior having, by earnest solicitations, procured a promise from the king that his life should be spared, de-

livered him up. A paper was now put into his hand, and he was fettered in a pair of stocks before the door of Westminster Hall, where he stood a whole day, not without coarse insults; and there he read the paper, which purported to be his full confession. The next day he stood in the stocks at Cheapside, and read the same paper. The confession, which was afterwards printed by Henry's orders, though we believe that no full and authentic copy is preserved, was a very unsatisfactory, and in part a contradictory document. Henry's cunning and caution injured the weight of the evidence by which he wished all men should be convinced. After the second reading Perkin was shut up in the Tower, where he became the companion and friend of the unfortunate Earl of Warwick, who, after his exhibition in the city and at court, for the purpose of exposing the imposture of Simeon, had been recommitted to his old lodging.³

A.D. 1499. Perkin Warbeck had not been more than six months in the Tower when a new attempt was made to dethrone Henry; and one Ralph Wilford or Wulford, the son of a cordwainer, undertook to play the part of the Earl of Warwick. Several plots had been set on foot to release the unfortunate earl, and proclaim him king; but, though aided on one occasion by Charles VIII., they had all failed. Now a report was spread that Warwick had perished, or was missing in the Tower; but after a short interval there was a whisper that he had escaped. From the borders of Sussex, Ralph Wilford and an Augustine friar, named Patrick, who was the chief contriver of this farce, stole into Kent, where they seem to have found some encouragement. The cordwainer's son told the story of his royal birth, captivity, and escape; and the monk undertook to prove it to be all true, in a discourse which he publicly delivered from the pulpit. Both, however, were arrested almost immediately: Ralph the scholar was executed—Patrick the monk and master was condemned to perpetual imprisonment. There was a very general impression at the time that this whole business "was but the king's device," and that the friar was soon permitted to go to some monastery abroad. Wilford was executed in the month of March. In the month of July it was rumoured that Warbeck and the Earl of Warwick had conspired together to escape from the Tower and get up a new insurrection. Such was the fascination of Perkin's manners, that he not only won the entire friendship of Warwick, but also the favour and kindness of his keepers. Strangways, Blewett, Astwood, and Long Roger, undertook to murder their master, Sir John Dig-

¹ Hall.² Bacon.³ Bacon; Hall; Grafton; Fabian; André; Stow; Rymer.

by, the governor, to get possession of the keys of the Tower, and to conduct the two captives to some place of safety, where *Warbeck might be proclaimed by the title of Richard IV.*, and whither Warwick might summon the retainers of his father the late Duke of Clarence. Such at least was the account given by the law officers of the king, though here again people doubted whether Henry had not excited the natural desires of the two prisoners for liberty, led them into the plot, and invented some of its worst features; for he was so cunning that it was not believed he could ever act in a straight-forward manner. The plot being discovered before it could be executed—or this at least being stated—Warbeck and Warwick were closely confined in separate cells, and preparations were made for their separate trials, for, though the only charge brought against Warwick was his being an accomplice of Perkin, it was not deemed wise to try them together. Henry's judges seem to have been ready to twist and turn the law just as it suited the purpose of their master; but on the present occasion there were long deliberations. At length, on the 16th of November, Warbeck was arraigned in Westminster Hall, upon divers treasons committed and perpetrated after his coming on land within this kingdom (for so the judges advised, because he was a foreigner). He was convicted, of course, and on the 23d day of the same month, he and John O'Water, the mayor of Cork, one of his first adherents, were drawn to Tyburn; there, on the scaffold, his confession was again read, and he affirmed, on the word of a dying man, that it was all true. Then he and his fellow-sufferer "asked the king's forgiveness, and died patiently."¹ Such was the end of this strange, long drama.

Before the execution of Warbeck the Earl of Warwick was brought, not before the judges, but as a peer (though he had never taken the oaths, and the act of attainder passed against his father, the Duke of Clarence, had never been reversed), to the bar of the House of Lords, and accused, not for the attempt to escape simply, but for the conspiring with Perkin to raise sedition, and destroy the king. The poor prince, who, from his long confinement, was unaccustomed to the ways of the world, and helpless and ignorant in a piteous degree, confessed to the indictment; the Earl of Oxford, as lord-steward, pronounced the judgment of the house; and on the 24th of November, three days after his trial, he was beheaded on Tower Hill.² Thus did Henry remove the last descendant of the Planta-

genets from whom he had anything to fear, and from this moment he stood without a competitor. The hapless Warwick was in his twenty-ninth year when he died; but he had been a state-prisoner from his childhood, and seems to have been almost as innocent as a child, when he was judicially murdered by the king and the degraded peers of England. The people, however, long continued to murmur; nor were their doubts wholly removed that Warbeck, after all, might have been the real Duke of York, and lawful heir to the throne. The dying words of that mysterious character might have been uttered on some secret promise of pardon, or on the threats of some execrable tortures; and the confession itself was so full of contradictions and reservations, that it could scarcely impose even on simple minds.³ If there was a tenderer sympathy for the inoffensive Earl of Warwick, the exciting adventures of Warbeck were the more frequent theme of conversation. And what became of Warbeck's fair wife? The Lady Catherine continued in the queen's court, apparently much respected, and, on account of her beauty, the people continued to call her "The White Rose." She was afterwards re-married to Sir Matthew Cradoc, of North Wales, ancestor of the Earls of Pembroke, and was buried with him in the old church of Swansea, where their tomb and epitaph are still to be seen.

A fierce plague having broke out in London, the people considered it as a judgment from Heaven. After several changes of residence, Henry, partly from a delicate regard to his own health, and partly because he had business to transact with the Archduke Philip, went over to Calais, and stayed there till the pestilence was over. He invited the archduke to Calais, but that prince prudently declined putting himself within his power, and their meeting took place at St. Peter's Church, between Calais and St. Omer. The subjects of their long conference were commerce, and cross-marriages between their children; but there were no visible effects, and it was thought that the king's anxiety to confer personally with the archduke proceeded from some other causes, in which the case of Warbeck was included. About this time died, "much hated of the people," Morton, the chancellor and primate; but men were disappointed in their hopes that the death of that grinding minister, and the tranquillity at home and abroad, would render the king less eager for money.

¹ Hall.
² Blewett and Astwood, two of the servants of the governor of the Tower, were hanged at Tyburn, a few days after the execution of "the noble and comiserable" Earl of Warwick.

³ Hall.

² Blewett and Astwood, two of the servants of the governor of the Tower, were hanged at Tyburn, a few days after the execution of "the noble and comiserable" Earl of Warwick.

Charles VIII., of France, had now been nearly two years in his grave. In 1494, about sixteen months after buying off Henry by the treaty of Etaples, that strange king, who claimed by purchase from the house of Anjou an absurd right to the throne of the Two Sicilies, crossed the Alps with an army of 3600 men-at-arms, 20,000 French infantry, 8000 Swiss mercenaries, and an immense train of artillery. The little princes of the numerous states into which Italy was divided had no force to oppose to such an army, and their jealousies prevented the formation of a general league. The invaders poured on, from the foot of the Alps to the Bay of Naples, without meeting with any resistance. But Charles soon found that the lily of France was not destined to take root in an Italian soil.¹ The Neapolitans, who, in their frivolity and "mad love of change," had at first welcomed the French, were presently disgusted with their insolence, and opened communications with their expelled sovereign, Ferdinand II. of Aragon, who had not retired further than the island of Sicily. At the same time a formidable league, consisting of the pope, the King of the Romans, the King of Castile, the Duke of Milan, the republic of Venice, and a few of the minor Italian states, was formed against the invaders; and Charles not only lost his conquest as rapidly as he had made it, but had extreme difficulty in fighting his way back to France.² While waiting till the state of his finances should enable him to renew the mad enterprise, he gave himself up to pleasure and debauchery, neglecting his beautiful wife, Anne of Brittany. In 1498, he resolved to engage 15,000 men-at-arms, natives of Italy, and win over the pope, who had quarrelled with the republic of Venice, and with some other members of the coalition. "He also resolved, within himself, to lead a more chaste and religious life, to regulate the laws, to reduce taxation, under which his people were groaning, and to reform the church. He got good preachers about him, and was a constant hearer of their discourses."³ Being thus in great glory in relation to this world, and in good mind as to the next [*his health had been for some time declining*], on the 7th of April, being the eve of Palm Sunday, he took his queen by the hand, and led her out of her apartment in the château of Amboise, where the court was then residing, to a place in which she had never been before, to see them play at tennis-ball in the castle ditch.⁴ The king and queen had to pass through a filthy corridor, which was so low at the entrance that Charles, notwithstanding

his diminutive stature, struck his forehead against the archway. The accident seemed slight, and the king spent some time in looking on at the tennis-players, talking freely with everybody. But about two in the afternoon he fell down backwards, and lost his speech, and being laid down on an old straw mattress in the open corridor, he died about nine hours after, in the twenty-seventh year of his age.⁵ The Duke of Orleans succeeded to the throne, and married the widow Anne, having obtained a divorce from his wife Jane, who was still living, by agreeing to pay 20,000 ducats to Pope Alexander VI., and to cede the Valentinois in Dauphiny, with a pension of 20,000 livres, to the pope's son, the execrable Cesar Borgia. Louis XII.—such was the title of Orleans—was as eager as his predecessor for the conquest of the Two Sicilies. That England might not hinder him in the prosecution of those distant wars, he gladly renewed the treaty of Etaples, and bound himself by solemn oaths to pay up the pension, which had fallen into arrears. Henry got some money, and in the summer of 1499, Louis descended from the Alps into the fertile plains of Lombardy.

Some Border forays afforded A.D. 1501-3. Henry a pretext for sending Fox, Bishop of Durham, on an embassy to James of Scotland. This skilful negotiator found the young king in Melrose Abbey, and induced him to ask the hand of the Princess Margaret, his master's eldest daughter. This match had long been a favourite scheme with Henry; it had been proposed more or less openly on several occasions, but James had hitherto shown a strong aversion to it. After tedious negotiations this treaty, which led, after the lapse of a century, to a no less important result than the peaceful union of England and Scotland, was concluded and ratified. Henry's old friend and correspondent, the Earl of Bothwell, came to London to act as proxy for King James; and "the fiancels" were solemnly celebrated in the queen's chamber, the Princess Margaret, in giving her consent, being made to say that she did it "wittingly and of deliberate mind, having twelve years complete in age in the month of November last past."⁶ This ceremony took place on the 29th of January, 1502, but the young lady did not arrive in Scotland until nearly twenty months later. On the Borders she was met by a selected party of Scottish nobility, and on the 7th of August she made her entry into Edinburgh, King James riding behind her on the same palfrey. The following day the marriage ceremony was performed by the Archbishop of Glasgow. This marriage was preceded by a treaty of perpetual peace, wherein Henry's

¹ "Che non lice

Che il giglio in quel terreno abbia radice."—Ariosto.

² Giannone, *Storia del Regno di Napoli*; Guicciardini, *Istoria d'Italia*.

³ Comines.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Comines.

⁶ Ellis's *Letters*.

favourite clause was not forgotten—that neither prince should give shelter or encouragement to the revolted subjects of the other.

Before the consummation of the marriage of his eldest daughter, Henry's eldest son, Arthur, had been married and had died. As early as 1496, Henry concluded a bargain with Ferdinand of Spain, who agreed to give Prince Arthur his fourth daughter, Catherine, with a portion of 200,000 crowns. Three years after, when Arthur was in his twelfth year, he was solemnly affianced, the Spanish ambassador acting as proxy for the princess, who did not arrive until two more years had passed. On the 6th of November, 1501, the marriage ceremony was performed in St. Paul's Cathedral. On this occasion Henry had the heart to spend a considerable sum of money in feasts and tournaments; but some of his nobles, in order to flatter him, spent so much that they were reduced to ruin. The chief man that took care of the marriage pageants was Bishop Fox, "who," says Bacon, "was not only a grave councillor for war or peace, but also a good surveyor of works, and a good master of ceremonies, and anything else that was fit for the active part belonging to the service of court, or state of a great king." The historian adds that there was a great deal of astrology and fortune-telling in the masques and fanciful pieces which were represented. "You may be sure that King Arthur the Briton [after whom the young prince was named], and the descent of the Lady Catherine from the house of Lancaster [through the daughter of John of Gaunt], was in nowise forgotten." Prince Arthur was compared to Areturus, and the princess to Hesperus; and her ancestor, old King Alfonso, "the greatest astronomer of kings," was brought on the scene to predict the wonderful and brilliant fortunes, and the glorious progeny which should spring from the match. "But, as it should seem, it is not good to fetch fortunes from the stars; for this young prince, that drew upon him at that time not only the hopes and affections of his country, but the eyes and expectation of foreigners, after a few months, in the beginning of April [1502], died at Ludlow Castle, where he was sent to keep his residence and court as Prince of Wales." Arthur was little more than fifteen years and six months old; and his amiable temper and handsome person seem to have gained the affection of the people. Ferdinand, the father of the young widow, for political reasons, instantly proposed that she should be married to her brother-in-law, Prince Harry, now heir-apparent to the English throne—a marriage more in accordance with Jewish law than with the canons of the Catholic church. Henry suggested some difficulties; but, when Ferdinand asked back the young lady, and

the money which had been paid with her, he agreed to the match, provided that the dispensation could be obtained from Rome, and that 100,000 crowns, the remaining half of Catherine's portion, should be immediately remitted to London. The dispensation was more easily obtained than the money; and though, in 1503, in the thirteenth year of his age, Henry was contracted to his brother's widow, the marriage, for various reasons, was delayed for six years, during which time it was more than once nearly broken off altogether.

At the same time Henry was looking through Europe for a rich wife for himself—his queen, the daughter of Edward IV., having died in childhood in the Tower, shortly after the birth of her son, Prince Henry. He lost no time; he commenced his search before the dust had time to gather on his wife's coffin; but he was a suitor difficult to please in point of money. Having no longer any fear of insurrection at home, and seeing the great powers of the Continent too much absorbed by other wars to molest him, he fleeced his subjects more unmercifully than ever, giving all his affections and thoughts to the gathering and heaping up of treasure. His ministers, his lawyers, and his priests, did their best to gratify this ruling passion, and to prove to the people that all was done legally, and that the duty of all loyal subjects was passive obedience and a ready paying of money. "And as kings," observes Bacon, "do more easily find instruments for their will and humour than for their service and honour, he had gotten for his purpose, or beyond his purpose, two instruments, Empson and Dudley, whom the people esteemed as his horse-leeches and shearers, bold men, and careless of fame, and that took toll of their master's grist. Dudley was of a good family, eloquent, and one that could put hateful business into good language. But Empson, that was the son of a sieve-maker, triumphed always upon the deed done, putting off all other respects whatsoever." These men, who, according to the forcible expression of the same great writer, "turned law and justice into wormwood and rapine," were both lawyers. Their modes of proceeding were very simple, but such as could hardly have succeeded had not the spirit of the aristocracy been annihilated, and the House of Commons reduced to a cipher. They charged the owners of estates, which had long been held on a different tenure, with the obsolete burdens of wardship, liveries, premier seins, and the whole array of feudal obligations, for which they would only give quittances for payments in money: they not only converted nearly every offence into a case of fine and forfeiture, but they also invented new offences, that they might get the fines. To hunt up their game

they kept up packs of spies and informers in every part of the kingdom; and to strike it down with the legal forms, they kept a rabble to sit on juries. In the end they did not "observe so much as the half face of justice."¹

A.D. 1504. At the very moment that this system was in full vigour, a parliament met (in the month of January), and the commons chose Dudley, the leech, for their speaker, and passed all such bills as the king thought fit to propose. But though parliament had become the obedient tool of the court, there were loud murmurs out of doors; and there was a desperate man, a son of a sister of Edward IV. and Richard III., who appears to have been disposed to take advantage of the prevailing discontent. This was Edmund de la Pole, son of the Duke of Suffolk, and younger brother of the Earl of Lincoln, who came over with Simnel, and was killed at the battle of Stoke. When the Duke of Suffolk died Edmund claimed his titles and estates; but the king, who had a law and a logic of his own, maintained that he did not inherit from his father, but from his brother Lincoln, who had died before the father, and had never had possession; and that, as his said brother Lincoln had been attainted by parliament, he, Edmund, could have no claim to the honours or lands. Strange as was this course of argument, it received the sanction of the obsequious parliament; and Edmund was obliged to content himself with a fragment of his patrimony, which was given, not as of right, but as an act of kindness and liberality on the part of the king, and with the inferior title of Earl of Suffolk. This harsh usage had a great effect on a temper which seems to have been naturally irritable. The young earl, in a broil, had the misfortune to kill a man. The case, if properly tried, would not probably have gone beyond a modern case of manslaughter; but Henry, glad of the opportunity to reduce one connected with the house of York, had him arraigned as a murderer, and then, instead of permitting the trial to take place, commanded him to plead the royal pardon. Suffolk fled to the Continent, and took refuge in the court of his aunt, the Duchess of Burgundy. Henry, by means with which we are unacquainted, induced him to return to England, where he lived at large for some time without any talk of his offence. At the marriage of Prince Arthur and the Infanta Catherine, he attended with the rest of the nobility, and, being "too gay," sunk himself deep in debt. Almost immediately after he was again missing, as was also his youngest brother, Richard de la Pole. Henry soon learned that both the young men were with their aunt of Burgundy, and, resorting "to

his wonted and tried arts," he caused Sir Robert Curson, who was employed at the time at Calais, to quit his post as if he had fled from it in disgust or in fear of the king, and to present himself to the Earl of Suffolk as a discontented man. This knight soon insinuated himself into the secrets of the earl, and found out the names of the persons upon whom "he had either hope or hold." To increase Suffolk's confidence in the spy, Henry, at one stage of the business, ordered the pope's bull of excommunication and curse against rebels to be read at Paul's Cross against the Earl of Suffolk and Sir Robert Curson. Curson communicated with Henry in great secrecy, and still maintained his own credit and inward trust with the earl. In consequence of the information given by this base agent, Henry arrested William de la Pole, another brother of Suffolk; the Lord Courtenay, who had married the Lady Catherine, one of the sisters of Henry's queen; Sir James Tyrrel, Sir William Windham, and some other meaner persons. Lord Abergavenny and Sir Thomas Green were apprehended at the same time, but they were not closely confined, and were liberated soon after. It was not easy, even in Henry's courts of law, to convict William de la Pole and the Lord Courtenay of any other crimes than their relationship to the fugitive, and their connection with the house of York; yet Courtenay, Henry's brother-in-law, remained a prisoner in the Tower during the king's life, and De la Pole "was also long restrained, though not so strictly. But for Sir James Tyrrel, against whom the blood of the innocent princes, Edward V. and his brother, did still cry from under the altar, and Sir John Windham, and the other meaner ones, they were attainted and executed; the two knights beheaded."² This sentence is another curious specimen of Henry's indirect dealing. Tyrrel and Windham were condemned, not for any conspiracy, but for having assisted the king's enemy, the Earl of Suffolk, in his first escape out of England in 1499, or nearly three years before this trial. If suspicions had rested upon Tyrrel as the murderer of the innocent sons of Edward IV., Henry had not thought it expedient to proceed against him for that horrible and mysterious business; on the contrary, he had employed Tyrrel, and seems even to have honoured this master of the horse of his predecessor. It appears to have been while Tyrrel was lying in the Tower, under sentence of death for having favoured the escape of Suffolk, that he confessed, or at least it was reported by Henry that he confessed, to his having employed Miles Forest and John Dighton to murder the princes, and that they had been murdered in their bed,

¹ Bacon.² Bacon.

and buried at the stair foot. From the manner in which this confession was obtained or reported, and from other circumstances, the mystery did not seem cleared up in an entirely satisfactory manner. As the story went, there were but four persons that could speak upon their own knowledge as to the murder—Sir James Tyrrel, Miles Forest, John Dighton, and the priest of the Tower, who, it was said, had buried the bodies. Sir Robert Brackenbury, who was removed from the custody of the Tower for twenty-four hours, must have known that the two children were either killed or carried off, but Brackenbury had died at Bosworth Field fighting for King Richard; and his servant, one Black Will, who guarded the princes, if alive, was never questioned or mentioned, any more than John Green, who had carried, or was said to have carried, Richard's order to Brackenbury. Of the four witnesses mentioned, Miles Forest and the priest of the Tower were dead; and from this showing there remained only Tyrrel and Dighton to speak to the facts. Dighton was a prisoner as well as Tyrrel, and, whatever the master may have done or said, it is quite certain that the servant confessed the murder, and that he repeated the particulars of the story to many men and in many places. But here, again, the course pursued darkened and deepened the shades of doubt in the popular mind. The confessions in the Tower were taken privately. Tyrrel, as we have seen, was got rid of on another charge; but, according to the remarkable words of Bacon, "*John Dighton, who, it seemeth, spake best for the king, was forthwith set at liberty,*" and was the principal means of divulging this tradition.¹ Several years later (about 1513), when More wrote, Dighton was still not only alive, but at large; and though the same writer tells us that he was likely to come to the gallows at last,² he does not inform us for what crimes, or whether he ever really met the fate predicated for him.

As for the fugitive Earl of Suffolk, if, in fleeing the second time, he had arranged a conspiracy, there was certainly no proof of it made public by this inscrutable government. Sir Robert Curson, "when he saw the time, returned into England, and withal into wonted favour with the king, but worse fame with the people." Suffolk, dismayed, retired from the court of his aunt, and became a needy and neglected wanderer through the Netherlands, Germany, and France.

¹ Bacon's account of this affair is unaccountably perplexed, and indeed contradictory—in singular opposition to his usual philosophic clearness. His narrative of the confessions of Tyrrel and Dighton distinctly makes these persons to have been committed to the Tower, and examined upon the subject of the murder of the princes, on the first rumour of Warbeck's attempt, and for the express purpose of putting down his pretensions. Yet he concludes the statement by informing us that Tyrrel was "soon after beheld in the Tower-yard," leaving us to suppose

A.D. 1506. In the last years of his reign Henry dispensed with parliament, not caring for their votes, but levying money by the arbitrary and illegal method of benevolences. Dudley and Empson continued their profitable labours all the while. In 1504, when Prince Henry was knighted, the king called a parliament, and demanded, by the feudal customs, a payment for that occasion, and another for the marriage of his eldest daughter. They were instructed to offer £40,000; and then the king, to show his moderation, took £30,000. After this there was no more talk of parliaments. Henry's coffers were brimful; his wealth in ready money was enormous; yet he still earnestly endeavoured to increase it by marriage, and an accident occurred which seemed to offer him, not only the means of obtaining a wife, but also of getting possession of the person of an enemy whom he dreaded even in his helplessness and beggary. In the month of January a storm drove some foreign vessels to seek shelter in the harbour of Weymouth. Distressed by their sufferings at sea, and being in want of fresh provisions, a small party came on shore. Among them were the Archduke Philip, and his wife Joanna, now, by the death of her mother Isabella, Queen of Castile, of which country they were going to take possession when the tempest interrupted their progress. Their departure from Flanders had been watched, and, as if he had foreseen what would happen, or had been alarmed by the passage of a fleet through the Channel, where the vessels beat about for many days, Henry had stationed guards along the coast, and had issued his orders as to the treatment of the royal couple if they should land. They had scarcely set foot on shore when Sir Thomas Trehard and Sir John Carew went with an armed force into Weymouth, where, with much humbleness and humanity, they invited the party to their houses—giving them, however, to understand that they would not be allowed to re-embark without the notice and leave of their king and master. Philip had no confidence in Henry's good faith: he knew him to be in close alliance and constant correspondence with his father-in-law, Ferdinand the Catholic, who, at the moment, was endeavouring to keep the kingdom of Castile for himself: he must have bitterly regretted not being guided by his council, who advised him to brave the storm rather than

that he had never been liberated between his said examination and his execution. His own *History* shows that it was, in fact, ten or eleven years after, that Tyrrel was put to death on another charge, and that in the meantime he had been long at large. We have followed the account of More, who speaks of Tyrrel's confession as having been made after his commitment on the charge for which he suffered.

² "Dighton, indeed, yet walketh on alive, in good possibility to be hanged ere he die."

trust himself on any part of Henry's dominions; but, making a virtue of necessity, he put on a cheerful countenance, as if he considered himself a guest, and not a prisoner. Henry presently despatched the Earl of Arundel to tell his loving cousin how glad he was that he had escaped the dangers of the seas, that he was to consider himself as in his own land, and that he, the king, would make all haste to embrace him. Arundel went to the coast in great magnificence, with a brave troop of 300 horse. When Philip had heard the earl's message, "seeing how the world went, the sooner to get away, he went upon speed to the king at Windsor; and his queen followed by easy journeys." At three o'clock, on the 17th of January, the cunning host and the unwilling guest met upon Elworth Green, two miles from Windsor. The two princes saluted each other with all loving demonstrations. Philip said that he was now punished for not having gone within the walled town of Calais when they last met. Henry replied (did the by-standers keep their countenances?) that walls and seas were nothing where hearts were open. When they went from Elworth Green towards Windsor, Henry rode on the right hand of Philip, and when they reached the castle, the host, instead of being at the stirrup of his royal guest, permitted him to dismount, and to stand some time before he alighted from his own saddle. Within the castle Philip found a splendid apartment prepared for him. But the guest soon found that he had to pay a dear price for his entertainment. Henry drew up a new treaty of commerce wholly in his own favour; and while they were discussing this subject, choosing a fitting time, he drew Philip into a private room, and asked from him the immediate surrender of the Earl of Suffolk, who, after long sufferings and wanderings, had retired in penury to Flanders, where he was then enjoying Philip's protection. The King of Castile "herewith was a little confused and in a study:" he said that such a measure would reflect dishonour, not only on himself, but also on the King of England, who would be believed to have treated him as a prisoner if he exacted such a thing from him; but Henry told him to make his mind easy in this respect, for, as for the dishonour, he would take it all upon himself, and so the honour of Philip would be saved. "The King of Castile, who had the king in great estimation, and besides remembered where he was," consented reluctantly to oblige the king, from whom, however, he obtained the most solemn assurances that the life of Suffolk should be respected. Philip, in consequence, adopted such measures as induced the earl to believe that his sovereign pardoned him, and to come over of his own good-will. Henry next proceeded to exact a wife. Margaret, Duch-

ess of Savoy, was sister to Philip, and a widow, and very rich. Henry had cast his eyes upon her as a suitable match, and now he forced her brother to agree to the marriage, and to fix her portion at 300,000 crowns. But Philip had a son as well as a sister; and this remorseless driver of hard bargains made him agree that his infant son Charles¹ (afterwards the Emperor Charles V.) should be married to the Princess Mary of England, his youngest daughter.

To draw out the time, Henry gave great feasts and entertainments; he made Philip a knight of the Garter; and Philip made him and Prince Harry knights of the Golden Fleece. At the proper season he conducted Philip and Queen Joanna to London, where they were entertained with the greatest magnificence; but as soon as the Earl of Suffolk had been conveyed to the Tower the festivities had an end, and the kings took leave. Philip and Joanna sailed instantly for Spain, having been detained nearly three months in England. The life of the unfortunate Earl of Suffolk was spared for two or three years; but in his last moments Henry left an order for his execution.

Before the negotiations could be finished for the marriage of Margaret, Duchess of Savoy, Philip died in Spain, and thereupon, thinking that his widow would be a better match than his sister, Henry dropped the treaty for the duchess, and proposed for Joanna the queen. At the very time, Joanna was bereft of her reason by the sudden loss of her young and handsome husband Philip—was sunk in the most hopeless insanity, from which she never recovered. But the bronze which fifty years of successful craft and assurance had put upon the face of Henry was not to be affected, and, in reply to her father, King Ferdinand, who had taken upon himself the government of Castile, he asserted that her madness had been brought on by the harsh treatment which she had received from her former husband; that it was only temporary, and by no means of a nature to prevent her from contracting a proper marriage. Ferdinand, not less from a desire of continuing to rule the whole Spanish monarchy, and to keep so great a master of intrigue from having any part of it, than out of tenderness for his unhappy child, renewed his representations of Joanna's condition. Upon this, Henry gave his old friend to understand, that if he were not permitted to marry one of his daughters (Joanna), his son Prince Harry should never marry his other daughter (Catherine). He had several advantages in this controversy: he knew that his alliance or neutrality in the great game that was playing between the French and Spaniards for supremacy in Italy was indispensable

¹ Charles at this time was just six years old.

to Ferdinand; he had the Infanta Catherine in his hands, and 100,000 of Ferdinand's dollars in his coffers. But at the same time he also knew the subtlety and power of the Spanish monarch; and even Henry's genius may have been overawed by the sublime craft and state policy of Cardinal Ximenes, who conducted the administration of affairs in Castile for Ferdinand. Three such minds have not often been brought in contact! In the end, seeing that he would never be allowed to marry Joanna, Henry gave up that suit, and concluded a new treaty, in which Ferdinand agreed, on the one hand, to remit 100,000 more crowns in completion of his daughter's portion; and Henry agreed, on the other, that his son should complete his marriage with the infanta as soon as all this money was received, but not before.

The king's health A.D. 1508. had long been in a wretched state; he was subject to violent fits of the gout, but an elder enemy was a periodical cough, "that wasted his lungs, so that thrice in a year, in a kind of return, and especially in the spring, he had great fits and labours of the phthisic." Henry was a religious prince; his declining strength and sufferings made him think "more seriously of the world to come"—and the world to come made him think of the sufferings of his people. In the spring of 1507 he distributed alms among the poor, and discharged all prisoners in London that were confined for fees or debts under forty shillings. The following year, being still worse, he opened his ears to the bitter cries raised against Dudley and Empson, and their accomplices. Formerly, many persons had been set in the pillory and had their ears cut off for uttering these complaints, or defaming the king's council; but now he was touched with great remorse for the oppressions and exactions he had permitted his two finance ministers to exercise. He even ordered justice to be done to all persons who had suffered wrong; but as his bad season passed these good resolutions departed, and his greediness for money returned. For, "nevertheless, Empson and Dudley, though they could not but hear of these scruples in the king's conscience, yet, as if the king's soul and his money were in several offices, that the one was not to intermeddle with the other, went on with as great rage as ever."

Thus, in spite of his repentance, A.D. 1509. did Henry continue to the last to grind his wealthier subjects in order to add to

his immense treasures, which he kept for the most part under his own key at his manor of Richmond. But his last spring had now arrived; his cough was worse than ever, his thoughts were again turned to repentance, and he drew up a will, which strongly shows his remorse and anxiety, enjoining his young successor to do what he had never the heart to perform himself—to repair the injuries he had committed, and make restitution to the victims he had plundered. He died on the night of the 21st of April, 1509, at his new palace of Richmond, and was buried in the magnificent chapel which he had built, and which bears his name, in Westminster Abbey.



GATEWAY OF RICHMOND PALACE.¹—From a drawing on the spot by J. W. Archer.

He was in his fifty-third year, and had reigned twenty-three years and eight months, wanting one day.

Henry, as a sovereign, was a man of the age; and *his* was an age of subtlety, as the preceding ones had been ages of rude force and violence. There was one great struggle going on in every part of Europe, the objects of which were to overthrow the feudal system, to depress the aristocracy, and to elevate the authority of kings. In other countries this led to the establishment of despotic monarchies, from which England herself had a narrow escape; for, if hardy and an-

¹ The name of this royal residence was originally Shene Palace. It was inhabited by the Edwards I., II., and III. The latter died in it, and likewise Anne, queen of Richard II. After her death, Richard, having demolished the apartments in which his beloved queen died, deserted the place. It was afterwards repaired by Henry V. In 1497 it was destroyed by fire, and rebuilt by Henry VII., who named it Richmond, from his earldom of Richmond, and died in it. Queen Elizabeth was for some time a prisoner here, and it was her favourite residence after her accession to the throne. The chamber in which she died was over the gateway. The palace was in part pulled down in the middle of the seventeenth century, and still further demolished in the eighteenth. The principal existing vestige is the gateway, but some of the offices remain among residences built on the crown lands.

cient seed remained in the ground, which craft could not detect, or of which it could not appreciate the importance, and if sturdy plants continued to thrive which no force or tyranny could ever uproot, yet the liberties of the country were, in a great measure, held in abeyance during the

sway of the Tudors. The authority of the nobles had passed over to the king. The people were not yet strong enough to put in their claim for a portion of the power which had been wielded by the feudal lords, and which for a time fell almost entirely to the sovereign.¹

CHAPTER III.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1509—1520.

HENRY VIII.—ACCESSION, A.D. 1509—DEATH, A.D. 1547.

Accession of Henry VIII.—His marriage with Catherine, his brother's widow—Trial and punishment of Emypson and Dudley—Henry joins a league against France—France invaded—Failure of the invasion through the selfishness of Ferdinand of Spain—Naval encounters between the English and French—Death of Sir Edward Howard, Lord-admiral of England—Henry invades France—Indecisive military operations—Henry besieges Terouenne—Defeats the French at the "Battle of the Spurs"—He is duped by the Emperor Maximilian—England invaded by the Scots during Henry's absence—Unwise operations of James IV.—His total defeat and death at Flodden—Doubts entertained of the death of James IV.—The league against France dissolved—Peace between France and England cemented by a royal marriage—Death of the King of France—The Duke of Suffolk marries his widow—Wolsey made a cardinal—Previous history of Wolsey—His promotions—His style of living—Henry forms a new alliance with France—Becomes a candidate for the imperial crown—Is unsuccessful—Visit of Charles V. to England—Henry visits France—The "Field of the Cloth of Gold"—Sports and pageantries of this meeting.



ENRY, Prince of Wales, the only surviving son of his father, was in his eighteenth year when he ascended the throne, without opposition, and to the universal joy of the nation. His handsome person, his frank manners, his cheerful disposition, and even his ardent love of pleasure, were all made subjects of applause and endearment; and the people seemed to like him the more from his differing in all things from his father, whose death they openly rejoiced in. He had been prevented by the jealousy of the late king from taking any part in public business, but, in retirement, he had contracted a taste for literature and the arts, and his natural abilities were fancied to be of a high order. He was proclaimed on the 22d of April, and was crowned, with his Queen Catherine, on the 24th of June.

His marriage with the Spanish infanta, the widow of his own brother, had not been concluded without serious deliberation; but it appears that Henry himself offered no objection, and that Catherine was admired and beloved both by the court and the people. A bull from the pope did away with the restrictions of canonical law, and was considered sufficient to settle all scruples of delicacy. They were married at Greenwich on the 3d of June, twenty-one days before the coronation, Catherine being about eight years older than Henry. With the single exception of Warham the primate, every member of the council had forwarded the match, which, moreover, was strongly recommended by Henry's grandmother, the Countess of Richmond, who was still living, and much consulted by the ministers.²

The council of government, which was ap-

¹ " . . . Every one who takes a retrospective view of the wars of York and Lancaster, and attends to the regulations effected by the policy of that prince (Henry VII.), must see they would necessarily lead to great and important changes in the government; but what the tendencies of such changes would be, and much more in what manner they would be produced, might be a question of great difficulty. It is now the generally received opinion, and I think a probable opinion, that to the provisions of that reign we are to refer the origin, both of the unlimited power of the Tudors, and of the liberties wrested from our ancestors by the Stuarts; that tyranny was their immediate and liberty their remote consequence; but he must have great confidence in his own sagacity, who can satisfy himself, that, unaided by the knowledge of subsequent events, he could, from a consideration of the causes, have foreseen the succession of effects so different."—Charles James Fox, *History of the Early Part of the Reign of James II.*

² "In the reign of Henry VII. all the political differences which had agitated England since the Norman conquest, seemed to be set at rest. The long and fierce struggle between the crown and the barons had terminated. The grievances which had produced the rebellions of Wat Tyler and Cade had disappeared. Villainage was scarcely known. The two royal houses, whose conflicting claims had long convulsed the kingdom, were at length united. The claimants, whose pretensions, just or unjust, had disturbed the new settlement, were overthrown. In religion there was no open dissent, and probably very little secret heresy. The old subjects of contention, in short, had vanished; those which were to succeed had not yet appeared."—Macaulay, *Review of Hallam's Constitutional History of England.*

³ This lady, the mother of Henry VII., died in the same month of June in which her grandson was married and crowned. She believed (and so it was generally believed both in England and Spain) that there had been no consummation of Catherine's first

pointed under the advice and influence of the old countess, consisted of Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury and chancellor; Fox, Bishop of Winchester, secretary and privy seal; the Earl of Surrey, treasurer; the Earl of Shrewsbury, steward; Lord Herbert, chamberlain; Sir Thomas Lovel, master of the wards and constable of the Tower; Sir Edward Poynings, comptroller; Sir Henry Marney, Sir Thomas Darcy, Thomas Ruthal, doctor of laws, and Sir Henry Wyat. Most of these were men of experience and ability: they had all served the late king, and had taken part in his most obnoxious acts: but this consideration did not prevent them from joining heartily in a measure of vengeance against their old colleagues in office, Empson and Dudley, who had been arrested immediately after the death of their master.¹

When brought before the council these two learned lawyers made a skilful defence, but this did not save them from being committed to the Tower. Soon after, a proclamation was issued to encourage complaints against them, and the long-restrained fury of the people was purposely let loose against their spies and informers. Many of the "lesser rogues in country places" were torn to pieces; some were paraded through the streets of London, mounted on wretched horses, with their faces turned to the tail. Some were set in the pillory at Cornhill, and then conveyed to Newgate, where they soon died in consequence of the harsh treatment received from the mob



HENRY VIII. AND HIS QUEEN, CATHERINE OF ARAGON.—From portraits of Holbein.

and from their jailers. The gratifying of their spite seems to have been the only gratification the people received, for, though there was a talk of "restitution," the courts of law took such an alarm at the immense number of persons who presented themselves as victims, that their doors were soon closed in the faces of the applicants, and no more was said about refunding. Henry, who was no exception to the general rule, that the son of a miser must be a spendthrift, and who had dipped deeply into his father's coffers for his splendid coronation, and the jousts, tournaments, and expensive feasts and masques he was constantly giving, probably fancied that the heads of Empson and Dudley ought to serve as a receipt in full. It may be that he was also tempted by the great wealth those rapacious men had

accumulated. Few pitied their fate, and law had no delicacies in those days. They were indicted, not for offences of which they were notoriously guilty, as in this case the character of the late king would have been awkwardly involved, and the question of restitution revived, but for the almost impossible crime of forming a conspiracy to deprive the present king of his succession and rights. The judges, the law officers of the crown, and two juries,² concurred in finding them guilty of treason, and they were condemned to death and forfeiture, not as robbers of the people, but as traitors to the king.³

¹ *Peter Martyr; Herbert, Life of Henry VIII.; Stow.*

² Dudley was tried at London; Empson at Northampton. The heirs of both were restored in blood, some two or three years after. John Dudley, the son of the first, became Viscount Lisle under Henry VIII., Earl of Warwick under Edward VI., then Duke of Northumberland, and was beheaded on the accession of Mary. It was the grandson of the rapacious minister of Henry VII. that was married to Lady Jane Grey.

³ *Herbert; Stow; Bishop Godwin.*

marriage. Catherine was married to Henry, not with the ceremonies prescribed for widows, but with those appropriated to maids. She was dressed in white, and wore her hair loose.

Secure in his insular position, and for a long time in the hearty affection of his subjects, rich, and powerful, the English king might have defied the sovereigns of the Continent, and avoided taking any part in their wars. Even at this time he might have occupied the honourable position of an arbiter or friendly umpire, and given increase of wealth and strength to his country by commerce, while his contemporaries were exhausting their kingdoms by incessant hostilities. But Henry was anxious for military glory; his council were cajoled by his father-in-law, Ferdinand of Aragon, and by Pope Julius II.; Louis XII. of France was not inclined to continue the pension paid to his father, and thus, in the third year of his reign, the young and fortunate king was induced to join a coalition against France, and to take part as a principal in the continental war.

A herald was despatched to command Louis not to make war upon the pope, "the father of all Christians." As Julius II. was, at the least, as much a soldier as priest, and as he had formed the present league against France, it was not to be expected that Louis would submit to this injunction. He was soon visited by a second herald from Henry, who demanded the instant cession of Anjou, Maine, Normandy, and Guienne. This was equivalent to a declaration of war; and Henry summoned his first parliament to ask for money to enable him to fit out a proper army. Supplies were voted with the greatest alacrity; and though parliament no longer expressed the free voice of the nation, yet on this occasion the people applauded their votes, and began to dream once more of the glories of Crecy and Azincourt. A fine army was raised and equipped, and Henry thought of passing into France by way of Calais, when his father-in-law Ferdinand represented how much more advantageous it would be to make his attack in the south, and to begin operations by making sure of the rich province of Guienne, where the English rule was still regretted. His arguments seemed convincing, and when he sent a fleet to convey the English forces to the foot of the Pyrenees, whence they could march in a few days to the banks of the Garonne, his son-in-law consented to adopt his plan of operation. Ten thousand men were immediately embarked under the command of the Marquis of Dorset. Crossing the Bay of Biscay, they landed in Guipuzcoa, and were quartered, by Ferdinand's orders, at Fuenterrabia, near the mouth of the Bidassoa. Dorset immediately proposed passing the river into France, but he had little or no artillery, and found that he could not move except in concert with a Spanish force. Ferdinand promised everything that was neces-

sary, and collected troops in the Biscayan provinces, as if for the invasion of the south of France. When all was ready, the English expected to be led to the siege of Bayonne, but Ferdinand pretended that it would be dangerous for the allied army to advance until they had made sure of Navarre, which that movement would leave in their rear. Navarre was then a separate kingdom, governed by Catherine and John d'Albret, who, to defend themselves against the encroachments of the King of Aragon, had contracted a close alliance with the King of France. As Dorset could not help himself, he consented to remain in force upon the Bidassoa, while his ally negotiated with the terrified court of Navarre. D'Albret readily consented to remain neutral during the present war, but Ferdinand demanded a free passage for his troops, the surrender of some of the most important fortresses, and the person of the Prince of Viana, the heir to the crown, as an hostage. The latter terms were indignantly rejected, and thereupon Ferdinand threw the army he had collected under pretext of joining the English into Navarre. This army was commanded by the Duke of Alva, who, after taking several of the towns, invited the English to join him in the siege of Pampeluna, the capital of Navarre. Dorset refused to make war anywhere but in France, and called for the artillery, and a supply of horses, which had been promised to him ever since his landing. With the greatest courtesy he was told that, since he scrupled to join the Spanish arms in Navarre, he must wait until that business was settled, and that then he would have all that he wanted, together with an auxiliary force to enable him to take Bayonne and Bordeaux, and the whole of Guienne. As the marquis could do nothing else, he again consented to wait. The presence of an English army on the Bidassoa obliged the French to concentrate their forces between that river and Bayonne, and prevented Louis from sending any succour to his unfortunate ally the King of Navarre, who was soon reduced to extremities, and obliged to flee with his wife and children across the Pyrenees into his little principality of Béarn. Pampeluna capitulated to Alva, and Upper Navarre was thenceforward joined to the Spanish monarchy—an important scheme long in contemplation, and for the happy execution of which Ferdinand had been so anxious for the presence of an English army in the south. When Dorset again made his impatient voice heard, he was told that the Duke of Alva was quite ready to march, but that it must be in the direction of Béarn, not of Bayonne and Bordeaux. Upon this the English commander refused to move at all, and Ferdinand sent an ambassador to Henry. It is little to the credit of the sagacity of the English council

that they did not perceive how they were duped, but, on the contrary, sent Dorset orders to conform to the instructions of the Spanish court. But before these orders arrived the English troops, who during their inactivity had suffered severely from sickness and also from famine (for Ferdinand did not even supply them with proper provisions), took the decision of the case into their own hands, and insisted upon returning home. When the crafty Spaniard saw that their violence was becoming dangerous, he prepared some ships for them, well satisfied with the success of his past manoeuvre. At this moment the order that they were to remain arrived from England; but the men mutinied, and, cursing the Spaniards and the Biscayans, forced their commanders to set sail. Greatly reduced in numbers, humiliated, and in tatters, this expedition, from which so much had been expected, reached England about Christmas.¹

Having made up his mind to
A.D. 1513. lead an army in person into France, Henry, in the preceding autumn, had summoned a parliament to ask for more money. Besides imposing a poll-tax and a sort of property-tax, the houses voted him two-fifteenths and four-tenths. With the money thus raised, and with the remnant of his father's hoards, the young king began to fit out ships and to levy a great army. By this time the French were not only driven out of Italy, where the Spaniards succeeded them, but were harassed on their own frontiers by the "Holy League," as the sovereigns continued to call a coalition which acted in the most base and worldly manner. In these difficulties Louis opened negotiations with the King of Scotland, in order to find Henry occupation in his own country. The Scots at the moment had several grounds of complaint against the English court. Henry had appropriated to himself certain jewels which his father had bequeathed to the Queen of Scotland, and his fleet had come into hostile collision with ships bearing the Scottish flag. Fully anticipating what followed, Henry put his towns near the Scottish borders in a good state of defence—collected troops in the marches, and gave the command of them to the Earl of Surrey, the best of his generals, who was instructed to watch James, while his royal master proceeded against Louis.²

The French king, though much exhausted in finances by his Italian wars, and though oppressed both with ill-fortune and ill-health, was no contemptible opponent. He determined, if possible, to obtain the command of the Channel, to meet the English at sea, which was already considered in a manner as their element, and to

prevent their landing on his coasts. In the preceding year several naval encounters had taken place; and in one great battle, fought off Brest, the French had the advantage, though it was dearly bought with the death of their brave Admiral Primaiget, who was blown up in his ship with 900 men. At the same time, however, the *Regent*, Henry's finest ship, perished in the like manner with 700 Englishmen. Louis reinforced his fleet and collected a great number of mariners, who were conveyed from the shores of the Mediterranean to the Channel, and there embarked under experienced commanders of various nations, but chiefly Genoese. This "great navy," says Hall, "which the French had prepared, and which was well furnished in all things, was, no doubt, a wonder to see!" To disperse or destroy it, Henry despatched "ships royal and others meet for war, to the number of forty-two, besides ballengers," under the command of the lord-admiral, Sir Edward Howard, one of the gallant sons of the Earl of Surrey. Howard sailed from Portsmouth in the month of March, 1513. Early in April he presented himself at the mouth of the harbour of Brest, within which the French ships were anchored, and defended by batteries and other works. He secured the mouth of the haven, and then wrote to the young king his master to come over in person to have the glory of a great and sure victory. Henry, it appears, had no taste for naval engagements, and his council, considering it very improper in Howard to send such an invitation, "for putting the king in jeopardy upon the chance of the sea," wrote sharply to him, and commanded him to do his duty as admiral. Howard was stung by this letter. On St. Mark's Day, despising the tremendous fire kept up both on sea and shore, he sailed right into the harbour of Brest, followed by a number of small row-galleys, and attempted to carry the whole fleet by boarding, or, failing in that, to cut out some of their best ships. He lashed himself alongside the French admiral and leaped on board, sword in hand; but only seventeen men had followed him when the French admiral cast himself loose, and the English galley slid away. The row-galleys, under the command of Sir Thomas Cheney, Sir John Wallop, and Sir William Sidney, pressed forward to his rescue, but they were engaged by the light vessels in the harbour, and before they could get alongside, Howard and his handful of men were all killed and thrown overboard. The death of their gallant admiral completely disheartened the fleet, which returned to England, being followed shortly after by the French, who sailed out of Brest and made some descents on the coast of Sussex.

At this moment King Ferdinand, who had

¹ Herbert: *Wolsey's Letters*, quoted by Fiddes; Godwin.

² Sir Henry Ellis: *Lord Herbert*.

led Henry into this absurd war, made a separate truce for himself with France, which, among other things, recognized his seizure of Navarre. Some of the English ministers thought that, as the strength of the league had thus received a mortal wound, it would be better to postpone the invasion of France; but Henry, the willing dupe of those who flattered him as the most warlike monarch and most perfect knight in Christendom, would not forego his purpose, and pretended that a new alliance which he had formed with Maximilian "the Moneyless," who was now emperor, would more than compensate for the secession of his father-in-law Ferdinand. His army was ready; his people, from one end of the land to the other, were singing beforehand the glory which should attend "the red rose," "the royal rose," in France. To desist at this stage would have been a marvellous effort, but Henry soon showed that he had not a particle of the military genius of his predecessors, and that he loved war for its pomp and parade rather than for its grand operations in the field. In the month of May he despatched his vanguard to Calais, under the command of Gilbert Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury and Lord Herbert: he cut off the head of the Earl of Suffolk in the Tower (a cowardly mode of beginning a campaign); and then, "when all things were prest, accompanied with many noblemen and 600 archers of his guard, all in white haberdines and caps, he departed from his manor royal of Greenwich the 15th day of June."¹ Instead of steering straight for Calais, Henry ran down the Channel as far as Boulogne, to regale the French coast with a mighty firing of great guns. Having thus announced to France that the majesty of England was coming, he put about his fleet and landed at Calais on the last day of June, amidst such a roar of artillery from ships and batteries as had never been heard in the memory of man.² Lord Herbert had already taken the field and begun the siege of Terouenne, but Henry was in no great hurry to join him, passing his time very pleasantly at Calais with his courtiers and favourites, among whom Thomas Wolsey, his almoner, was already the most prevalent.³

The news that a French army, under the command of the Duke de Longueville and the famed Bayard—*Le Chevalier sans peur et sans reproche*—was moving to the relief of Terouenne, caused the young king to mount his war-horse; and on the 21st of July he marched out of Calais with a magnificent army amounting to about

15,000 horse and foot. They had scarcely got beyond Ardres when they saw a strong detachment of French cavalry manœuvring in their front. Expecting a battle, Henry dismounted, and threw himself into the centre of his lansquenets, to fight on foot like the Henries and Edwards of former times. The brilliant Bayard, who was with the French horse, would have charged, but his superiors in command reminded him that King Louis had given orders that they should most carefully avoid fighting the English in open battle; and, after reconnoitring the invaders, the French withdrew, having already succeeded in another part of their commission, which was to throw provisions and gunpowder into the besieged town. The English, "without let or hindrance," joined the divisions under Lord Herbert, and the siege was then pressed with some vigour. The besieged garrison was numerous, brave, and skilful: they countermined a mine attempted by Baynam, the English engineer; and their artillery, though it made less noise, did more mischief than that of the besiegers. At the same time the Count of Angoulême (soon after Francis I.) advanced with a considerable army from Amiens, and threw out detachments of stradiotes (an active description of light cavalry), which scoured the whole country, frequently cutting off the convoys and foraging parties of the English. In this state of affairs the Emperor Maximilian, who had received an advance of 120,000 crowns from the English treasury to enable him to raise troops, came to Terouenne with nothing but a small escort. Henry put on all his magnificence for this reception; for, nominally, the emperor was the first of Christian princes. The two potentates met in a tremendous storm of wind and rain (which must have deranged the white silk jackets of the English courtiers) in the midst of a plain between Aire and the camp. The broad way to Henry's heart had been discovered by all his royal brothers, and, his vanity being once satisfied—for Maximilian assured him that he, the Emperor of the West, was come to serve under him in quality of volunteer—he seems to have overlooked the omission of which he had been guilty in not bringing an army with him. The emperor had scarcely arrived at head-quarters when Henry received a much less flattering visitor. This was Lyon king-at-arms, bringing him the defiance and declaration of war of the King of Scotland, who had already taken the field and sent his fleet to co-operate with his ally the King of France. Henry, however, knew that the brave Surrey was in the marches, and he told the messenger that that earl would know how to deal with his master.

Nearly six weeks had now been wasted in the

¹ Hall.

² Tytler, *Life of Henry VIII.*; Herbert; Holinshed.

³ At this time we find Queen Catherine writing very humbly and affectionately to the rising Wolsey, and entreating him to send her frequent news of her husband, his grace the king.—See Sir Henry Ellis' *Collection of Letters*.

siege of the insignificant town of Terouenne; and so absurdly had the siege been conducted, that the garrison still continued to receive supplies from the army of the Count of Angoulême. When these communications were interrupted, the main body of the French army, consisting of about 12,000 men, advanced from Plangy, with a view of throwing in provisions under cover of a feigned battle. Upon this Henry and Maximilian crossed the river, and formed in order of battle between it and the town and the French army. The emperor, who had won a victory over the French on that very ground thirty-four years before, directed the operations of the English, wearing the red cross of England above his armour, and the red rose of Lancaster, Henry's favourite cognizance, in his helmet. All this, according to an old historian, deserves to be recorded to the eternal honour of our nation, as also the fact of the emperor's taking for pay 100 crowns a-day, besides what was disbursed among his attendants.¹ The French horse charged in a brilliant manner, but, after throwing some powder within reach of the besieged, they wheeled round to fall back upon their main body. Being hotly followed by the mounted English archers and a few squadrons of German horse, they quickened their pace to a downright flight, galloped into the lines of their main body, and threw the whole into uproar and confusion. As the English charged with tremendous shouts of "St. George! St. George!" the panic became complete; and every Frenchman that was mounted struck spurs into his horse and galloped from the field. In vain the bravest of their officers tried to rally them; the attempts, indeed, were worse than vain, for, owing to their not making the same use of their spurs and fleeing with the rest, the Duke de Longueville, the illustrious Bayard, La Fayette, and many other captains of high rank, were taken prisoners by the English. Henry could not help congratulating his captives on the great speed their men had put into their horses: the light-hearted Frenchmen joined in his laugh, and said that it had been nothing but a "Battle of Spurs." By this name, accordingly, the affair came afterwards to be popularly known. The panic, however, was both real and lasting; and if Henry had taken advantage of it, and of other circumstances, he might have inflicted a much more serious blow. The Swiss, to whom he had sent some money, had crossed the Jura Mountains in great force, and had penetrated into France as far as Dijon, the capital of Burgundy. With a Swiss army of 20,000 men on one side, and an English army on the other, Paris began to betray symptoms of alarm. But, to the great joy of Louis, Henry, instead of advancing, permitted

himself to be amused another whole week by the siege of Terouenne. At the end of August the French garrison capitulated, and were allowed to march out with all the honours of war: the town, by the advice of Maximilian, who had an interested and evident motive for this advice, was dismantled and burned. That the destruction might be complete, without any labour to the English, the Flemings in the neighbourhood, the subjects of the emperor's grandson the Archduke Charles, were let loose upon the devoted place, and, being animated with the old enmities usual to bordering nations, razed the walls, filled up the ditches, set fire to the houses, and scarcely left one stone standing upon another. The weather continued to be very rainy, and Henry, by this time, "had so much of war that he began to be weary of the toil thereof, and to cast his mind on the pleasures of the court."² But still it was only the beginning of the month of September, and military etiquette required that something more should be done before going into winter quarters. What Henry *did* was a military absurdity; but he continued to be guided by Maximilian, who was still working for the profit of the Flemings and his grandson Charles. Instead of advancing into France, he turned back to lay siege to Tournai, which belonged to France, though it was *endové* in the territory of Flanders, over the trade of which it exercised a bad influence, while it gave a passage to the French into the heart of the country. As far as the Flemings were concerned it was altogether an unpleasant neighbour; and the emperor was wise in getting possession of it without cost or risk. But what interest Henry could have in such an enterprise was not very apparent. His favourite, Wolsey, however, had an interest, and a great one—Maximilian had promised him the rich bishopric of Tournai, and this prevailing favourite no doubt recommended the siege. The French citizens of Tournai refused the assistance of a garrison of the royal troops, and sacrificed themselves to a bad pun.³ Upon being summoned they made a bold show of resistance, but, as soon as the English artillery got into play, they changed their tone, and in a few days capitulated. On the 22d of September Henry rode into Tournai with as much pomp and triumph as if he had taken the capital of France. Ten days before this inglorious conquest the Swiss, who saw what sort of an ally they had in the English king, concluded a treaty highly advantageous to themselves with the King of France, and marched back to their own mountains. Louis was thus enabled to concentrate his forces in the north, and the grand plan of the

¹ Bishop Godwin.² They said—"Que Tournai n'avoit jamais tourné, ni encore ne tournerait."—*Mémoires de Fleuranges*.³ Bishop Godwin.

allies vanished in air. Wolsey got the rich bishopric, Henry spent some money in jousts and tournaments, and then returned well satisfied to England, where he arrived safe and sound on the 22d of October. Although he did not gain quite so much by it, Maximilian had duped the vain-glorious king almost as much as Ferdinand had done before.

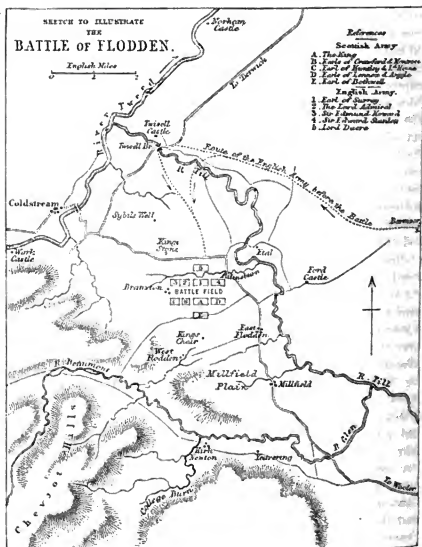
The money which Henry had expended on the Continent amounted to an enormous sum. But his confidence in the Earl of Surrey had not been misplaced; and during his absence that nobleman had gained one of the most remarkable victories on record. Following up his defiance, the Scottish king put himself at the head of a numerous and gallant, but somewhat undisciplined army, and, contrary to the advice of most of his ministers, crossed the Tweed and began hostilities.

The version most received of the fatal field of Flodden is so striking and romantic, that we scarcely hope to rectify what is incorrect in the impressions it has made; but the following appear to have been the real circumstances which preceded and attended that battle.

Although undertaken against the advice of the majority of the nobility, the war was very popular with the Scottish people, who flocked in such numbers to the royal standard that James was enabled, on the 22d of August, to cross the Borders with one of the most formidable armies that had ever invaded England. His artillery and appointments were also superior to what had hitherto been seen in Scottish armies. Instead of advancing, however, he lingered on the right bank of the Tweed, besieging Norham Castle, which did not surrender till the 29th of August. He then marched up the Tweed to Wark Castle, which detained him a day or two. From Wark he went to Etal, and thence to Ford, another Border fortress of no great consequence, but which he attacked out of spite to the family of the Herons (to whom it belonged), a member of which, John Heron, was suspected of having murdered his favourite, Sir Robert Kerr, the warden of the Scottish marches. William Heron, the head of the family and real owner of the castle, was a prisoner in Scotland, and Elizabeth, his wife, had passed southward to the Earl of Surrey, at York, in order to make

arrangements by which the castle might be spared from the fury of the Scots, and her husband liberated from his captivity. James, however, took the castle by storm and razed it to the ground.

From York the Earl of Surrey, who was allowed time to reinforce his army, marched to Newcastle, and from Newcastle he advanced to Alnwick, whence, on the 4th of September, he despatched Rouge Croix, the pursuivant-at-arms, to reproach James with his breach of faith, and to offer him battle on the following Friday, if he had courage to remain so long on English ground. The same herald bore another message from Surrey's son, the Lord Thomas Howard, now Admiral



of England, who, in very rude terms, told the Scottish monarch that he would come to justify the death of that pirate, Barton, which had been charged upon him as a foul murder by James, and that he neither expected to receive nor would give quarter. To Surrey James replied in a chivalrous tone, accepting his challenge; but he left the brutal message of his son unanswered. Though his army was already somewhat thinned by desertion, James was resolved to abide the battle, and chose his ground with some skill on Flodden Hill, an off-shoot of the Cheviot, steep

on both flanks, and defended in front by the deep Till, a tributary of the Tweed. When the English came in sight of this position they did not like it; and Surrey, on the 7th of September, sent James a second letter, reproaching him with having "put himself into a ground more like a fortress or a camp, than any indifferent ground for battle to be tried." As this taunting message had not the desired effect, Surrey sought to obtain his end by manœuvring round the position, by advancing towards Scotland, and then turning sharply round the rear of Flodden. On the morning of the 8th he crossed the Till, near Weetwood, without meeting any opposition, and marched over some rugged ground to the village of Barmoor, on the right bank of the river. Early on Friday morning, instead of pursuing his march towards Berwick, he faced the north-west, proceeded to Twisell-bridge, re-crossed the Till, and advanced towards Branxton, as if it was his intention to occupy a hill to the westward of Flodden. James, who had thrown away an admirable opportunity of attacking the English while they were crossing at Twisell-bridge, and at a dangerous ford a little higher up, now put himself in motion, in order to prevent them from taking up a formidable position between him and his own country. Setting fire to their huts and litter, the Scots descended their hill, and, under cover of the great smoke they had raised, hurried forward to seize the heights of Branxton, towards which the English vanguard was hastening in another direction. Between Twisell-bridge and Flodden, but nearer to the latter than the former, runs the small stream of Palinsburn, which the English had crossed before the wind drove away the smoke, and discovered the Scottish army within a quarter of a mile of them, in perfect order, "marching like the Germans, without talking or making any noise."¹ Several of the Scottish nobles had advised a retreat: among these was the same Lord Lindsay of the Byres that made James III. the fatal present of the gray charger, a rough old soldier, who had a turn for parables, and who had represented to the council that the stakes between the combatants were not equal. For this advice James, it is said, threatened to hang Lindsay at his own castle gate; nor were the remonstrances of the Earl of Huntly and the Earl of Angus (the once terrible Bell-the-Cat) heard with more calmness. It is added, that the king told the latter that, if he were afraid of the English, he might go home. The taunt touched the old man to the quick, and he burst into tears. He turned, however, to depart,

saying mournfully, "My age renders my body of no use in battle, and my counsel is despised: but I leave my two sons and the vassals of Douglas in the field: may old Angus' foreboding prove unfounded!"

To decline the battle was now impossible; and the Scottish nobles, with a very few exceptions, made up their minds to conquer or die with their sovereign. The two armies were about equal in number, each counting about 30,000 men. On the side of the English were 5000 whom Henry had sent back from France to meet this storm on the Borders—one, not altogether unimportant, consequence of the diversion of the Scots in favour of Louis. The disposition of both armies was also much the same, and very simple. The line of each was formed into a centre and two wings, and on each side a strong body of reserve was posted behind the centre. The battle began about four in the afternoon of Friday, the 9th of September, with cannonading on both sides. The English were superior in artillery, and their guns seemed to have been better served. "Then out burst the ordnance on both sides with fire, flame, and hideous noise; and the master gunner of the English slew the master gunner of Scotland, and beat all his men from their guns, so that the Scottish ordnance did no harm to the Englishmen, but the Englishmen's artillery shot into the midst of the king's battail, and slew many persons—which seeing, the King of Scots and his brave men made the more haste to come to joining." The Earl of Huntly and Lord Home, with part of the left wing of the Scots, who fought on foot with "long spears like Moorish pikes," fell upon part of the English right wing under Sir Edmund Howard, with a fury that was irresistible. Sir Edmund was beaten down; his banner was brought to the dust; his lines were completely broken, and part of his men fled in the greatest disorder. Sir Edmund, after being saved by the remainder of the right wing under the lord-admiral, fell back towards the English centre, which extended its line to receive him, while Lord Dacre, who was in reserve behind the centre, came up and charged with all the English cavalry. Though the Borderers under Lord Home, fancying they had already gained the victory, had begun to disperse over the field in search of plunder, that Scottish wing kept its ground with wonderful obstinacy, throwing off the English horse at the point of their long spears: but charge after charge told upon them, and, after a long conflict, and a terrible slaughter on both sides, Huntly and Home retreated before Sir Edmund, the Lord-admiral Howard, and Lord Dacre. The Earls of Crawford and Montrose, who were not able to prevent this retrograde movement, were charged in their turn by

¹ Official account written to Henry VIII. in French.—The good order and striking silence of the Scots are noticed by nearly every contemporary writer. "Little or no noise did they make," says a black-letter account, printed by Richard Faques in 1513, and reprinted by Mr. Haslewood in 1809.

horse and foot, whom they received in line without wavering upon the points of their spears; and when they were reinforced from the centre, they not only became the assailants, but also threw the whole right wing of the English, with the cavalry from their reserve, into confusion. At this critical moment the lord-admiral sent the *Agnus Dei* which he wore at his breast to his father, who was with the English centre, requesting him to bring up the whole of that division with all possible speed. Surrey advanced; but King James, who watched his movements, fell upon him with the entire centre of the Scots, fighting himself most gallantly in their front. The battle was now tremendous; and when the Earl of Bothwell came up with the reserve to the support of the king, the victory for a while inclined to the Scots. But there were two circumstances—the shyness of Lord Home, and the rashness of the Highlanders who formed James' right wing—which proved fatal to the high hopes of the imprudent but gallant sovereign. When the Earl of Huntly urged Home to renew the fight and advance with his portion of the left wing, which had suffered cruelly, to the assistance of the king, he is said to have replied, "He does well that does for himself. We have foughten our vanguard, and have won the same; therefore let the lave [the rest] do their part as well as we." When the right wing, under the Earls of Lennox and Argyle, with the Campbells, the Macleans, the Macleods, and the other clans from the Highlands and the Isles, who obeyed no orders save those of their chiefs, descended a hill to join the main body, they were met by the extreme left of the English—hardy bowmen and stout pikemen from Cheshire and from Lancashire—under Sir Edward Stanley, who galled them sorely with their arrows. In a frenzy, the half-naked clansmen threw away shield and target, and with their broadswords and axes, and without any order, rushed among the English. In vain La Motte, a commissioner from the French king, and other experienced French officers, endeavoured to keep them in their ranks—on they rushed, as if every Highlandman thought of deciding that great engagement with his own right arm. At first the English were astonished at this fierce onslaught, but they stood firm, closed their ranks and squares, and opposed as wonderful a coolness to the wonderful impetuosity of their enemies, who, at length, were driven back, and, being unable to re-form, were slaughtered in detail, or put to downright flight. Their chief commanders, the Earls of Lennox and Argyle, both perished on the field. Stanley now charged the king's centre on its right flank and rear; and, at the same time, James had to sustain the shock of Surrey in front, and the attack of the Admiral Howard

and Lord Dacre, who, after repulsing the Earls of Crawford and Montrose, who were both slain, had fallen upon his left flank. In fact, he was now surrounded—hemmed in within a gradually contracting circle of foes, who, by this time, seem to have adopted, to a man, the savage resolution of the lord-admiral, Thomas Howard—of giving no quarter. Now was the time that the nobles and the meanest subjects of the doomed prince showed their valour and their attachment to his person:—

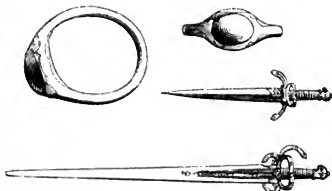
"The English shafts in volleys hail'd,
In headlong charge their horse assail'd;
Front, flank, and rear, the squadrons sweep
To break the Scottish circle deep,
That fought around their king.
But yet, though thick the shafts as snow,
Though charging knights like whirlwinds go,
Though billmen ply the ghastly blow,
Unbroken was the ring;
"The stubborn spearmen still made good
Their dark impenetrable wood,
Each stepping where his comrade stood,
The instant that he fell.
No thought was there of dastard flight;
Link'd in the serried phalanx tight,
Groom fought like noble, squire like knight,
As fearlessly and well."

Nor did they cease fighting when James bit the dust with an English arrow sticking in his body, and with a mortal wound from an English bill on his head: they closed round the body, which fell within a spear's length of Surrey, defending it dead as obstinately as they had defended it when living. Night closed upon the carnage, and separated the combatants. Surrey was for a while uncertain of the victory; but during the night his scouts brought him intelligence that the Scots were in full retreat towards their own country, and that none remained on the field; "upon which the earl thanked God with humble heart." But the intelligence of the scouts was not quite correct: during the night the Borderers, who had fought under the standard of Lord Home, being joined by marauders from Tynedale and from Teviotdale, stripped the slain, and pilaged part of the baggage of both armies; and when day dawned, Home's banner was seen hovering near the left flank of the English, while another body of Scots—apparently the remnant of the centre, which had fought under the king—appeared in front, occupying a hill, as if determined to renew the contest. Surrey brought his artillery to bear upon them, and they were dislodged; but even then they seem to have retreated very deliberately, and Lord Home's people carried a rich booty and a considerable number of prisoners across the Tweed. Lord Dacre found seventeen pieces of cannon deserted on the hill-side; and it appears to have been in the morning, and not in the preceding evening, that

the English horse followed a portion of the retiring Scots for about four miles, and not further. It is quite certain that Surrey had suffered dreadfully in this stern conflict, and that he had no inclination whatever to try the fords of the Tweed, and the moors and morasses beyond it. The loss of the Scots, according to the most moderate calculation, amounted to 8000 or 9000 men; but in this number were included the very prime of their nobility, gentry, and even clergy. Besides the king and his natural son, Alexander Stuart, Archbishop of St. Andrews, who had studied abroad, and received instruction from Erasmus, there were slain twelve earls—Crawford, Montrose, Lennox, Argyle, Errol, Athole, Morton, Cassilis, Bothwell, Rothes, Caithness, and Glencairn: to these must be added fifteen lords and chiefs of clans; amongst whom were Sir Duncane Campbell of Glenorchy, Loughlan Maclean of Dowart, and Campbell of Lawers; and conspicuous in the sad list are the names of George Hepburn, Bishop of the Isles; William Bunch, abbot of Kilwinning; Lawrence Oliphant, abbot of Inchaffray; the dean of Glasgow; La Motte, the French agent, and most of his countrymen. Some families of the gentle blood of Scotland lost all their male members that were of an age capable of bearing arms. The body of the king was found by Lord Dacre among a heap of dead. Dacre, who had known him well, recognized it, though it was disfigured by many wounds, and it was afterwards identified by James' chancellor, Sir William Scott, by Sir John Forman, and some other prisoners. The body was conveyed to Berwick, where it was embalmed and wrapped in sheets of lead, and it was then sent secretly, among other packages, to Newcastle. From Newcastle the Earl of Surrey took it with him to London, and then placed it in the monastery of Shene, near Richmond. Meanwhile, in Scotland, the people were loath to believe that their king was dead; and those who believed it attributed his death, not to the English in the field, but to certain traitors in the retreat. It was said that James, after escaping across the Tweed, was murdered by some of the retainers of the Earl of Home; and the classical, but credulous and imaginative Buchanan tells us that he himself had heard one Lawrence Telfer say that he saw the king on the north of the Tweed after the battle. Lesley, again, informs us that it was asserted by many, that it could not be the

king's body which Surrey had conveyed to London, as James was seen alive by many, and safe at Kelso, after the flight of Flodden; and he adds, that some of the Scots continued to believe that the king had gone on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land to pray for the souls of his slaughtered nobles, and to pass the rest of his life in devotion and penitence. By these romantic believers it was particularly objected to the English, that they could never show the token of the iron belt which James constantly wore round his body, in penance for his youthful rebellion and the death of his father: but the English produced the unfortunate monarch's sword and dagger, and a turquoise ring (supposed to have been sent him by the Queen of France), which are still preserved in the Herald's College, London; and no rational doubt can be entertained that James perished at Flodden Field.¹

Queen Catherine instantly announced this victory to her husband in a very spirited and very



SWORD, DAGGER, AND RING OF JAMES IV.—FROM the originals in Herald's College, London.

English letter. Being on the winning side, she said, "All that God sendeth is for the best;" and she sent Henry the coat-armour of the unfortunate James.² The affectionate tone of the letter is remarkable. She calls the king "my Henry;" and concludes with praying God to send him home shortly, as without this no joy can be complete. The king received this conjugal despatch while he lay before Tournai. Soon after his return to England he rewarded Surrey, by restoring to him the title of Duke of Norfolk, which had been forfeited by his father, who fell in the battle of Bosworth Field.

The victory at Flodden had been so dearly bought, and money and provisions were so scarce in his camp, that Surrey was in no condition to follow up his advantages. Instead of invading

¹ Original despatch in French, attributed to the Lord-admiral Howard, preserved in the Herald's College, and printed by Pinkerton.—*The True Encounter or Battaille lately don betwene Englande and Scotlande*, &c., first printed in 1513, and reprinted by Haslewood, in 1809; Hall's *Chronicle*; *Pittcott*; Lesley, *De Rebus Gestis Scottorum*; Walter Scott, *Notes to Marmion*; Ellis's *Letters*; Tytler, *Hist. Scot.*; *Rambles in Northumberland and on the Scottish Border*, by Stephen Oliver the Younger.

² The length of the sword blade is 3 feet $\frac{1}{2}$ inch, and of the hilt 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches. On one side of the blade is inscribed "*Maestro Domingo*;" on the other apparently the words, "*ESQUI CONFORTE LE OVEVAL*." The blade of the dagger is 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and the hilt 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in length.—*Archæologia*, xxxiii. 335.

³ The whole of the letter, which is preserved among the Cotton MSS. in the British Museum, and printed in Sir Henry Ellis's *Collection*, is exceedingly interesting.

Scotland he stopped at Berwick, and having put some troops in garrison, he disbanded the rest of his army. The Scots prepared manfully for the defence of their country; and the queen, at the same time, wrote an affectionate letter to her brother Henry, requesting his forbearance for a widowed sister and an infant orphan. Henry was, perhaps, not incapable of generous sentiments; but it is not uncharitable to suppose that the determined attitude of the Scots, and the old recollections of the unprofitable nature of Scottish wars, had their weight in his council, which agreed to a peace.

A.D. 1514. Louis XII. pursued a course of diplomacy which broke up the coalition against him, and which would have left the English to make war by themselves, had Henry's military ardour tempted him to a renewal of the struggle. He completely reconciled himself with the court of Rome, and he not only prolonged his truce with Ferdinand, but won over the Emperor Maximilian—the volunteer of England—by proposing a treaty of marriage. Louis offered the hand of Renée, his second daughter, with his claim to the duchy of Milan, to Prince Charles, who was grandson both to Maximilian and to Ferdinand. Charles, it will be remembered, had been affianced during the lifetime of the late king to the Princess Mary of England, Henry's youngest sister. The bargain had been arranged with Charles' father, Philip, during his detention in Windsor Castle; but Henry did not consider it the less binding from the force and treachery which had been used on that occasion, and, as Charles was now approaching the age of puberty, he expected shortly to see the completion of the marriage. The first person to inform Henry of these negotiations was the French king himself, through the medium of the Duke of Longueville, who had been taken prisoner in the battle of the Spurs and conveyed into England. That accomplished courtier soon won the favour of the English king; and when Henry was almost frantic at the treachery of his allies, the duke adroitly proposed a family alliance with his master. Louis' wife, Anne of Brittany, had died in the month of January, just in time for the furthering of this sudden scheme. She had left no son, and her widower, notwithstanding his declining health, hoped that a new marriage might bless him with an heir. Negotiations in other quarters had been opened before Anne was buried; but the friendship of England was worth purchasing, even at the price of taking a disagreeable wife—and the Princess Mary, on the contrary, was a beautiful and charming person. Henry, whose mind was seldom startled by sudden changes, caught at the proposal. Louis anxiously urged

the treaty, and the private feelings of the princess were disregarded, as in all such cases. Louis was fifty-three years old, Mary was sixteen, and passionately enamoured of Charles Brandon, Viscount Lisle, one of her brother's favourites, and the handsomest and most accomplished nobleman in the English court. The treaty, which was to secure lasting peace and amity between the two nations, was concluded with the usual forms: Louis agreed to pay Henry a million of crowns, in ten yearly instalments, in discharge of arrears due on the old treaty of Etaples, and Henry agreed to give his sister, Mary, a dowry of 400,000 crowns. On the 7th of August a marriage ceremony was performed at Greenwich, the Duke of Longueville acting as proxy for his master. If Mary was in no haste to leave England, Louis was very impatient for her society, and he wrote more than once to hurry her departure. On the 2d of September he addressed Wolsey, now Bishop of Lincoln and the manager of all Henry's affairs, desiring that his queen might be sent over without delay. A month after this Henry and his court accompanied the young Queen of France to Dover, where she embarked for Boulogne, accompanied by a splendid retinue, among whom were Surrey, now Duke of Norfolk, her lover, the Viscount Lisle, who had been created Duke of Suffolk, and *Anne Boleyn*, then a pretty little girl and maid of honour.¹ On the 8th of October she made her public entrance into Abbeville. On the following day the marriage was re-solemnized by a French cardinal, Louis suffering grievously from the gout during the ceremony; and the day after, to the great vexation of the young queen, he dismissed the Lady Guildford, her governess, Sir Richard Blount, her chamberlain, with all the rest of her English attendants, except Anne Boleyn, and two or three mere menials. The accomplished Charles Brandon, however, remained with the Duke of Norfolk in quality of ambassador. On the 12th of October Mary addressed her brother, complaining bitterly of this treatment. "Would to God," she exclaims, "that my Lord of York had come with me in the room of Norfolk! for then I am sure I should have been left much more at my heart's ease than I am now!"² My Lord of York was none other than Wolsey, who ran through all the grades of church preferment with unprecedented rapidity, and who had been translated from Lincoln to the archbishopric of York on the preceding 5th of August. The gallant Brandon excited a great jealousy among the French courtiers; and, if we are to believe the majority of the French writers of the time,

¹ In the original list signed by King Louis, which is preserved among the Cottonian MSS., this personage is merely named as *Madamoyelle Boleyn*.

² Sir Henry Ellis's Collection.

the attachment between him and Queen Mary was apparent from the moment of their arrival in France, and excited suspicion, notwithstanding their great prudence and irreproachable conduct. In the month of December Louis wrote to his "good brother, cousin, and gossip," the King of England, to express his happiness in this marriage; and on the 1st of January following he expired at Paris, worn out with sickness and debility. Mary was not an inconsolable widow. It was generally rumoured that Francis I., who now ascended the throne of France in the twenty-first year of his age, was not insensible to her beauty and accomplishments; but he was provided with a queen, having recently married the Princess Claude, daughter of the late King Louis and Anne of Brittany. Henry sent the Duke of Suffolk, Sir Richard Wingfield, and Dr. West, with a "goodly band of yeomen, all in black," to bring the princess home again. Mary, who had been not quite three months a wife, and scarcely two months a widow, gave heart and hand to her lover, and was privately married at Paris to the captivating Brandon, almost as soon as he arrived at that capital. It had not been unusual for princesses of the blood to marry subjects, but the notion of the royal dignity was now wonderfully on the increase; and it had been set down as law, at least as far back as Henry VI., that no such marriages should be allowed without the express permission of the king; and for this it appears Mary did not ask. She wrote to implore pardon for the step she had taken to secure her own happiness, and then travelled with her husband to Calais, where a more public marriage was solemnized shortly after. Henry for a time was, or appeared to be, exceedingly wroth at the unequal match; and on their return to England, in the month of August, the duke and duchess went to their manor in Suffolk instead of joining the court. The king, however, had a warm affection both for his sister Mary and for the accomplished Brandon, who had been brought up with him from his childhood, and who delighted Henry by his cheerful humour, his gallant deportment, and his great address in tournaments and all martial exercises; and a perfect reconciliation soon took place, aided by the good-will of my "Lord-cardinal"—for Wolsey, still rising, got the cardinal's hat in the course of this summer.¹

It is time to say a word touching the history of this gorgeous churchman, who for nearly twenty years was more King of England than Henry himself. Thomas Wolsey was the son of a substantial butcher, or more probably grazier, of Ipswich. His father, who was rather wealthy for the time, procured him a good education,

and brought him up for the church. He studied at Oxford, where, on account of his precocity and early attainments, he was honoured with the name of the Boy Bachelor. For some time he taught the grammar-school adjoining to Magdalen College. Among other pupils, the sons of the Marquis of Dorset were committed to his care, and, by means of the marquis, the parsonage of Limington, in Somersetshire—"no very mean one"—was bestowed upon him. He was not distinguished at any period of his life by temperance and sobriety, and a command of his passions: in the hot season of youth he appears to have been guilty of sundry indiscretions. It is quite certain that the young parson soon grew weary of the obscurity of a country life; "bearing a mind that looked beyond this poor benefice," which he soon left to become domestic chaplain to the treasurer of Calais. The treasurer



CARDINAL WOLSEY.—From a picture by Holbein.

introduced him to the notice of Bishop Fox, the cunning minister and diplomatist—"a man that knew rightly how to judge of good wits." Fox warmly recommended him to his master Henry VII., whose particular talent it was to discover the abilities of other men, and who never employed a dull one. Henry presently employed Wolsey in certain secret affairs of great moment, and Wolsey justified the warm recommendation of his patron the bishop. "What need many words?" exclaims an episcopal historian; "he so far pleased the king, that in short time he became a great man, and was first preferred to the deanery of Lincoln, and then made the king's almoner."²

Upon the death of the old king there was a struggle for supremacy in the council between

¹ Ellis' Letters; Hall; Bishop Godwin; Hist. de Bayard; Lettres de Principi; Original Letters quoted by Fiddes.

² Bishop Godwin.

Bishop Fox and the Duke of Norfolk, then Earl of Surrey. The bishop was not slow in perceiving that the earl, whose military character and tastes pleased the young king, was getting the upper hand, and to counteract this influence, he introduced Wolsey to Henry VIII. It was the old story—the tool was too sharp for the hand that would have worked with it for its own purposes. Instead of propping the bishop against the weight of the earl, the chaplain supplanted them both, and soon acquired more power and influence at court than they had ever possessed between them. Though nearly twenty years his senior, Wolsey glided into all the tastes and habits of the young king, some of which, however, seem to have been natural to him; and though a churchman, he became a sort of model and a bosom friend to Henry, whose chief but not only ambition it was to figure as a warlike monarch and perfect knight. We have noticed his love of literature. Of the books he had read many were of the school divinity;¹ and his favourite author was the subtilizing St. Thomas Aquinas. Wolsey could entertain him on this subject, which he had studied professionally; and, with a happy facility, he could pass from St. Thomas to the ladies and affairs of gallantry. Henry, according to an old writer, had “as little inclination to trouble himself with business as a wild ox has to be yoked to the plough;” and it quite suited Wolsey’s views to encourage this feeling, and to take the whole business of government upon himself.

A few months after the return of the Princess Mary from France, Archbishop Warham, finding his authority reduced to nothing, resigned the seals, upon which Wolsey became chancellor of the kingdom. This high promotion was soon followed by another of an ecclesiastical description: in consequence of services rendered or promised, Leo X. appointed him to the important and lucrative post of Papal legate. He now became most gorgeous in his dress, retinue, house-keeping, and all other things; carrying pomp, and ceremony, and expense to a higher pitch than men had ever before seen in a subject. It was calculated at one time that his income, with the pensions and presents he received from foreign princes, equalled the revenue of the crown. But his taste was rather for spending than accumulating. He maintained a train of 800 persons, amongst whom were nine or ten lords, the beggared descendants of proud barons. He had fifteen knights, and forty squires. All his domestics were splendidly attired: his cook wore a satin or velvet jerkin, and a chain of gold round

his neck. Henry seems to have taken a pride in the splendour of his favourite, and jealousy was probably avoided by his considering all this glory as a mere reflection of his own. Even the nation was less jealous of the low-born minister than might have been expected; for Wolsey was an excellent paymaster, and constantly gave largesses to the people and alms to the poor. At the same time he encouraged men of learning, exerted himself for the revival of classical literature, and endowed colleges. Indeed, Wolsey, though the most absolute minister of an absolute king, was rather popular than otherwise, until Henry’s wants obliged him to overtax the people. As chancellor he dispensed strict justice, though his severity too often savoured of the system of Empson and Dudley; for he set round fines on the heads of rich offenders, without any very scrupulous attention to legal forms or the positive amount of their guilt. On the whole, and with reference to that age, his home-government was not a bad one. His faults and vices were of a gigantic growth; but Wolsey was no vulgar upstart—no sordid mind.²

Francis I., the new King of France, whose views were all directed beyond the Alps, gladly renewed the treaty which his predecessor Louis had concluded with Henry. Having secured peace with England, and resumed alliances with Venice, with Genoa, and some other states, Francis poured 60,000 men into the plains of Lombardy. The splendid victory of Marignano and the acquisition of Milan were the fruits of this invasion.

The military glory which the young French king acquired beyond the Alps excited the jealousy of Henry, and an outcry was raised in the English court against French ambition and encroachment. As Francis had given great offence to Wolsey, that powerful favourite encouraged the hostile feelings of his master, and recommended him to form a fresh alliance with the Emperor Maximilian, in order to expel the French from Italy. If there had been money in hand war would have been immediately declared against Francis, but Henry by this time had completely exhausted the treasures left to him by his father; and Maximilian, on his side, was still the “moneyless,” and could do nothing without English subsidies. He soon adopted an expedient which, by a very correct estimate of Henry’s character, he calculated would induce him to make greater exertions for the raising of money than the mere prospect of a doubtful war. Gradually he hinted that he was weary of the weight of the imperial crown, and might be easily persuaded to resign it, for a proper consideration in money, to the English king. Duped

¹ According to several accounts Henry’s father had at one time destined him for the church. Hence his knowledge of divinity, church music, &c.

² Cavendish; Fulder; Hall; Bishop Godwin.

as he had been by Maximilian already, Henry's greedy vanity took the bait; and the Earl of Worcester and Dr. Cuthbert Tunstall, afterwards Bishop of Durham, were sent as ambassadors to the emperor's court to negotiate for this cession of a title. Tunstall, who was one of the most accomplished scholars in Europe, and a man of business besides, presently discovered the specious cheat. After begging his short-sighted master to pardon his frankness, he explained the trick in some admirable letters.¹ Henry was convinced; and he not only gave up his dream of being an emperor, but also his projected alliance with Maximilian, for the purpose of driving the French out of Italy. Nor did he stop at negatives. When once turned from a line of policy, it was his general custom to run for a time in a directly contrary direction. Francis, after securing himself in possession of the Milanese, went on to Bologna, where he held a long conference with the pope, whom he won over by his liberal treatment and the fascination of his manners. In the following spring the French monarch recrossed the Alps, leaving the Constable Bourbon to govern the duchy of Milan. He soon applied himself to arrange a reconciliation with Wolsey, and by means which are not explained, but at which it is not difficult to guess, my lord-cardinal was converted from an enemy into a zealous friend. A treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, was then set on foot, and at length, on the 4th of October, 1518, it was solemnly ratified. Henry's biographer, Lord Herbert, holds up this treaty as a model for princes; but we see little in it that is new, either in matter or manner, and all its clauses were broken more rapidly even than usual. It was agreed, as a basis, that the infant dauphin, the son of Francis, should be contracted to Henry's *daughter*, the Princess Mary, who was then about a year and a half old; and that Henry should restore Tournai to Francis upon payment of 600,000 crowns, and under charge of an annual pension of 12,000 livres, which Wolsey was to receive in lieu of the revenues of the bishopric of that city. The cardinal, in the course of the negotiations, had not neglected his own interests, and he had a confidential agent attached to the embassy in France who received the presents of the French commissioners.

A.D. 1519. Henry's jealousy of Francis seemed now converted into a vehement admiration; and he proposed a personal interview, to take place in the month of July, 1519, between Calais and Boulogne. But this scene of parade was postponed in consequence of the occurrence of a great political crisis, which wholly occupied the attention of Europe for many months.

¹ Ellis's *Letters*. The originals are in the British Museum.
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The Emperor Maximilian died suddenly in the month of January, 1519, and Francis proposed himself as candidate for the vacant dignity. Henry, in the month of March, when his head was full of the pageantry to be gotten up for their meeting, promised the French king his countenance and support; a little later (in the month of May) he sent the learned Richard Pace to the German electors, to announce himself as a candidate. But a greater than Henry or than Francis was now in the arena. This was the Archduke Charles, who had once been betrothed to the Princess Mary, Henry's sister. By the death of his maternal grandfather, old Ferdinand of Aragon, which happened in 1516, Charles had become possessor of the whole Spanish monarchy; and now, on the death of Maximilian, his paternal grandfather, he proposed himself as his successor in the empire. The claims of Charles were in all essentials preferable to those of Francis; he was of a German house (of the imperial house of Austria); he was born at Ghent, and was, by right of inheritance, sovereign of the Low Countries, which were held to be a subject part of the empire. The German electors had often been most corrupt, and Francis flattered himself that he could set aside all these advantages by intrigue and bribery.² But the Lord of the Netherlands, of Naples and Sicily, of Spain and the Indies, was a much richer sovereign than the French king; and as for political intrigue, Francis, though his senior in years, was a mere child to Charles, whose councils were directed by the most cunning diplomatists in Europe—men who had studied their craft in the school of his grandfather Ferdinand and Cardinal Ximenes. Henry soon found that, between two such competitors, there was no chance for him; and, either from that common desire men feel for being on the winning side, or from some new disgust against Francis, or in a lame attempt at manoeuvre, he wrote to assure Charles of his earnest wishes that he might prove the successful candidate.³ This young king went from Spain to the Netherlands; and while the electors were debating in the diet of Frankfurt, he raised an army, which he kept sufficiently near to overawe the diet, and yet sufficiently distant to save appearances. After long deliberations, and a rapid circulation both of French and Spanish money, Charles was elected emperor on the 28th of June. Francis bore his disappointment and his heavy

² Francis told Sir Thomas Boleyn, who was one of Henry's ambassadors, that he would spend three millions of gold but he would succeed.

³ At the same time, however, Sir Thomas Boleyn conveyed to Francis the most solemn assurances of Henry's support, and also at the same time, or very nearly so; Pace recommended his master to the electors. (*State Papers*, reign of Henry VIII., published by his Majesty's Record Commission, A.D. 1839.)

pecuniary losses with seeming lightness of heart, saying to the Spanish ambassadors that, in ambition as in love, a discarded suitor ought never to cherish resentment. But notwithstanding this *bon mot*, he was deeply mortified, and he felt that he and Charles must be rivals for life. This, however, in all probability would have happened even if there had been no imperial crown to contend for. Ever since Charles VIII. had carried his lances through the defiles of the Alps—for more than twenty years—there had been a struggle between the French and the Spaniards for the dominion of Italy: and it was not likely that this would be given up under two young, active, and warlike princes, at a moment when Charles held the whole of the south of that beautiful peninsula, and when Francis had obtained a firm footing on the north of it.

The eagerness with which each of these rivals attempted to secure to himself the friendship of the King of England, was flattering to the power and importance of the nation; but Henry was utterly incapable of benefiting either himself or his people, or the cause of humanity, by the advantages afforded him by his enviable position. On the 6th of July he ordered Wolsey to draw up, "as his politic wisdom should think best," letters of congratulation to Charles;¹ and on the 8th of the same month we find Wolsey stating, in a letter to his master, that De Hesdin, Charles' ambassador, complained that proper respect had not been paid in London to this grand occasion. It is quite clear that both king and minister wished to play a double game, and to keep on the best of terms, for the present, with both Charles and Francis. What advantages Henry proposed to himself are not so obvious; but Wolsey had recently touched the French king's money, and was probably expecting more, while, with the emperor, he was engaging for a still higher prize. When Francis requested the king to fulfil his former purpose, and pass over to the Continent to a personal interview, it was agreed to give him this great sign of friendship and confidence; and the meeting was fixed for the following summer. Upon learning this appointment, Charles was greatly alarmed, and his ambassadors in England did all that they could to break it. But Henry, who longed to display his magnificence, was firm to his purpose, and, as the time approached (towards the end of May), he removed, with his queen and court, from Greenwich to Canterbury. He had scarcely collected his finery for embarkation at Dover, when he received news that the emperor was in the Channel. According to the commonly

received account, Henry was taken by surprise, but not so was his minister. Wolsey had opened a secret negotiation with Spain, where the emperor was then residing, and had concerted this opportune visit; and Charles had granted his "most dear friend," the cardinal, a pension of 7000 ducats, secured upon two Spanish bishoprics. Wolsey was now detached from Canterbury with a splendid train to meet the imperial guest, who anchored at Hythe, on the 26th of May. The illustrious strangers were lodged in Dover Castle, whither Henry repaired to pay his respects. He arrived by torch-light, and saluted and embraced the emperor very tenderly. They conferred together in private during a great part of the night; and on the morrow, being Whit Sunday, they rode together in great state to Canterbury, the emperor always keeping the right hand, and the Earl of Derby bearing the sword of state before them.² As they approached the cathedral they were met by Wolsey at the head of a procession of the clergy, and conducted into the church. The cathedral, the adjoining



CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL, West Front.

monastery, and the different buildings thereto attached, and which formed a little town in themselves, were then at the height of their glory, enriched by the accumulated donations of nearly 1000 years. The sovereigns, according to precedent, laid their offerings on the tomb of St. Thomas à Becket, and some time was spent there in devotions, not only by the emperor, but even by him who shortly after defaced the monument and seized upon that infinite treasure. From the church they proceeded to the palace of the Arch-

¹ This letter to Wolsey, in the hand-writing of Sir Thomas More, is preserved in the British Museum, and is printed in Sir Henry Ellis' *Collection*, and in the *State Papers* published by government.

² Derby, it appears, was one of Wolsey's retainers.

bishop of Canterbury, where the emperor was joyfully welcomed by Queen Catherine, who was his aunt. Here, too, Charles saw, for the first time, Henry's sister, Mary, late Queen-dowager of France, and now Duchess of Suffolk. He gazed with unconcealed admiration on her exquisitely beautiful person; and it is said that, remembering how she had been affianced to him, he bitterly regretted the political views by which he had lost such a wife, and that these thoughts marred all the splendid festivities which were got up to do him honour. But if those tender feelings ever existed at all, they must have been of transient duration in such a mind; and Charles spent a good part of the time of his short visit in arranging fresh schemes of ambition, or in securing Wolsey to his interests. The cardinal, who considered every advancement but as a step to something higher, sighed for the triple crown of Rome; and the adroit emperor engaged to give him all the weight of his influence whenever the present pope should die. He also made Wolsey some magnificent presents, and conciliated his pride by treating him with great reverence, and affecting to submit to his superior judgment in state affairs. Three days were spent in this manner, and, on the fourth, Charles re-embarked at Sandwich, and set sail for his Netherland dominions, well satisfied that, by anticipating and by winning Wolsey, he had prevented any evil consequences that might otherwise have arisen out of the more formal interview with Francis. On the same day Henry, with the cardinal, the queen, and the whole court, sailed for Calais to keep that appointment. The place fixed upon, after deliberations of an interminable length, was within the English pale, between Guines and Ardres.¹

On the 4th of June (1520) the king's grace, with all the lords, and the queen with her train of ladies, removed from Calais to the lordship royal of Guines, where a temporary palace of wood had been built, and most gorgeously decorated by 1100 workmen, most of them cunning artificers from Flanders or from Holland. The outside was covered with sail-cloth, which was so painted as to look like squared stone; the inside was hung with the richest arras. The furniture and decorations of the temporary chapel and apartments of state were gorgeous in the extreme. The walls glittered with embroidery and jewels; the altar and the tables groaned under the weight of massive plate.² Francis, that he might not be outdone, had prepared an immense pavilion, which was chiefly sustained by a mighty mast, with ropes and tackle strained to steady it. But there arose a most impetuous and tempestu-

ous wind, which broke asunder the ropes and laid all this bravery in the dirt; and Francis was obliged to take up his lodging in an old castle near the town of Ardres. As soon as the two kings were settled in their respective residences, "the Reverend Father Lord Thomas Wolsey, cardinal and legate à Latere, as the king's high ambassador, rode with noble repair of lords, gentlemen, and prelates, to the French court at Ardres, where the same lord cardinal was highly entertained of the French king." The Frenchmen were so struck with Wolsey's pomp and splendour, that they afterwards "*made books*, showing the triumphant doings of the cardinal's royalty." At the same moment that Wolsey visited Francis, a deputation of French nobles waited upon Henry. The cardinal, who had "full power and authority to affirm and confirm, bind and unbind, whatsoever should be in question," even as if the king his master were there present, spent two whole days in arranging an additional treaty with the French sovereign. Francis, whose heart was beyond the Alps, readily agreed to pay a high price for the neutrality of England in the war which he saw was inevitable: he renewed the recent marriage treaty, and, in addition to the money there promised, bound himself and his successors to pay to Henry and his successors the yearly sum of 100,000 crowns, in the event of the said marriage between their children being solemnized, and the issue of that marriage seated on the English throne. To do away with the jealousy which had long existed between France and England on the subject of Scotland, he consented that the affairs of that country should be referred to the friendly arbitration of Cardinal Wolsey and his own mother, Louisa of Savoy.

When the business was over, Henry, apparelled in a garment of cloth of silver of damask, ribbed with cloth of gold, and with all his nobles gaudily dressed and mounted, went forth to meet his brother of France. They met at last (on the 7th of June) in the valley of Andren, where a gorgeous tent had been pitched for the occasion. As had been previously arranged, in order to get over a delicate point of precedence, the two kings saluted and embraced on horseback. Francis spoke first, saying, "My dear brother and cousin, thus far to my pain have I travelled to see you personally. I think, verily, that you esteem me as I am, and that I am not unworthy to be your aid. The realms and seigniories in my possession demonstrate the extent of my power." To this Henry graciously replied, "Neither your realms nor other the places of your power are a matter of my regard, but the steadfastness and loyal keeping of promises comprised in charters between you and me. I never saw prince with

¹ Herbert; Hall; Stow; Godwin.² Hall.

my eyes that night of my heart be more beloved; and for your love have I passed the seas into the farthest frontier of my kingdoms to see you." The two monarchs dismounted together, and walked arm-in-arm into the tent, where they partook of a costly banquet. After they had ended, and spice and wine had been served up in the tent, "ipocras was chief drink, of plenty to all that would drink outside." The kings then came out of the tent, when Henry's favoured historian ob-



MEETING OF HENRY VIII. AND FRANCIS I. ON THE FIELD OF THE CLOTH OF GOLD.—From a bas-relief in the Hôtel de Bourgheroude, Rouen.

tained a near view of the person and the clothes (which seemed to him of more importance) of the French monarch. "The said Francis," says he, "is a goodly prince, stately of countenance and merry of cheer; brown coloured, great eyes, high-nosed, big-lipped, fair-breasted and shouldered, with small legs and long feet."¹

Several months before this meeting it had been proclaimed, in all the principal cities of Europe, that the Kings of France and England, as brothers-in-arms, would hold solemn jousts and tourneys, and defend the field against all knights. On the 11th June the jousts were opened, the queens having taken their places. Catherine was most brilliantly equipped, her very foot-cloth being powdered with pearls. The kings rode together to the mound, Henry having for his aids Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, the Marquis of Dorset, Sir William Kingston, Sir Richard Jerningham, Sir Giles Capell, Mr. Nicholas Carew, and Mr. Anthony Knevitt; and Francis leaving for his aids the Lords of St. Pol, Montmorency, Biron, and other noble gentlemen. Many illustrious knights, from different countries, entered the lists as challengers; and then the mock combats began. Such was the address of the two monarchs, or such the practical flattery of their opponents, that they fought five battles each day, and invariably came off victorious. Six days

were spent in tilting with lances, two in tourneys with the broadsword on horseback, and the two last in fighting on foot at the barriers. The feats of the combatants were registered in a book, wherein the heralds were not likely to permit the exploits of kings to lose by their modesty of expression.

No pageantry or outward show of friendship could reconcile the ancient jealousies of the two nations, or even remove their mutual suspicions. The English, as Comines has told us, had usually been very confiding in matters of conference; but the court of Henry was certainly not so on the present occasion. Francis, on the contrary, who had a certain generosity and nobleness of disposition, grew weary of these cautions, and made an effort to put an end to them, and break through the barriers of etiquette. This he did by a well-devised practical jest, through which mutual confidence was established. After this the intercourse between the two courts was more familiar. There were banquets and balls, masking and mumming, in which the ladies and the two kings played their parts, Henry being especially fond of masquerades and fantastic disguisings. "But," says an old historian, who moralizes his theme, "pleasures must have their intermission, and kings, if not by their greatness, are by their affairs severed." After consuming a fortnight, Henry returned to Calais, and Francis went towards Paris. The most lasting effect produced by the "Field of the Cloth of Gold," as the interview and the place where it was held were afterwards called, was the ruin of many of the nobility, both English and French, who, in their insatiable rivalry, contracted enormous debts.²

¹ Hall. Those who remember the spirited, intellectual-looking portrait of Francis, painted by Titian, will be inclined to think that this annalist has scarcely done the French king justice. But beyond pageants, and dresses, and feasts, Hall was wholly out of his depth. He was, notwithstanding, a proper historian for such a king as Henry VIII.; and there is no having a correct notion of the solemn trifles which filled up so large a part of this reign without referring to his ponderous sentences and elaborate descriptions.

² Hall; Du Bellay; Polydore Virgil; Godwin.

CHAPTER IV.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1520—1526.

HENRY VIII.—ACCESSION, A.D. 1509—DEATH, A.D. 1547.

Mutual visits between Henry VIII. and Charles V.—Duke of Buckingham suspected—Accused of treason—Tried and executed—Henry becomes champion of the Romish church against the Reformation—His negotiations with Charles V. against France—Wolsey's intrigues for the popedom—League against the French king—Wolsey disappointed of the popedom—Charles V. visits England—Wolsey's oppressive measures to raise money—France unsuccessfully invaded—Ireland and Scotland stirred up by France against England—Regency of Margaret, Henry's sister, in Scotland—She is succeeded in the regency by the Duke of Albany—Margaret's flight into England—Henry espouses her cause—Insurrections in Scotland—The Duke of Albany leaves Scotland—Margaret returns thither—Tumults in Scotland—Albany returns, and resumes the regency—Intrigues of Henry VIII. and Wolsey to embroil Scottish affairs—Albany invades England—The invasion followed by a truce—Albany again leaves Scotland—Henry re-assembles his parliament to raise money—Independent conduct of parliament—The demanded supplies withheld—France invaded—Troubles in that country—The Duke of Bourbon driven to revolt—His treaty with Henry VIII. and Charles V.—He escapes from France—Unsuccessful campaign of the English in France—Wolsey's intrigues for the popedom—His failure—Wars in France—Francis I. besieges Pavia—He is defeated and taken prisoner—Intrigues of the English court on that event—Wolsey's unpopular proceedings—Henry concludes a peace with France—Francis I. liberated from captivity—Fruitless attempt of Luther to conciliate Henry VIII.



A HEN the gaudy play was over, the first thing Henry did was to go to Gravelines, and pay a visit to the more sober-minded emperor, who had prevented his noble subjects from attending the meeting, and ruining themselves in shows and tournaments. Charles accompanied him back to Calais, to pay, as was given out, his respects to his dear aunt Catherine, but, in reality, to concert measures with those who had so recently pledged themselves to his rival, Francis. After spending three days at Calais, the emperor rode back to his Flemish dominions "mounted on a brave horse covered with a cloth of gold, richly beset with stones, which the king had given him." Before he departed he flattered the vanity of his dear uncle by appointing him umpire to settle every difference that might arise between himself and Francis. After spending a few more days at Calais, Henry and his court embarked for Dover, and then returned "all safe in body, but empty in purse," to London.¹

Although, in these despotic times, it was dangerous to oppose or criticize the tastes of the king, there were not wanting men who expressed their disapprobation of the ruinous and useless expense into which the nobility of the kingdom had been led for the getting up of the Field of the Cloth of Gold. Among these murmurers one of the loudest was Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, the son of that weak and vacillating duke who, after helping Richard III. to seize the crown, raised an insurrection against him, in which he lost his head, like a fool and coward.²

But, though Buckingham was marked out for destruction immediately after Henry's return from the Continent, it was not solely on account of his criticism, for he had long been an object of jealousy and suspicion, though the king pretended a great affection for him, and had appointed him to several high offices about the court. The origin of the duke's misfortunes was his connection with royalty, and his descent from the ancient line of the Plantagenets.³ His next misfortune was his wealth, for he was one of the richest subjects in England. He kept a splendid and hospitable house,⁴ and was exceedingly popular, not only with his servants and retainers, but with the nation at large. He had several of those virtues which it was customary to consider as peculiarly English: he was open-handed and open-hearted; frank and free spoken, almost to bluntness; and, unlike his father, he was bold and firm, and not destitute of talent. His credulity in matters of prophecy was a folly common to his age. About eight years before, when the king was preparing that expedition which was to conquer France, and which ended in the taking of two useless towns, the duke became acquainted with one Hopkins, a Carthusian friar, who had gained reputation as a fortune-teller. The friar, it is said, predicted to him (which, considering the selfish caution of Henry, and the

² Buckingham sprang from Anne Plantagenet, daughter of Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, a son of Edward III., and also traced through John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster. He was hereditary High-constable of England.

⁴ Henry, it appears, was at times his guest at his splendid seat of Penshurst. Richard Pace, in a letter to Wolsey, written from that place in 1519, says, "The Duke of Buckingham maketh unto the king, here, excellent cheer."—*State Papers*.

¹ *Ibid.*: *Godwin*; *De Belling*.

² See vol. I. p. 647.

rashness of James, he might have done without consulting the stars) that the King of England would return home safe from France, and that the King of Scots would surely perish if he crossed the Borders. The fulfilment of both prophecies raised the monk's fame, and with it the credulity of Buckingham, who, thereafter, had frequent and familiar intercourse with the prophet. The monk, seeing that the duke was mindful of his royal descent, and of the fact that the king had no sons, began to foresee that there was something wonderfully high in the destinies of young Stafford, the duke's heir. In other words, it seems he hinted that the duke's son would be Henry's successor on the throne. For so great an effect as the judicial murder of this popular nobleman, people naturally sought a variety of causes. "Being yet a child," says the Bishop of Hereford, "I have heard ancient men say that by his bravery of apparel and sumptuous feasts, he exasperated the king, with whom, in these things, he seemed to contend." Another cause assigned was the enmity of Wolsey, without whose advice, it was believed, the king never undertook anything; and, though the cardinal was not a man of blood, he *may* have contributed to the present execution, his dislike of the duke being notorious.

A.D. 1521. Buckingham, who was living quietly on his estate of Thornbury, in Gloucestershire, was now suddenly invited to court. The duke, suspecting no mischief, obeyed the summons, and started on his journey, not observing for some time that he was closely followed by three knights of the king's body-guard, "and a secret power of servants-at-arms." His suspicions were first awakened at Windsor, where he lodged for the night, and where he saw the "same three knights lying close by." He was also treated with marked disrespect by a creature of the court, one Thomas Ward, "who was gentleman harbinger to the king;" and the next morning, at breakfast, "his meat would not down." The whole management of the arrest is marked with a detestable treachery worthy of the worst of times. Before inveigling the duke to court, Henry had thrown one Perk, that nobleman's chancellor, into the Tower, in the view of extorting from him confessions injurious to his master. Frow Windsor Buckingham rode slowly on to Westminster, and there took his barge, in order to row down to Greenwich, where the court then was. He stopped on his way at my lord-cardinal's bridge, where he lauded with four or five of his servants, and desired to speak with Wolsey; "but he was answered how my lord was diseased (indisposed)." "Well," said the duke,

"yet will I drink of my lord's wine as I pass;" and then a gentleman of my lord-cardinal's brought the duke with much reverence into the cellar, where the duke drank. But when he saw and perceived no cheer to him was made, he changed colour, and so departed."²

As he descended the Thames, and drew near the city, his barge was hailed and boarded by Sir Henry Marney, captain of the body-guard, who attached him as a traitor in the king's name. The duke was carried on shore, and conveyed through Thames Street to the Tower, to the great astonishment and regret of the people. This was on the 16th of April. On the 13th of May he was put upon his trial as a peer, but not before a full house assembled in a parliamentary manner. Seventeen peers chosen by the king, and the Duke of Norfolk, as high-steward, constituted the tribunal. He was charged with tempting Friar Hopkins to make traitorous prophecies, by means of messages and personal conferences; with having tampered with the king's servants and yeomen of the guard, by means of presents and promises; with having declared his determination, in the event of the king's death, to cut off the heads of the lord-cardinal and some others, and then to seize the government, &c., &c. At first Buckingham pleaded that nothing in the indictment amounted to an overt act, and that, therefore, even in the showing of the prosecution, there was no guilt of treason; but Finneux, the chief-justice, laid it down as good law, that there was treason in *imagining* the death of the king, and that words spoken without any overt act were evidence enough. The duke, then, with great force and eloquence, replied to the indictment, charge by charge, denied his guilt in every particular, and boldly demanded to be confronted with the witnesses. Hopkins the prophet, De la Court his confessor, Perk his chancellor, and Sir Charles Kneviatt, *his own cousin, and formerly his steward*, were brought into court. All these individuals had been thrown into the Tower, where, according to the dark practices of those days, they may have been tortured, or threatened with torture, or corrupted by money and promises. They all persisted in their story; but the most determined evidence against him was that of his cousin Kneviatt. The Duke of Norfolk rose to pronounce sentence, for the seventeen peers (as might have been expected) unanimously found him guilty; and the hardy soldier, the victor of Flodden Field, though he had not virtue enough to oppose a jealous tyrant, wept like a child as he spoke. Buckingham replied, with a manly voice, "My Lord of Norfolk, you have said to me as a traitor should be said unto; but I was never none. Still, my

¹ The quay, or jetty, at York House. The quays on the river side were called bridges.

² Hall, Chron.

lords, I nothing malign you for that you have done unto me. May the eternal God forgive you my death, as I do! I shall never sue to the king for life, howbeit he is a gracious prince, and more grace may come from him than I desire. I desire you, my lords, and all my fellows, to pray for me." The edge of the axe was then turned towards him, and he was led to his barge. He persisted in his resolution not to implore the king's mercy, and on the 17th of May the sheriffs led him from his dungeon to the scaffold on Tower-hill. He was as undaunted in sight of the block as he had been before his judges; and he died as brave men die—firmly and meekly, without bravado. As his head fell on the scaffold, the people groaned and lamented, for they were not yet brutalized by the frequent spectacle of such executions. "God have mercy on his soul!" exclaims one who reported his trial; "for he was a most wise and noble prince, and the mirror of all courtesy."¹

It was while the blood of Buckingham was fresh upon him that Henry set himself up as the defender and champion of the holy (Roman) mother church. The Reformation was begun by Luther in earnest in the year 1517. The doctrines of the great Reformer had been eagerly received by many minds in England, where a respect for the Catholic clergy had long been on the decline, and where the seed scattered by Wyckliffe had never been entirely extirpated. On the 14th of May, 1521, Wolsey issued orders to all the bishops of England to seize all heretical books, or books containing Martin Luther's errors. On the 20th of the same month, three days after Buckingham's execution, Henry wrote, with his own hand, a fiery letter to Louis of Bavaria, denouncing "this fire which hath been kindled by Luther, and fanned by the arts of the devil;" and calling upon Louis, as a good Christian, to exterminate Luther, and burn both him and his books.²

But, as Henry had not the power to burn the Reformer, he took up the pen of controversy, being led thereto by a wish of showing his scholastic learning, and of pleasing the court of Rome, which, on a former occasion, when Louis XII. was lying under ban, had threatened to deprive the French kings of their title of "Most Christian," and to give it to Henry and his successors, the Kings of England. Another incentive was found in the fact that Luther had spoken disrespectfully of St. Thomas Aquinas, Henry's favourite author. Thus animated, and with plenty of priests and able scholars to supply fuel to his zeal, and give polemical point to his pen, Henry wrote his celebrated defence of the Seven Sacra-

ments, which, as he fondly conceived, smashed Luther and all his doctrines. In the month of October, Clark, the English ambassador at Rome, presented this book to the pope in full consistory; and Leo X., after giving himself leisure to read the treatise, was pleased to declare, in an express bull, that he found it sprinkled with the dew of ecclesiastical grace, and that he rendered thanks to God for having inspired the king to write it for the defence of the blessed faith. In the same bull he formally conferred upon Henry the title of "Defender of the Faith," as a glorious and christianly addition to his other styles.³

While Henry was thus seeking distinction by the pen, Francis I. and Charles V. were fighting for worldly dominion. The French king was the first to draw the sword. Encouraged by a formidable revolt of the Spaniards against the despotic government of Charles, he marched an army to the crest of the Pyrenees, and, in fifteen days, overran the kingdom of Navarre. Thus far the insurgents of Spain looked on with indifference; but when the French rashly crossed the frontiers of Castile the Spaniards of all parties flew to arms, and not only drove them back, but also recovered Navarre in less than a fortnight. At the same time Francis and his auxiliaries threatened the emperor with an invasion of the Netherlands. But the French king was not more successful in the north than in the south; and, to increase his embarrassments, Leo X. threw up his alliance, and contracted a new one with the emperor. At this crisis Francis applied for the friendly mediation of Henry, who immediately engaged to act as a most impartial umpire, and then sent Wolsey, not to negotiate a peaceful and honourable arrangement, but to concert measures with Charles for the dismemberment of the French monarchy. The cardinal arbitrator—for the whole business was intrusted to him—embarked at Dover on the 30th of July, and landed on the same day at Calais with a magnificent train, including lords, bishops, doctors learned in the law, and knights and squires out of number. At Calais he was met by ambassadors from Charles and by ambassadors from Francis, and of course he found the pretensions of these diplomatists irreconcilable. Upon this, with the alleged design of disposing the emperor to more pacific measures, but with the real intention of completing the hostile league against France, he repaired in all his pomp to the city of Bruges, where Charles received him with wonderful respect.⁴ "He spent a huge mass of money in that ambassage, not against his will; for he by all means sought the emperor's favour, hoping that Leo X., although much younger than he, either

¹ *State Trials*: Herbert; Hall; Stow; Holinshed.

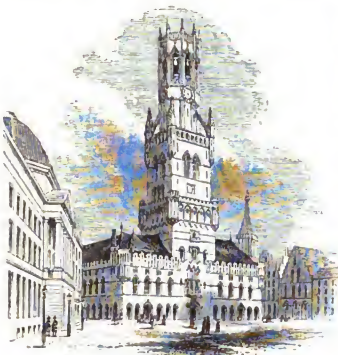
² *Geddes, Hist. Reform.*

³ *Wilkins, Concilia*; Fiddes, *Life of Wolsey*; Caynegue, *Hist. de la Reforme*.

⁴ *Tytler.*

cut off by treachery or his own intemperance, might leave the world before him; and then were it no hard matter for him, being underpropped by the emperor and our king, to be advanced to the Papacy."¹

On the 19th of August this impartial arbitrator wrote from Bruges to his master Henry, telling him that the emperor earnestly required his



BRUGES, THE PRINCIPAL SQUARE AND TOUR DES HALLES.
From Deleprieux, *Album l'Illustration de Bruges*.

grace forthwith to declare war against France, and that he, Wolsey, had finally convinced the emperor, upon good reasons and grounds, that it would be better to defer the declaration of hostilities against France till Charles should pay Henry a visit in England.² In the same letter Wolsey told his master that he had discussed and debated with the emperor the articles devised at Calais with the emperor's ambassadors for the marriage of the Princess Mary (Henry's infant daughter) with Charles, and that he and Charles had finally concluded upon that marriage, and settled the date and all other particulars, all which treaties were to be kept strictly secret till such time as the emperor should speak with his grace in his realm of England.³

¹ Bishop Godwin.

² *State Papers*.

³ One of Henry's reasons for wishing to keep this treaty secret was, that he might continue to draw his pension from Francis till the last month. Even so late as the 25th of September, we find Wolsey advising the king to send his ships and subjects to Bordeaux to load with wine as usual, "in order to exclude such suspicions and jealousies from the French king's mind as he might take by your keeping your subjects at home more this year than at any other vintage heretofore, whereby not only the payment of your pension might be stopped, but an inclination towards the wars might be in appearance on your part, whereof many inconveniences might ensue."—Letter from Wolsey to Henry in the British Museum, and printed in *State Papers*.

Towards the end of August the lord-cardinal returned to Calais and resumed the farce of the pacification with the French ministers. It would be doing great injustice to the diplomatic abilities of the French to suppose that they could be wholly blind to what was passing, or ignorant of the blandishments of Charles at Bruges. They, however, kept their countenances, and even received with respect a plan of pacification, which Wolsey drew up in a manner that he knew the pride of Francis would never accept. The cardinal affected to lament his obstinacy, and then, taking advantage of a good opportunity, he pronounced, as his award, that Francis had been the aggressor in the war, and that Henry was bound by treaty to assist his ally the emperor. The mask was now dropped, and the result of Wolsey's negotiations was disclosed in a league, signed at Calais in the month of October, between the pope, the emperor, and the King of England. It was agreed that, in order to check the wicked ambition of France, and to expedite an European crusade against the Turks, who were gaining ground beyond the Danube, each of these contracting powers should fall upon Francis from different quarters at the same time; and that, "for the common good of Christendom," the marriage between the dauphin and the Princess Mary should be set aside, and that princess be married to the emperor.⁴

Hostilities had not been interrupted during Wolsey's negotiations, and the results of the campaign were most adverse to Francis. Beyond the Alps the Italian league, headed by the pope, and assisted by the emperor, had driven the French out of Milan, and taken possession of nearly all their conquests. In the north of France the Imperialists had taken Tournai, for which Francis had recently paid so great a price to Henry; and all that the French had to set off against these losses was the capture of Hesdin and Fuenterabbia. The brilliant success of Leo X. was, however, closely followed by his death. This illustrious member of the great Medici family was only forty-six years old. He died at the height of glory and felicity, having freed himself, as was thought, by the victory of Milan, from all danger, and from those incalculable expenses which had exhausted his treasury, and forced him to adopt all sorts of measures to get money. "He was a prince," says the great Italian historian, who knew him intimately, "in whom there was much to praise and much to blame."⁵

Nobody was more interested in the death of

⁴ *State Papers*; Lord Herbert; Hall; Guicciardini.

⁵ Guicciardini.

Leo than Cardinal Wolsey, who was informed of the event in a wonderfully short space of time, and who instantly sent messengers to remind the emperor of his promises, and despatched Secretary Pace to Rome to manage his interests with the conclave. As the conclave began its close sittings on the 27th of December, there was not much time for intrigue. Thirty-nine¹ cardinals deliberated for twenty-three days on the choice of the head of the Catholic world, and their deliberations were as stormy as if they had met to elect the captain of a band of robbers. The candidate that started with the most advantages was Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, who had recently distinguished himself in the war in Lombardy. Giulio, indeed, obtained more than a third part of the votes, and as nobody could be elected without having two-thirds of the suffrages, it was clear that he could exclude any rival if he could not secure his own election. He and his partizans tried hard to weary out the old cardinals, whose infirmities made them feel sensibly the close imprisonment and other privations attendant on a conclave; but the old men were not easily beaten, and, as they were resolved not to elect him, and as they could not agree among themselves in proposing another candidate—nearly every one of them hoping that he might be chosen himself—the affair was drawn out to such a length that Giulio became uneasy as to business out of doors, well knowing that the interests of his family required his presence with an army in Tuscany. One morning at the scrutiny, which, according to form, was made every day, the Medici party most unexpectedly proposed Adrian, Cardinal of Tortosa, a Fleming by birth, who had been tutor to the emperor, and who was now Charles' confidential minister, and Viceroy of Spain. He was named without any notion of his being elected, and merely to consume time, but a vote or two were tendered for him, and then Cajetano, Cardinal of San Sisto, made what seemed an interminable oration in his favour, lauding his great learning and his many virtues, upon which a few of the cardinals began to yield, and then the rest, with extraordinary rapidity, as if rather from impulse than from deliberation, voted on the same side; and, in fine, that same morning Adrian was unanimously elected supreme pontiff. Those who elected him seemed themselves astonished at what they had done, and not being able to give any other reason to the Italians, who murmured at this election of an unknown foreigner, they attributed the event to the sudden inspiration of the Holy Ghost, who, as they said, always acted directly upon the hearts of the cardinals in their

elections of popes—"as if that pure Spirit would deign to occupy souls full of ambition and incredible cupidity, and almost all the slaves of luxurious, not to say dishonest pleasures."² The Italian historians do not intimate that the emperor had influenced this election of his preceptor; but when the thoughts of the conclave were once turned in that direction, there were no doubt many who paid respect to the growing power of the Imperialists in Italy and in the rest of Europe; and as the name of Wolsey seems never to have been mentioned as that of a candidate, it is quite certain that Charles had not kept his promises with the English favourite. Wolsey, however, showed no ill-humour at the time; and he, in common with several of his scarlet brothers, probably consoled himself for his present disappointment by the thought that Adrian was an infirm old man, not likely to wear the tiara long. At his order Secretary Pace remained at Rome, to await the arrival of the new pope, to congratulate the holy father in his name, and to solicit from him the necessary confirmation or renewal of his high authority as Legate of England.

Francis, who knew the volatile temper of the English cabinet, did not despair of making Henry turn once more. He administered the most copious doses to his vanity—he humbled himself in a painful manner—he spoke of paying more money; but, finding that all this had no effect, he stopped the payment of Henry's pension, laid an embargo on the English shipping in his ports, and seized the goods of the English merchants.³ This brought on a declaration of hostilities at an awkward time, and some two months sooner than Wolsey had calculated. As soon as Henry learned the seizure of his wine-ships he flew into a paroxysm of rage, as if Francis had betrayed him: he confined the French ambassador to his house, ordered the instant arrest of all Frenchmen in London, and sent his defiance to Francis by Clarenceux king-at-arms. Henry was now in the humour which the emperor wished for; and on the 26th of May Charles V. landed at Dover, to pay his promised visit. Wolsey met him at the landing-place, and, after a loving embrace, conducted him by the arm to Dover Castle, where the king, in his usual state, soon waited upon him. In the war they were to make together the emperor counted much upon the naval forces of England; and Henry now took great pride in showing him over the fleet which lay in the Downs. On the following day the emperor proceeded to the palace of Greenwich, where he reverently asked a blessing of his

¹ The deceased pope (Leo X.) had greatly augmented the Sacred College. At his own election only twenty-four cardinals had voted.

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² Guicciardini.

³ All the ships which Henry, by Wolsey's advice, had sent or allowed to go to Bordeaux, were seized.

aunt Catherine, and where he saw her infant daughter, his destined wife. "Henry, being a noble prince, and one that scorned money as much as any one breathing, was glad of the emperor's coming; yet was his treasury very bare, and so great a guest could not be entertained without a great expense." But not even the prospect of empty coffers and embarrassment could cure this gorgeous king of his passion for display, and finery, and feasting. By his orders the most expensive preparations were made in London, and he conducted the emperor into the city in triumph. Amidst the pomps and pageantries of this entrance, it is only worthy of notice that Sir Thomas More welcomed the emperor in a choice oration, in which he congratulated the two mighty monarchs upon the love and amity which was between them. From London Henry conducted his guest to Windsor Castle, where Charles, with great pomp, was installed knight of the Garter; and upon Corpus Christi Day these two princes, having on the robes of the order, heard mass in their stalls, and then, after receiving the sacrament, solemnly swore, at the foot of the altar, to observe the conditions of their new league. Eight days were spent, more in pleasure than in business, at Windsor, and then the sovereigns went to Winchester, and from Winchester to Southampton, where the emperor's fleet of 180 sail, of all sizes, had come to anchor. In every town which the emperor visited some costly pageant was exhibited, and for every day of the six weeks he spent in England some feast or other entertainment was devised. The business transacted lies in a very small compass: Charles still further pledged himself to marry the Lady Mary, the king's only child, and agreed to indemnify Henry for the loss of the pension from the French king; but, while he made this promise, he managed to procure a present payment or loan in hard cash from his impoverished and thoughtless ally—for Charles, with all his dominions, was poor at this time. It was mutually agreed that each power should begin a war with an army of 40,000 men; and that, while the English invaded the north of France, the emperor should fall upon the devoted kingdom both on the east and the south, where he promised to conquer the old English province of Guienne for his ally. On the 6th of July Charles embarked, and sailed for Spain.¹

The Earl of Surrey had been for some time in Ireland, where his government was very popular among the Anglo-Irish. He was now recalled, and put in command of all the king's navy, as High-admiral of England. Surrey escorted Charles to the coast of Spain,² and on his return

ravaged the French coast, and burned the town of Morlaix, in Brittany, together with "some right fair castles, goodly houses, and proper piles." This was a paltry way of commencing what was intended to be such a great war; but, owing to the state of his treasury, Henry encountered many difficulties in raising an army, and at last, instead of sending 40,000 men to France, he only sent 15,000 or 16,000. Now was Wolsey thrown upon those rocks which made a wreck of his remaining popularity. He raised a forced loan of £20,000 from the merchants of London, and after very short respite, in order to get more money, he called the citizens before him. On the 20th day of August the mayor, aldermen, and the most substantial commoners of the city of London, stood trembling before the lord-cardinal, who declared to them that the king had appointed commissioners through the whole realm to make inquest into the state of men's private property, and "to swear every man of what value he was in moveables, the more to be in readiness *for the defence of this realm.*" "Wherefore, in convenient time," continued Wolsey to the Londoners, "certify to me the number of all such as be worth £100 and upwards, to the intent I may swear them of their values: for, first, the king asketh of you your loving hearts and due obedience, and, when the value is taken, he desireth *only* the tenth part of goods and lands, which is the least reasonable thing that you can aid your prince with. I think every one of you will offer no less." The aldermen returned to their wards, and named such as were esteemed merchants and dealers of substance, who thereupon waited on the lord-cardinal, and humbly besought him not to exact an oath as to the amount of their property—"because the true valuation to them was unknown, as many an honest man's credit was better than his substance," and therefore they dreaded the peril of perjury. "Well," said the cardinal, "since you dread the crime of perjury, it is a sign of grace; and therefore I will, for you, borrow of the king a little. Make up your bills of your own value, according to what you esteem your credit, and then more business needeth not; for you see what two costly armies the king hath already both against France and Scotland; therefore, now show yourselves like loving subjects, for you be able enough. I dare swear the substance of London is no less worth than two millions of gold." "Then," said the citizens, "we would to God that it were so; and the city is sore afflicted by the great occupying of strangers." "Well," said the cardinal, "it shall be redressed if I live; but, on Saturday next, I shall appoint one to receive your bills, and he that is of credit more than substance, let him come to me, and I

¹ *Hall: Lord Herbert: Godwin: Rymer: State Papers.*

² In compliment to his uncle Henry, the emperor had given Surrey the nominal command of his own fleet.

³ *State Papers* published by government.

will be secret and good to him." "Thus," concludes the chronicler, "the citizens departed in great agony, saying that, at the last loan, some lent the fifth part, and now, to have the tenth part taken, was too much. Great was the mourning of the common people, as it is ever in such cases of payments. But, in the end, one Dr. Tonnyns, a secretary to the cardinal, came to the chapter-house of St. Paul's, and to him the citizens brought in their bills, and on their honesty they were received, which values afterwards turned them to displeasure. The spirituality made suit to my lord-cardinal, that no temporal man should sit to examine them, or be privy to their possessions and goods. Wherefore, bishops and abbots were appointed to take the value of their substance."¹ Wolsey, however, promised that the lenders of money should be paid soon, out of the first subsidy voted by parliament, which it was intended to summon.

At the end of August, Surrey put himself at the head of the army of invasion, which had been collected at Calais, and which consisted of about 11,000 men paid by the king, 3000 volunteers, and 1000 horse, composed of Germans, Flemings, Walloons, and Spaniards. The season was far advanced, and the army was none of the best. They marched through Artois to the banks of the Somme, carefully avoiding the fortified towns, and burning all the defenceless places, villages, farm-houses, and cottages. The French, commanded by the Duke of Vendôme, would not hazard a battle, but they harassed the English incessantly, and frequently cut off their supplies. The weather fought for the French; incessant rains fell; and these, with cold and bad provisions, brought a dysentery into Surrey's camp. Hereupon the foreign horse took their leave, and retired to Bethune; and about the middle of October the earl was compelled to retreat to Calais, having done worse than nothing.²

In the meantime Francis had exerted himself to keep the English at home. He opened a correspondence in Ireland with the members of the powerful house of Desmond, who were still, in a great measure, independent of the English, and induced the earl to sign a treaty and to take up arms, under a promise of an annual pension and the assistance of a French army.³ The earl kept his part of the engagement, and greatly embarrassed Henry's Irish government, but Francis failed in his, and, in the end, the Desmonds were

left to the tender mercies of the English court. At the same time Francis negotiated with his old allies the Scots, whose last truce with England had recently expired, and who were incensed at the intermeddling in their affairs and the treacherous policy of Henry's ministers. Margaret, the queen-dowager and regent, had some good qualities, but she too closely resembled her brother Henry to make a wise ruler. Being, like him, of a very amorous disposition, she cast her eyes about her for a second husband immediately after the tragedy of Flodden Field; and as soon as she recovered from giving birth to a child, of which James had left her *enceinte*, she married the Earl of Angus, who was now the head of the powerful house of Douglas, but who was young, inexperienced, and weak-headed, with little to commend him beyond a handsome, showy person, and a few courtly accomplishments. By the will of her late husband James—which provided for the case of her remarrying—Margaret now forfeited the post of regent; and a party of the nobility and clergy, opposed to her and the Earl of Angus, had the keeping of the young King James, and his infant brother, who was named Alexander, and created Duke of Ross. From this moment Scotland was split into two furious factions—the English party, at the head of which were Margaret and Angus; and the French party, which embraced the mass of the nobility, and was supported by the sympathies of the people.⁴ An irregular kind of civil war broke out, in which the queen-mother and her new husband Angus were hard pressed; and thus Margaret was compelled more than ever to consult with her brother, who, apparently caring very little for what befel her, made use of the favourable opportunity in acquiring, by the most crooked means, an influence over the whole kingdom of Scotland. Henry's principal agent in these dark transactions was Lord Dacre, one of the English heroes of Flodden, and a man of, at least, as much craft and cunning as bravery.

At this crisis the Scottish nobility pressed for the immediate return from France of the Duke of Albany; and in the month of May, 1515, the duke arrived in the Clyde, to the great joy of the people, who looked up to him as the only person likely to tranquilize the country, and preserve its threatened independence.

Shortly after his arrival Albany, with the consent of a large majority of the nobility and clergy, took upon himself the trying office of regent. He soon showed that he was ready to carry his devotion to France to an excess almost as dangerous as that with which the opposite faction prostrated themselves to England. Nor was he long in showing that he was deficient in talents for

¹ Hall. ² Lord Herbert; Hall; *State Papers*; Villaret.

³ According to this wild treaty Ireland was to be divided between the Desmonds, and Richard de la Pole, brother to the unfortunate duke beheaded in the Tower in 1513, and male representative of the house of York. This Richard de la Pole was in the French service. In 1525, about three years after the Irish treaty, he was killed in Italy, fighting gallantly in the battle of Pavia, where Francis was taken prisoner.

⁴ Pinkerton; Tytler.

government—if not actually wanting in courage. At the same time, every corner of the kingdom was filled with spies and agents in the pay of England, who penetrated, by means of money, all the secrets of the council-table; and the faction in the scale of which the Douglasses and the Homes threw their entire weight was heavy enough to crush a king. Notwithstanding the decisions of the parliament, who knew in what dangerous keeping they were likely to be, Margaret had got possession of the young king and his brother; and one of Albany's first measures was to make sure of their not being carried off to England. He summoned a parliament, which met at Edinburgh, and named eight lords, out of which number four were to be chosen by lot; and from these four the queen-mother was to select three to have charge of the princes. It was quite certain that Margaret was not to be trusted, but it seemed an odious thing to separate the mother from her children; and though this was not, in strictness, the intention of the government, it was easy for the queen to assert that it was, and to take up a position where she was pretty sure to be backed, at least for a time, by the sympathy of the people.

The queen-dowager, however, thinking it impossible to hold Edinburgh Castle, suddenly removed with her children to Stirling, where her party was strong. After some fruitless negotiations, the Regent Albany ordered Ruthven and Borthwick to blockade Stirling Castle. The powerful Lord Home now fled from the capital to Newark Castle, upon the Borders; and the Earl of Angus, Margaret's husband, retired within his estates and armed his vassals. Albany, accompanied by all the Scottish peers, with three or four exceptions, and by an army, proceeded in person to Stirling, where the queen was soon obliged to surrender; for none of her adherents seemed disposed to stand a siege for her sake. The regent was respectful and moderate; but he declared that Angus and Home were proved traitors, who had opened a correspondence with the enemies of the country, and were then actually in arms. Home presently threw himself openly into the arms of England, and concerted measures with Lord Dacre. Having committed the two princes to the safe keeping of the earl-marshal and the Lords Fleming and Borthwick, Albany proceeded against the insurgents, and took the castle of Home. Margaret applied to Lord Dacre; and Home requested the assistance of an English army, telling the lord-warden that Scotland lay open to invasion, and that King Henry might easily destroy his enemies there, and remodel the government according to his own interests and wishes. Assured of speedy assistance, Home seized the strong tower of Blac-

ater, situated a little within the Scottish frontier, at the distance of about five miles from Berwick, where the English had a strong garrison. The object of this move was presently seen—for Margaret absconded from Edinburgh, and threw herself into the Border tower. The regent soon followed her with a considerable army, offering, however, liberal terms of accommodation, which Margaret arrogantly rejected. Meanwhile, though Dacre had strongly recommended an invasion, no English army made its appearance, and, after a few vicissitudes, the queen and her husband Angus, and her prime ally Home, were obliged to flee across the frontiers to seek refuge in the court of Henry. The king, for honour of his sister, on the 19th and 20th of May, kept solemn jousts, wherein he himself, the Duke of Suffolk, the Earl of Essex, and Nicholas Carew, answered all comers. But Margaret, at the time, was sadly in want of money, and for this she applied to my lord-cardinal in a very humble tone indeed.¹ Before her public reception in the English court, Angus, her husband, to whom she had recently borne a daughter,² deserted her, and returned into Scotland; and Home either accompanied him or followed soon after. They both made their peace with the Regent Albany, who restored them to all their estates and honours. Margaret now inveighed as bitterly against Angus as against Albany, whom, however, a short time before, she had accused of poisoning her second son, the Duke of Ross, who appears to have died of one of the many diseases incident to childhood. Henry and Wolsey had been prevented from proceeding to extremities by the startling successes of Francis in Italy. But things were now somewhat changed in this most changeable of cabinets; and Henry dictated an insolent letter to the three estates of Scotland, commanding rather than recommending them to drive the Regent Albany out of the kingdom, as one, by nearness of blood, suspicious and dangerous to the young king, his very dear nephew. The Scottish parliament told the arrogant dictator that they would do nothing of the sort, and that they were resolved manfully to resist any attempt to disturb the peace of their country, or to overthrow their existing government.³ This passed in the month of July, 1516. But the English warden was at his dirty work, and his intrigues were but too successful in re-animating the spirit of faction. On the 23d of August, Dacre wrote from Kirkoswald to my lord-cardinal, telling Wolsey of his great doings. "I labour and

¹ See her letter in Sir Henry Ellis' *Collection*.

² She was delivered only seven days after her flight from Blacater into England, and was lying dangerously ill at Morpeth when Angus foretook her to return to Scotland. The child was the Lady Margaret Douglas, afterwards mother of Darnley, the hapless husband of Mary Queen of Scots.

³ *Rymer*.

studies," says this noble lord, "all that I can, to make division and debate; . . . and, for that intended purpose, in that behalf I have the master of Kilmarnock kept in my house secretly, which is one of the greatest parties in Scotland, as the queen can declare unto your grace; . . . and also I have secret messages from the Earl of Angus and others, which I trust shall be to the pleasure of the king's grace if the said duke submit not himself; and also I hath 400 outlaws (and giveth them rewards) that burneth and destroyeth daily in Scotland—all being Scotsmen, which should be under the obedience of Scotland."¹

A new insurrection soon broke out, headed by the Earl of Arran, who was closely connected with the royal family, and by Lennox, Glencairn, and Mure of Caldwell; and Home, whom no kindness could conciliate, renewed his correspondence with Dacre, whose hired traitors—many of them Home's retainers—made continual forays across the Border, committing unusual excesses. The Regent Albany put down the rising of Arran, Lennox, and Glencairn, and pardoned those turbulent barons; but when he got possession of the persons of Home and his brother, he immediately brought them to trial as manifold traitors, and sent them to execution. On the 8th of October their heads were stuck above the toll-booth of Edinburgh, and the regent then succeeded in tranquillizing the Borders. But seeing that Dacre continued his system, and that Henry was inclined to raise an army, Albany thought his case hopeless unless he could procure assistance from France; and being at the same time anxious to revisit his foreign estates, he requested the permission of parliament to go over to the French court for four months. This permission was reluctantly granted, and in the month of June, 1517, Albany embarked at Dumbarton, intrusting the government to a council, consisting of the Archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, the Earls of Huntly, Argyle, Angus, and Arran, and taking with him as hostages the eldest sons of many of the great barons. Previously to his departure, it had been settled in parliament that the queen-mother should be allowed to return to Scotland, upon the condition of submitting and enjoying her dower in tranquillity. As soon as Margaret heard of Albany's arrival in France, and not before, she set out for Edinburgh, where she arrived in a very poor condition. She had not been long in Scotland when she was suspected of a fresh attempt to carry off the young king; and when the Borderers, the vassals of the late Earl of Home, surprised and murdered De la Bastie, a brave and accomplished French officer, to whom Albany had intrusted the command of the marches, Home of Wedderburn (whose wife

was the sister of Margaret's husband, Angus) galloped into the town of Dunse with the head of the unfortunate Frenchman tied to his saddle-bow. In this universal confusion the council of regency, divided among themselves, pursued no imposing or consistent course; and Albany, despairing, wrote to his old enemy Margaret, recommending her, if she could unite the factions, to take the regency once more into her own hands. But Margaret, who had been reconciled to her handsome husband, insisted that Angus should be regent; and, as this was resolutely opposed by a large majority of the nobles, the government continued in the hands of the council. Angus, disappointed and irritated, soon quarrelled with his wife: he forsook the court, retiring with a mistress into Douglasdale. Margaret set no bounds to her wrath; she added the high tone of a queen to the bitterness of a betrayed wife; she heaped reproach upon reproach, reminding him that she had pawned her jewels to support him in his misfortunes, and expressing her determination to sue for a divorce. Her brother Henry at this time had no taste for such proceedings, and knowing the great power possessed by the house of Douglas, and that Angus was a tool most likely to work for his purpose, he despatched a learned friar to bring Margaret to a more orthodox way of thinking, and to threaten her with the serious effects of his displeasure. The monk threatened her with punishment in the next world as well as in this; telling her that she was labouring under some damnable delusion, and hinting very broadly that her own conjugal behaviour had not been irreproachable, and that Angus might retort her charge of adultery. Margaret trembled, and, at the command of her brother, submitted to a hollow reconciliation with her husband in the summer of 1518. Angus, not satisfied with his share in the council of regency, soon attempted to monopolize the entire power, and hence arose a fierce contest between him and the Earl of Arran, in which blood was spilt, and nearly every kind of injustice committed. Archibald Douglas, one of the uncles of Angus, expelled Arran from his post of provost of Edinburgh, which was then considered a very important addition to the earl's other employments. When Arran attempted to enter Edinburgh he was set upon by an armed mob, who killed and wounded some of his attendants; and then Sir James Hamilton, commonly called the Bastard of Arran, slew one Gawin, a carpenter, a friend of Angus and a leader of the mob. About the same time Home of Wedderburn, who had recently killed De la Bastie, cut off the prior of Coldingham with six of his family upon which his brother-in-law, William Douglas, the brother of Angus, took possession of the said priory. There was nothing

¹ *Ibid.*

in Scotland deserving of the name of a government; but in 1520 the Earl of Arran, and Beaton, the Archbishop of Glasgow, made a bold attempt to restore the authority of the council of regency. At a moment when they fancied that Angus had not many of his partizans with him in Edinburgh, they assembled their friends in the church of the Blackfriars. Gavin Douglas, the celebrated Bishop of Dunkeld, an uncle of Angus, presented himself at this meeting as a peace-maker, and remonstrated against their intention of arresting Angus—for this, he soon saw, was the real object of the meeting. Beaton struck his breast with his right hand, declaring, on his conscience, that they had no evil intentions against the earl; but the archbishop wore armour under his rochet, and the steel plates rattled as he struck his breast. "Ha! my lord!" cried the Bishop of Dunkeld, "your conscience is not sound; did you not hear it clatter?" While the meeting in the church of the Blackfriars were deliberating, Angus appeared upon the causeway with a formidable body of 400 spearmen, and a band of Borderers led by his brother-in-law, the fierce Home of Wedderburn. At this sight Sir Patrick Hamilton, the brother of the Earl of Arran, rushed into the street, and, with an inconsiderable number of retainers, fell like a madman upon the Douglasses. Angus pressed forward and slew Sir Patrick on the causeway with his own hand, intending also to have killed his brother the earl. The party of Arran collected to the rescue, and, after many lives had been sacrificed, the earl was driven out of the city, and his friend, Archbishop Beaton, was fain to seek refuge behind the high altar of St. Giles' Church.¹

Angus and his party now remained for a time absolute masters of the capital, where they speedily removed the heads of Lord Home and his brother from the toll-booth. Arran and his friends, with the young king and the queen-mother, occupied Stirling Castle. In the following year (1521) Margaret, incensed almost as much against her overbearing brother Henry, as against her husband Angus, wrote with her own hand to entreat Albany to return to Scotland, and to take upon himself the whole government. Albany, who was probably urged by the French court, which was most anxious to embarrass Henry, sailed from France, and landed in the Gareloch on the 19th of November. He proceeded forthwith to Stirling, where Margaret, very change-

ful in her affections, received him with transports of joy, and with such familiarity as excited scandalous rumours. The busy Lord Dacre told the king, his master, that, not satisfied with the day, she was closeted the greater part of the night with Albany, taking no heed of appearances.²

The restored regent summoned a parliament, and cited Angus and the Douglasses before it; but the now discarded husband of Margaret, with several of his adherents, fled for refuge to the Kirk of Steyle, near the Borders, whence they opened a negotiation with Henry by means of Angus' uncle, Bishop Gavin Douglas, who was a better poet than politician, and who had more genius than morality or patriotism. At the same time they raised a loud outcry against Margaret's immoralities, accusing her, among other things, of a design to put aside her son, to marry her lover Albany, and to make him king. A great deal of this was the raving of a desperate faction, or the artful misrepresentations of the English agent; but there can be little doubt as to the nature of the intimacy between the regent and the queen-mother. In other respects the conduct of Albany was neither immoral nor imprudent: he tried to reconcile the factions, and to stop the dangerous venality of the nobles; and his feelings for France did not prevent him from seeking to secure peace with England. But the restoration of good order in Scotland would have been fatal to the projects of the English court; and Wolsey and Henry persisted in their plan of treachery and disorganization, encouraging the Homes and all other rebels, and, by means of the indefatigable Lord Dacre, distributing money among the factions.³ In fact, Dacre soon saw matters in such a state that he earnestly recommended Henry to invade Scotland. The king, however, was not prepared for this open hostility; and Angus, with the Homes and other rebels, was glad to flee into England from the growing power and vigour of Albany's government. Margaret wrote to her brother. But Henry did not wish that there should be peace: he openly accused his sister of living in shameful adultery⁴ with the regent; and he offered to the Scottish estates the alternative of the immediate dismissal of Albany, or an immediate rupture with England. Many traitors as there were among the nobles, and base and bought as were many of its members, the Scottish parliament replied with proper spirit.⁵ Upon this Henry, with his usual moderation, ordered

¹ *Letley: Pinkerton; Tytler: Letter from Wolsey to the Duke of Norfolk, quoted by Mr. Tytler.*

² *Letter in the British Museum, quoted by Mr. Tytler.*

³ *State Papers.*

⁴ Henry, who did not as yet foresee how he was shortly to vex the ear of Rome with a suit of that kind, felt or pretended great horror at his sister's applying for a divorce. The following passage from a letter of Wolsey's was meant to comfort him on

this head:—"I signify unto your grace that I have not only written unto your orator (ambassador) at the court of Rome to impeche (oppose) and let (stop) the suit made in that court by the Queen of Scots, for a divorce betwixt her and her husband, the Earl of Angus (Angus), but also have caused the pope's orator, here being, to write in most effectual manner to his holiness, for stopping of the same."—*State Papers.*

⁵ *Rymer.*

that all Scottish subjects found in England should be driven ignominiously across the Borders on foot, with a white cross marked on their backs; and shortly after (in the spring of 1522), without declaring war, he sent the Earl of Shrewsbury, with the forces of the northern counties, across the Tweed. Shrewsbury, whose movement was sudden and unexpected, penetrated as far as Kelso, and gave that beautiful district to the flames; but he was presently driven back into England with considerable loss, by the Borderers of Merse and Teviotdale.

The Duke of Albany, with consent of parliament, now declared war. Eighty thousand men joined his standard at Annan, and he was flattered with the hopes of assistance from France; but the fickle and unscrupulous Margaret had already grown tired of the regent, and she not only intrigued with a party of the Scottish nobles, but also betrayed his secrets and plans to Lord Dacre. There are doubts and contradictions in all the narratives of these transactions; but it appears that, without being fully aware of the double-dealing of the queen-mother, or of the determination of a large portion of the Scottish leaders (of whom some had Dacre's money in their pockets) not to prosecute the war with vigour, the regent, with his large army and forty-five pieces of brass ordnance, crossed the Borders and advanced upon Carlisle.¹ Henry's attention had been wholly drawn to the side of France, and Dacre, who was in the marches, had but few troops, and an exhausted money-chest; but this lord-warden well knew the slackness and want of preparation in the Scottish camp, and he always had wit and cunning at command. When the invaders were within five miles of the city of Carlisle, he opened communications with Albany. We can only guess at some of the arguments and arts employed, but the result was correctly and frankly told by Wolsey in a letter to the king, wherein, after mentioning the defenceless state of the northern counties, he says, that "by the great wisdom and policy of my Lord Dacre, and by means of the safe-conduct lately sent at the desire and contemplation of the Queen of Scots," the Duke of Albany had consented to "an abstinence of war for one month," in order that ambassadors might treat for peace. "And the said Duke of Albany," continues the cardinal, "hath not only, our Lord be thanked, forborne his invasion, but also dissolved his army; which being dispersed, neither shall, nor can, for this year, be gathered or assembled again."² The singular truce which put an end to this grand expedition was con-

cluded on the 11th of September; and in the month of October Albany again went to France, leaving the Earls of Huntly, Arran, and Argyle to manage affairs during his absence.

Henry had now governed eight years without a parliament, following the precedent of his father; and, notwithstanding the obsequiousness displayed when they last met, it seems pretty certain that he would never have summoned the representatives of the people again had he not been forced to it by his poverty. But Henry had exhausted all other means of raising money, and so he met his parliament once more on the 15th of April, with Wolsey sitting as chancellor at his feet.³ The commons chose for their speaker the celebrated Sir Thomas More, who, against



SIR THOMAS MORE.—FROM A DRYE PRINT AFTER HOLBEIN.

his inclination, had been drawn into the service of the court about four years before, and who was now thought to be devoted to the interests of the king, who courted his society, and took singular delight in his wit and humour. But More, though a somewhat timid, was an honest man. The commons presently showed infinitely more spirit than was expected; and, finding a ready echo out of doors, particularly among the merchants and citizens of London, their sayings and doings became the great subject of conversation. Henry testified his royal disdain "that people should talk about *his* affairs;" and Wolsey was heard to complain, that no sooner was anything said or done in the House of Commons, than it was blown abroad in every ale-house. The lord-cardinal thought that he could overawe the members by presenting himself in

¹ Cardinal Wolsey says that Albany was also furnished with "one thousand hagbushis carted upon trossels, with a marvellous great number of hand guns, and was plentifully stored with victuals."—*State Papers*.

² *State Papers*.

³ This parliament was not held at Westminster, the usual place, but at the Blackfriars, London.

person; and though this was a breach of privilege, he sent to tell the house that they must receive him, and hear from his lips what were the wishes of the king. His business was to tell them how necessary the war was, and what a fair opportunity was offered for the recovery of all the English had once held in France; provided only that the house had regard to the weakness of the sinews of war, and would instantly raise £800,000, by passing a property-tax, at the moderate rate of twenty per cent. The house, in agreeing to receive the cardinal, had also agreed among themselves not to commit their privileges by entering upon any debate in his presence; and this extraordinary demand was not likely to change their purpose. Every man remained as still and motionless as a statue, gazing on the glowing cardinal. Soon tired of this dramatic scene, Wolsey addressed one of the members by name: this gentleman, after rising from his seat, sat down again without speaking; he then turned to another member, but his authoritative tone elicited no answer. He then lost his temper, and exclaimed, "Masters, as I am sent here immediately from the king, it is not unreasonable to expect an answer; yet here is, without doubt, a surprising and most obstinate silence, unless, indeed, it may be the manner of your house to express your mind by your speaker only." More, upon whom the angry eyes of the cardinal were fixed, rose, and, after bending the knee, said that the members were abashed at the sight of so great a personage, whose presence was sufficient to overwhelm the wisest and most learned men in the realm; but *that* presence, he observed, was neither expedient, nor in accordance with the ancient liberties of that house. More added, that they were not bound to return any answer; and that, as to requiring a reply from him individually, the thing was simply impossible; for he, as speaker, could only act upon the instructions received from the house. The lord-cardinal retired sorely disconcerted; and the debate on the supplies was adjourned day after day. At length the commons agreed to send a deputation to solicit a diminution of the tax. The cardinal, notwithstanding More's courteous reproof, again went to the house, and endeavoured to draw them into debate. But the commons, as firm as ever, said that they would reason only among themselves, and not in his presence. He went away as he had come; but, soon after, the house agreed to a property-tax of about ten per cent., or half what Wolsey had asked. He had boasted of the readiness of the spirituality, but he now found the clergy almost as refractory as the commons; and, after being defeated in rather a humiliating manner in several of his manoeuvres, and high assumptions of authority over the

church, as pope's legate, instead of succeeding in his enormous demand of fifty per cent., at once, he only obtained a grant of ten per cent. each year for five years. During the debates the Londoners frequently caught the members of the commons by the sleeve as they passed through the streets, and cried out to them, "Sirs, will ye grant four shillings in the pound? Do it, and take our threats and curses home with you to your households." But in many parts of the kingdom the people were dissatisfied even at the ten per cent.; and Wolsey, urged on by his master, who was now almost penniless, made matters still worse by attempting to accelerate the mode of payment. In many places the poorer people, driven to desperation, refused to pay the tax-gatherers anything. The blame of all fell upon the cardinal; and Henry did not scruple at condemning the proceedings of his ministers, in order to recover his own popularity.

The money that was wrung from the people was immediately spent in reinforcing the garrisons near the Scottish borders, in assistance lent to the allies in Italy, and in a new expedition into France. On the 24th of August (1523) the Duke of Suffolk took the command of the army at Calais; and on the 4th of September he commenced the campaign with about 12,000 English troops, and nearly an equal number of Flemings and Germans. The season again was late; the combined movements contemplated by the allies were difficult to execute with precision in point of time; and Charles Brandon was expert in all military exercises, without having any of the qualities of a great general. This time, however, as plainly appears from a letter of the lord-cardinal,¹ and from the dark conspiracy which broke out in France, the commencement of the campaign had been purposely delayed. Francis, intent on the recovery of the duchy of Milan, had collected an army at Lyons, and was actually on the point of crossing the Alps, when he learned that his enemies had intrigued with the most powerful of his subjects, who had engaged to declare himself as soon as the king should be in Italy. The story of Prince Charles, Duke of Bourbon and Constable of France, is one of the most remarkable episodes in the history of the sixteenth century. By birth, wealth, connections, ability, and bravery, he was the most distinguished subject in the kingdom; and his loyalty and affection to the king had never been doubted. But, in an evil season, Louisa of Savoy, the king's mother, became enamoured of his beautiful person, and proposed that he should marry her. The gallant constable was not disposed to unite himself to a woman who was old enough to be his mother, and who, on former occasions, had

¹ *State Papers.*

been the declared enemy of his house; and in rejecting or evading the suit of the amorous matron, he made use of some personal reflections, which a woman, and one who *had been* a beauty, was not likely to forgive. Lonisa's revenge was as ample as were her means of gratifying it; and her influence over her affectionate son was almost boundless. Urged on by his mother, Francis insulted the fiery Bourbon, refused to pay him large sums which he had advanced for the war in Italy, stopped his salaries, and took from him the baton of constable, which he had wielded with great glory. These, and the indignities put upon him by the whole court, drove Bourbon almost to madness; and when the slavish parliament of Paris pronounced an iniquitous sentence, which virtually sequestered all his fiefs and estates, he vowed revenge, and turned to the enemies of his country. Both the emperor and the King of England received his overtures with infinite satisfaction, and sent the Lord of Beaurain and Sir John Russell, as secret emissaries, to treat with him. A private treaty was soon concluded; the principal articles were—that Provence and Dauphiny should be united with his appanage, the Bourbonnais and Auvergne, and erected into a separate kingdom for the constable; that the constable should marry Eleanor, a sister of the emperor; that the emperor should occupy Languedoc, Burgundy, Champagne, and Picardy, while the King of England overran the rest of France; and that the constable should hold himself ready, with 1000 horse and 6000 foot, to co-operate with the allies as soon as the French king should be on the other side of the Alps.¹

Either Bourbon betrayed himself by too open preparations, or the secret was betrayed by some of the agents engaged in the business. Of a sudden Francis presented himself at his castle, and commanded him to join the army of Italy. The constable pretended to be dangerously ill; but Francis, who understood this feint, left spies to watch him. This strange interview took place about the time that the Duke of Suffolk landed in France. The French king, instead of marching into Italy, stopped at Lyons for the defence of his own dominions; but so confident was he, that he sent the army he had raised across the Alps, under the command of the Admiral de Bonnivet, and then applied himself to the raising of fresh forces for the defence of his kingdom, which was threatened on three of its frontiers. The constable eluded the vigilance of the spies, and, by pursuing by-roads and travelling in disguise, he traversed Auvergne and Dauphiny, and, after many dangers, got safely out of France and joined the emperor's army in Italy. Many of his friends were arrested, and no insur-

rection, such as the allies counted upon, broke out in the centre of France.

Instead of advancing at once, when the country was comparatively open, to form a junction with the German army of the emperor which invaded Burgundy, the Duke of Suffolk and the Imperialist general De Bure lost nearly a whole month under the walls of St. Omer, debating what they should do. Then, giving up the notion of besieging Boulogne, they marched in the direction of Burgundy. But they had thrown away their chance, and even now they stopped to besiege Bray, Montdidier, and one or two other insignificant places. Having crossed the Somme and the Oise, they pitched their tents within twenty miles of Paris, expecting, as it appears, that the Germans would join them there. But by this time these Germans were in full retreat before the Duke of Guise: and now the Duke of Vendôme advanced in front of the English, while Tremoille manœuvred on their flank, and threatened their rear by drawing out troops from the garrisons in Picardy. At length the position of the Duke of Suffolk became most critical, for the French kept constantly gathering round him. The weather, also, was dreadful, and this, with scanty or bad provisions, brought sickness into the army. Thus situated he ordered a retreat. The French even now respected the valour of the English troops, and would not risk an engagement; but the men perished of sickness daily, and in great numbers; the Flemish auxiliaries, as they drew near their own country, deserted in troops, and Suffolk had but the shadow of an army when he reached Calais. This failure nearly cost Brandon his head. In the south the Spanish army, commanded by the emperor in person, instead of conquering Guienne, merely recovered from the French their own town of Fuenterrabia.

On the 14th of September, while Suffolk was advancing towards Paris, an event occurred in Italy which revived the former high hopes of Wolsey: this was the death of Pope Adrian, whose severe economy was so distasteful to the Romans, that they styled the physician who had attended him in his last sickness—"The Saviour of his country." His pontificate had lasted only twenty months and six days. As soon as the English cardinal got the news he wrote a curious letter to Henry, telling him how reluctant he was to quit the service of so good a master—how unfit to assume the high responsibility of head of the Christian world. The king, who knew what this meant, applied to the Emperor Charles for the fulfilment of the promises which he had made to his favourite, and instructed his ministers at Rome to spare no money and no exertion to secure the election of Wolsey. This time Wolsey

¹ Du Bellay: *Henault*; Guicciardini; *State Papers*.

was not only named among the candidates, but he even obtained a considerable number of votes; but the turbulent people of Rome, and the Italians generally, were furious at the notion of having any more ultramontane (they called them *barbarian*) popes; the French interest in the conclave was considerable, and wholly opposed to Wolsey; and the interest of the emperor—if exercised at all—was not for him, but against him, notwithstanding the long promises of Charles. When the conclave had debated and voted for many days, and some of the ancients were worn out with the long confinement, it was seen that the chance lay between Jacovaccio Romano and Giulio de' Medici, who had so nearly obtained the tiara at the death of Leo X., and who had decided the last election in favour of Adrian. The hand that trimmed the scales was that of the Cardinal Pompeo Colonna, who was a most bitter enemy of the Medici, and who was inclined to give his whole weight to Cardinal Jacovaccio. But, irritated at the opposition he encountered from some members of the Sacred College, he set aside his old animosities, and suddenly engaged to support the Cardinal de' Medici, upon condition of receiving the lucrative post of vice-chancellor, and the sumptuous palace of San Giorgio at Rome. That very night Giulio de' Medici was unanimously saluted and adored as pontiff, and, on the following morning, the 19th of November, his election was publicly announced, to the great joy of the Italians. He took the name and style of Clement VII.¹

Again, to all appearance, Wolsey bore his disappointment with equanimity, though this time he could hardly flatter himself with another chance, for the successful candidate was both young and vigorous. Henry's agents at Rome were instructed to press for the election of Giulio in case that of Wolsey should be found impracticable; and now while they felicitated him on his elevation, they bespoke his active co-operation with the emperor and the King of England, and requested that he would renew Wolsey's legatine commission. The new pope immediately appointed the cardinal his legate for life, enlarged his authority, and gave him a commission to reform and suppress certain religious houses in England. The latter was an unusual concession, tending to establish a dangerous precedent with a needy sovereign. Wolsey, however, is said to have acted conscientiously in this matter, for when he suppressed certain monasteries (which he did early in the year 1525) he employed the money thus gained for ecclesiastical purposes, particularly for the foundation of colleges, in which—as both he and his master Henry as-

serted—learned divines were to be reared and fostered for the better combating of the pernicious and fast-spreading heresies of that “monster” Martin Luther.

A.D. 1524. Bonnivet, who took the command of the Italian war in lieu of his master Francis, was at first very successful. But he lost time manœuvring on the river Ticino, and when he made his approach Milan had been put into so good a state of defence by Prospero Colonna that he durst not assault it, and, after making a vain attempt to reduce it by famine, he was obliged to seek winter-quarters, where he and his troops were half starved. Towards the close of the year the Emperor Charles appointed the Constable Bourbon his lieutenant in Italy. It was soon found that Bonnivet was no match for this bold and skilful general, who took the field early in the spring, and, by the month of May, drove his countrymen the French across the Alps, and recovered all the places they had taken. Bourbon, still inflamed with vengeance, and bent on the acquisition of the kingdom which had been promised him by the allies, out of the dismemberment of his native country, now prevailed upon Charles to invade France with his army of Italy. Henry was applied to in the hope that he would make a diversion by invading the north of France from Calais; but the English king excused himself, and merely promised to assist with some money. In the month of July the constable descended from the Alps into France, but the command of the imperial army was divided between him and the Marquis of Pescara, who had different views, and who had received conflicting instructions from the emperor. Bourbon would have pushed forward at once to Lyons, but the marquis insisted upon turning into Provence, and laying siege to Marseilles. Accordingly, on the 19th of August, this army of invasion, amounting to little more than 16,000 men, sat down before the city. After spending forty days in mining and bombarding, Pescara and Bourbon were obliged to beat a rapid retreat, for Francis had collected an army at Avignon, and Henry, instead of sending money, betrayed an inclination to abandon the league altogether. In an unlucky hour Francis determined to carry the war once more into Italy, and, while Bourbon retreated by the Maritime Alps, he made a dash across the Graian Alps. For three entire months Francis lay before the well-defended walls of Pavia, and in the interval he detached the Duke of Albany, the late Regent of Scotland, with 6000 men, to march through nearly the whole of Italy, in order to threaten the kingdom of Naples.²

¹ Guicciardini.

² Guicciardini; Giannone; Du Bellay.

A.D. 1525. Early in February Francis was roused by news that the Imperialists were concentrating in great force; but even then, out of a ridiculous point of honour, he would not relinquish the siege which he had begun. On the 24th of February he was attacked in his intrenchments by Pescara, Bourbon, and Lannoy, the Viceroy of Naples, and thoroughly defeated. After fighting most valiantly, Francis attempted to save himself by making a rush across the Ticino, but he found the bridge broken down, and the Spaniards closed upon him on the steep bank. His horse was killed under him; his bravest captains and dearest friends had fallen around him; he himself had received three wounds, but still he would not surrender to the Spaniards, who would have killed him had he not been recognized by Pomperant, a French gentleman in the service of the Constable Bourbon. This Frenchman rode up to the Viceroy of Naples, and told him what was passing. Lannoy calmed the fury of the Spanish soldiery, threw himself upon his knees before Francis, kissed his royal hand, and at last received his sword in token of surrender. To his mother, Louisa, whom he had left Regent of France in his absence, he wrote that he had lost everything except his honour!¹ The day after the battle of Pavia he was conveyed to the strong fortress of Pizzichitona, where he was most vigilantly guarded, but otherwise treated with kindness and respect.²

The news of this great victory, which, at first sight, seemed to lay France as well as Italy at the feet of the emperor, was received in the English court with demonstrations of joy. The king ordered a day of public thanksgiving; and Wolsey officiated at St. Paul's in the presence of the court, and the ambassadors of the emperor and of the other allies. Some months before, both the king and the cardinal had thought seriously of a reconciliation with France, and had treated secretly with Giovanni Giovachino Passano, a Genoese merchant, who had undertaken a mission from Louisa, the mother of Francis, in the view of making Henry break altogether with the emperor. But now turning again—hoping to be allowed a present share of the victor's spoils, and careless of the future—he despatched Toustal, Bishop of London, and Wyngfield, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, to the emperor's court, to propose that he and Charles should invade France instantly, from different points, and that they should meet in Paris, there amicably to divide the French kingdom between them. Henry forthwith set his ministers to work to raise money. As he was determined not to assemble

a parliament, ministers could only proceed by stretching the royal prerogative; and, with Wolsey still at their head, they demanded a fourth from the clergy, and a sixth from the laity. To levy this money, they appointed commissioners in the different counties of England, and resorted to all the means which seemed likely to win or terrify people into a ready parting with their cash without authority of parliament. But clergy and laity—people of all classes and conditions—most firmly opposed this most illegal attempt. "How the great men took it, was marvel; the poor cursed; the rich repugned; the lighter sort railed; and, in conclusion, all men execrated the cardinal as subverter of the laws and liberty of England. For, they said, if men should give their goods by a commission, then were it worse than the taxes of France; and so England would be bond, and not free."³ Archbishop Warham, the old minister of Henry VII., and formerly chancellor to his son, addressed a striking, warning letter to Wolsey at this crisis. At the same time handbills, containing bitter reflections on the king and his government, were printed and circulated in London and other places; the churchmen protested that they would only pay money when voted by the convocation; and the people began to take up arms against the commissioners. The priests even encouraged the people in their discourses from the pulpit. The king took the alarm, recalled the commissioners, and declared, by proclamation, that he wanted nothing from his subjects but "by way of benevolence." But the people, who abhorred the name of benevolence, in this sense, said the thing was as illegal as the arbitrary commission; and a lawyer in the city quoted the statute passed under Richard III., by which benevolences were for ever abolished. Upon this Henry consulted the judges, who did not blush to affirm that the king might tax his people by commission, or by any other way which seemed to him best; and they agreed with the privy council in holding that, as Richard III. was an usurper, and his parliament a factious assembly, the laws passed by them were not binding on a legitimate and *absolute* king, who held the crown by hereditary right, and needed not to court the favour of a licentious populace. It was in vain, however, that Wolsey endeavoured to impress these maxims on the mayor and aldermen of London; and in the country the odious doctrine encountered a still sterner opposition. In Kent the people expelled all the tax-gatherers and fiscal agents of the court; and in Suffolk 4000 men flew to arms, and threatened Charles Brandon, their duke, who was on the commission, with death. The insurrection was checked by the wise moderation of Surrey, son of the Duke

¹ The well-known words were, "Tout est perdu hors l'honneur."

² Guicciardini; *La Guerra di Pavia*; *Da Bellay*.

³ *Hail*.

of Norfolk; but Henry, who was always bolder in words than in deeds, was so much alarmed, that he issued a fresh proclamation to set aside and annul all the demands he had made.

We do not believe that so wild a scheme of conquest and partition, and one in which such volatile characters as Henry and Wolsey were to be principal actors, could, under any circumstances, have been successful; but still it was fortunate for France, at this crisis, that the emperor was as poor as the King of England, and that the seeds of discord were sown between the two unscrupulous sovereigns. Such, indeed, was the state of Charles' finances, that he could not pay the long arrears due to his army in Italy; and the victorious troops mutinied, seized and kept the city of Pavia, and even threatened to take forcible possession of the person of the French king, to hold as security for the money due to them. As the emperor had counted upon Henry for large subsidies, he seems to have considered him as the principal cause of these troubles, which at one moment were most alarming. We believe that it was from this consideration, and from irritation at the secret negotiations with France, and not from any feeling of conceit and inflation, that Charles changed his tone with Henry after the battle of Pavia. He no longer wrote to his loving uncle with his own hand, nor lavished his expressions of reverence and submission; and his letters to the English king were thenceforth merely signed "Charles,"¹—a trifle that was likely to produce a great effect on the vain-glorious king. Before the arrival of the English ambassadors, the council of Charles had decided (or rather poverty decided for them) that the invasion of France was not to be thought of. They had even consented to a truce for six months, hoping to turn the captive Francis to good account, and to make their profits by negotiation. There was a great deal of diplomatizing, which deceived neither party; and Henry presently adopted the course which was most likely to bring him in an immediate supply of money. He renewed his separate negotiation with France, concluded a truce for four months, and then an alliance offensive and defensive. The price paid by France was high: Henry got for himself the sum of 2,000,000 crowns, to be paid by half-yearly instalments of 50,000 crowns each; and, after liquidation of this, an annual pension of 100,000 crowns. The cardinal got 30,000 crowns on account of his former resignation of the

bishopric of Tournai, and 100,000 more for his kind services to the royal family of France; the whole to be paid by instalments in the course of seven years and a half. The French court also agreed to allow to Mary, their queen-dowager, Henry's sister, and now Duchess of Suffolk, the enjoyment of her dower, with the discharge of all arrears thereon. The only clause which was not a money one was an engagement that they would never permit Henry's enemy, the Duke of Albany, to return into Scotland during the minority of the present king, James V. The English court was not more suspicious than were the French unscrupulous as to the means by which they lulled its suspicions. Louisa, the regent, swore to the articles; Francis ratified them; and the principal of the French nobility, with the great cities of Toulouse, Lyons, Amiens, Rheims, Paris, Bordeaux, Tours, and Rouen, bound themselves, under the penalty of forfeiting all their property, to observe the treaty themselves, and compel their king to observe it. At the same time, however, the attorney-general and solicitor-general of the parliament of Paris secretly entered a solemn protest against the whole treaty, in order that Francis, who was rather delicate on the point of honour, might find thereon a reason for not fulfilling these onerous engagements.² But, notwithstanding the treaty with England, Francis encountered great difficulties in freeing himself from the hands of the emperor, and was obliged himself to plunge deep in perjury. At his own earnest request he was transferred from the castle of Pizzighitona to the Alcazar of Madrid; but, as the ministers insisted that Charles ought not to trust his feelings in a personal interview with the gallant and engaging prisoner, he never obtained the advantages he had counted upon from a personal interview with the young emperor. Negotiations were opened by cool-headed and cunning diplomatists. Francis offered to give up all his pretensions to Milan, Naples, and Flanders—to restore the Constable Bourbon—and to pay a large sum of money for the possession of Burgundy, which he said he could not disavow from his kingdom without ruining the monarchy for ever. It was replied, for Charles, that Burgundy had been robbed from his family, and that Francis must either restore it or remain a prisoner for life. At last, on the 14th of January, 1526, the treaty, or, as it was called, the concord of Madrid, was concluded and signed. As the price of his liberty Francis agreed to surrender Burgundy to Charles within six weeks after his return to France—to place his two eldest sons as hostages in the hands of Charles—to renounce all claims to the Italian states, and to the suzerainty of Flan-

¹ *Guicciardini*. This great writer adds that Charles was already averse to the marriage with the Princess Mary of England, and was in treaty for the hand of the Princess Isabella of Portugal, whom he married in March, 1526. It appears, however, that even in this matter Henry's sincerity was equal to that of Charles; and that he had secretly offered his daughter Mary in marriage both to the King of Scotland and the King of France!

² *Rymer: Pæc de Orleanis.*

ders—to marry Eleanora, the sister of Charles, who had been promised by treaty to the Constable Bourbon—to replace the said constable in all his honours and states in France—and to guarantee the emperor against certain pecuniary demands of the king. An article was inserted binding Francis to place himself again as a captive if he should find himself unable to fulfil his agreements. On the very morning on which he made up his mind to sign these hard conditions, he caused a secret protest against the validity of the act to be prepared, and then he swore and signed. He set foot in France a little more than a year after the battle of Pavia.

Henry immediately despatched Sir Thomas Cheney and Dr. Taylor, a jurist of high repute, to congratulate the French king on his delivery, and to urge him to break every article of his treaty with the emperor—the latter being a most unnecessary precaution, for Francis never intended to do otherwise. The French king received the two ambassadors at Bayonne with the most flattering speeches, telling them that, after God, he thanked his kind brother of England for his liberty. Francis very soon told Charles that the surrender of Burgundy was impossible, it being contrary to the solemn oaths administered to him at his coronation and equally contrary to the will of the people of Burgundy, which was quite true; and he offered money in compensation, which he knew Charles would refuse. He then prepared for war; and he and his new ally Henry pledged their honour never to make peace with Charles except by mutual consent. The pope was soon induced to absolve Francis from the oaths he had taken at Madrid; and Clement, Sforza, the Duke of Milan, the Florentines, the Venetians, and some minor Italian states, entered into the league with the Kings of France and England.¹

¹ It is natural for Romanist historians to trace the great English schism which ended in the English Reformation, to Henry's disappointment in not obtaining his divorce so soon as he expected from the pope, and this has long been the common popular view of the case. Such, however, is not the view of Ranké, in his admirable *History of the Popes*. Speaking of the early Reformation period, he says:—"The Popedom was in a false and untenable position throughout. Its secular tendencies had brought upon it a decline, from which there had arisen insuperable opponents and deserters; but the continuance of the same symptoms, the still farther complication of spiritual and

In the preceding year, 1525, the first misunderstanding occurred between Henry and Wolsey. According to the cardinal's showing, the subject of this difference was a mere trifle, "consisting in two things—the one concerning the office of clerk of the market within the liberties of the monastery of St. Alban's; and the other touching certain misorder supposed to be used by Dr. Allen, and other his (the cardinal's) officers," in the suppression of certain small monasteries, "wherein neither God was served nor religion kept;" which he intended, "with the gracious aid and assistance of the king," to convert to a far better use, by annexing their revenues to the new college intended to be founded at Oxford "for the increase of good letters and virtue." Martin Luther chose this moment for addressing Henry, whom he fancied to be wholly estranged from Wolsey—"the monster"—"the nuisance to God and man"—"the pest of the kingdom and caterpillar of England." He said he understood that his grace had now begun to loathe that wicked sort of men, and in his mind to favour the true doctrine. The Reformer, in excuse for the violence of the language he had used in replying to the king's book in defence of the Romish church, averred that he had believed the said book was not in reality the production of the royal pen. In his present attempt, however, Luther was premature; the quarrel between king and cardinal was made up; and Henry told the Reformer that "that reverend father," Wolsey, was the best, the most faithful, the most religious of men; that, whereas he loved him very well before, he would now, in consequence of Luther's impious railing, favour him more than ever; that he would never cease to reckon it amongst his good deeds that none that were infected with German leprosy, contagion, and heresies, could cleave to his kingdom or take root in it.²

secular interests, completed its downfall. *The schism in England may in reality be traced to the same cause.* It is well worth noting that Henry VIII., with all his declared hostility to Luther, and intimately, too, as he was united with the Roman See, yet at the time of the first difference, in matters purely political, as early as the year 1525, threatened the Roman See with ecclesiastical innovations." The historian refers in a note to a letter addressed to Rome, in a threatening way, by Wolsey, as indicating the first movement in the English civil government's secession from Rome.

² Bishop Godwin; Herbert.

CHAPTER V.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1526—1533.

HENRY VIII.—ACCESSION, A.D. 1509—DEATH, A.D. 1547.

Difficulties of Pope Clement—Rome assailed by an army of mercenaries—Is stormed and plundered—Indifference of Henry VIII. to the fate of Rome—Commencement of his love for Anne Boleyn—Her early history—Her reception of the king's addresses—Henry's scruples about his marriage to Catherine—Wolsey's conduct on the occasion—His mission to France to negotiate a royal union—Terms of the treaty with France—Henry resolves to divorce Catherine and marry Anne—His negotiation with the pope to that effect—The pope's cautious and equivocal dealing—The sweating sickness visits London—Arrival of Cardinal Campeggio—Proceedings of Wolsey and Campeggio in the divorce of Catherine—They bring it to a trial—Catherine's defence—The trial adjourned by Campeggio—Wolsey declines in the royal favour—Is visited with confiscation and bereavement of office—Persecuted by Anne Boleyn and her party—He is arrested on a charge of high treason—Wolsey's last illness and death—Thomas Cranmer's first appearance—He is sent to collect the opinions of the universities on Henry's divorce—Their sentiments on the subject—Thomas Cromwell—His previous career—His rise after the fall of Wolsey—He advises Henry to renounce the Papal authority—The clergy of England accused as abettors of Wolsey—Henry's demand to be recognized as head of the church in England—Commencement of Henry's persecution of the Reformers—His secret marriage with Anne Boleyn.



ALTHOUGH flattered by the pope with the offer of the title of "Protector" of the new Italian league against the emperor, the main object of which was to preserve the independence of Italy, Henry made no exertion in his favour, nor did Francis keep any of his liberal promises to the pope. Beset on all sides—by the Spaniards from the kingdom of Naples, and by the Germans and Spaniards from Lombardy, Parma, and Piacenza—Clement was obliged to throw himself on the emperor's mercy, and implore for peace. Moncada, the Spanish Governor of Naples, signed a treaty, and a month after, in alliance with the great Roman family of Colonna, advanced secretly to the Eternal City, surprised one of the gates, plundered the rich palace of the Vatican, and obliged the pope to take refuge in the castle of St. Angelo. A day or two after this exploit (on the 21st of September, 1526) Clement obtained a new treaty of peace, and the Colonnese left Rome, and Moncada returned to Naples. As soon as the pope was freed from these foes, he resolved not to observe any of the articles which had been extorted from him; and the more effectually to disturb the emperor's possession of Naples, he invited from France the Count of Vaudemont, who, as heir of the house of Anjou, advanced claims to that kingdom, in which there was a powerful faction quite ready to take up arms against the Spaniards. The Viceroy Lannoy heard of this invitation, and, in the month of December, marched out of the kingdom of Naples and fell upon the Roman states. But Clement was not unprovided with troops; his Italian allies had sent him reinforcements; and the Romans, the Florentines, and the Venetians not only kept in check the veteran

forces of Lannoy, but gained some brilliant advantages over them. But this was only a gleam of success for Italy, and the year 1527 came on, —a year full of most atrocious, and, for many centuries, unheard-of incidents—a year marked with the imprisonment of the pontiff, the sack of Rome, famine, and the plague, which ravaged that beautiful peninsula from the foot of the Alps to the Faro of Messina.¹

In the still wretched state of his finances, the Emperor Charles could raise no regular army, and, in order to keep his grasp on Italy, he employed all sorts of mercenaries and partizan leaders, who undertook the war with the tacit understanding that they were to make the invaded country pay its expenses, or, in other words, that they were to live and enrich themselves on the plunder of the poor Italians, whether friends or enemies, or neutrals in the pending contest. Their ranks were swelled by the vagabonds and marauders of nearly every country in Europe, but the more numerous divisions were Spaniards, Germans, and Swiss. Freundsberg, a German partizan, and thorough-paced soldier of fortune, was at the head of 14,000 of these adventurers; and the Constable Bourbon, who had been ill-used by all parties, until he was utterly reckless and ferocious, led another body of 10,000. The two desperate hordes formed a junction at Fiorenzuola, whence they marched to plunder the rich and beautiful city of Florence. The Italian Athens was saved by the rapid advance of the confederate army; but this movement exposed Rome, and the robbers precipitated their march in that direction. At the same time Lannoy, the viceroy, hemmed in the capital of the Christian world on the south.

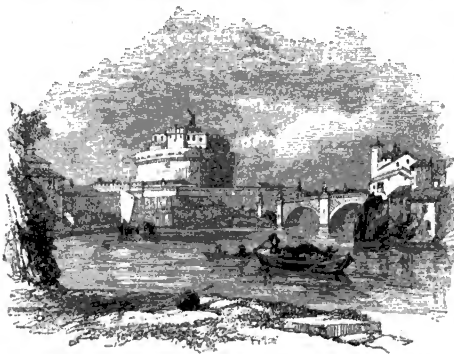
¹ Guicciardini; Summonte, Giannone.

Reduced to despair, Pope Clement, in the end of March, submitted to a fresh peace, the articles of which were dictated by the viceroy, who, on his side, however, bound himself to stop the march of Bourbon and Freundsberg. Clement dismissed his troops, and Launoy went northward to meet the invaders. Freundsberg had fallen sick, and lay with the rear at Ferrara; and Bourbon could not be prevailed upon to return, telling the viceroy that it was out of his power to control the troops, as he owed them money, and had no means of paying them except by sacking Rome.

On the 5th of May Bourbon encamped in the meadows on the north of Rome, and sent a trumpeter to the pope to demand a free passage. On the following morning, at early dawn, he led his ferocious rabble to the assault, and he was among the first to mount the walls. While his foot was still on the scaling-ladder he was struck by a ball from an arquebuse, and fell dead at the foot of the wall. The loss of their daring leader only increased the fury of the soldiery, who,

fold corruptions of Rome, and the long-standing vices and debaucheries of the Roman hierarchy, a thrill of horror and indignation was felt from one extremity of Europe to the other. The news reached England at the end of May. On the 2d of June, Wolsey wrote a letter to Henry to inform him of the "most detestable, cruel, and mauldier tyranny of the Imperials, committed at Rome," and calling upon him, as "Defender of the Faith," to relieve and succour the pope and the cardinals who were pressed by siege in the castle of St. Angelo.¹ But Henry, being engaged in certain amorous matters which were soon to work an entire change in his devotion to Rome, did not respond to the zeal of the cardinal.

Although Henry had long been a most inconstant husband, setting no bounds to his intrigues, he had hitherto treated Queen Catherine with that respect to which she appears to have been entitled by her many excellent qualities. But at last he encountered—what seems to have been a rarity in his court—a beauty so moral or so proud, that she would not listen to the illicit suit even of a great sovereign. This was Anne Boleyn. The father of this important beauty was Thomas Boleyn, or Bullen, descended from a lord-mayor of London; but the family of traders had been aggrandized by intermarriages with the high nobility; and the wife of this Thomas, and the mother of Anne, was Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk. Sir Thomas Boleyn had long been employed about Henry's court, and had executed several important missions and embassies to foreign powers, greatly to the satisfaction of the king and the lord-cardinal. Anne was born in or about the year 1507; and in



THE BRIDGE AND CASTLE OF ST. ANGELO, ROME.—From a drawing by Parke.

after two hours' hard fighting, hand-to-hand (for they had no artillery), carried the borgo or suburb, having lost about 1000 men in the attack. In the afternoon they crossed the Sistine bridge and entered the city, which, for the five following days, was abandoned to pillage, massacre, and all the atrocious excesses of which human nature is capable. Nothing was heard in the streets of the Christian city but the cries of "Blood! blood!" "Bourbon! Bourbon!" The pope escaped in time into the castle of St. Angelo; but some of the cardinals were not so fortunate, and these, with a number of bishops, were treated with infamous barbarity. In spite of the mani-

1514, when only seven years old, she was appointed maid of honour to the king's sister, who had just been married to Louis XII. We have seen her appearing in France with the Princess Mary, who was allowed to retain her when the other English attendants were so unceremoniously sent out of the country. Mary, on the occasion of her second marriage with Charles Brandon, was glad to leave the young Anne under the powerful protection of the new Queen of France—Claude, wife of Francis I. Anne was brought up in the French court—then, as at later periods, a good place for acquiring certain accomplishments and

¹ *State Papers.*

graces of manner, and which had not yet sunk to the extreme profligacy by which it was corrupted, during the closing years of the reign of

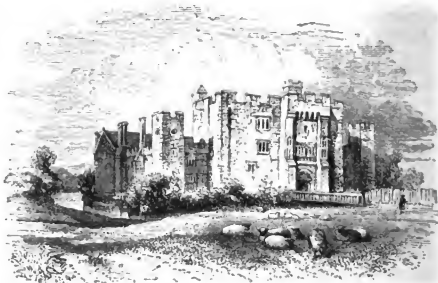


ANNE BOLEYN, after Holbein.

Francis I. After the second marriage of her royal mistress to the Duke of Suffolk, she was installed in an honourable office in the court of Claude, queen of Francis I., and, in that school, was unlikely to acquire those indecorous habits which Popish writers have endeavoured to fasten upon her early history. The time of her return to England is rather doubtful; but it is probable that those historians are correct who fix it in 1522, when war was proclaimed against France, on which occasion she was brought home by her father, who was ambassador at the French court. Young, beautiful, and accomplished, Anne Boleyn, soon after her arrival in England, was appointed one of Queen Catherine's maids of honour, and, when little more than sixteen years old, a romantic attachment sprung up between her and Lord Percy, son and heir of the Earl of Northumberland, who made her an offer of marriage. But Henry had already turned his admiring eyes in the same direction, and, jealous of the rivalry of a subject, he caused the lovers to be parted through the agency of Cardinal Wolsey, in whose household Percy had been educated, and that young nobleman, probably under the same compulsion, married a daughter of the Earl of Shrewsbury,

soon after in 1523. Anne, on being separated from her lover, was conveyed to Hever Castle, in Kent, the seat of her father, and thither the king, at a later period, repaired on a visit; but probably suspecting the cause of his arrival, she kept her chamber under the pretext of sickness, and did not leave it till his departure. But this reserve was more likely to animate than daunt a royal lover and Henry, for the purpose of restoring the reluctant lady to court, and bringing her within the sphere of his solicitations, created Sir Thomas Boleyn Viscount Rochford on the 18th of June, 1525, and made him treasurer of the royal household. Even yet, however, his suit was unprosperous when it was made in due form; and she is said, by an old writer inclined to the side of her enemies, to have thus repelled it—"Your wife I cannot be, both in respect of my own unworthiness, and also because you have a queen already; and your mistress I will not be."

The king now began to talk of religious scruples regarding his marriage with Catherine, the widow of his own brother. Nor were there wanting other grounds of complaint. Though she had been his wife seventeen years, Catherine had only one child living, and this was a daughter—the Princess Mary. Besides, she was now in the forty-third year of her age, and retained little of her former beauty. There was still something of a political prejudice against female reigns, and many men regretted, upon public grounds, that there should be no male heir to the crown. There were other circumstances strongly tending to encourage the king in a plan wherein his own main, if not sole object, was



HEVER CASTLE, KENT.¹

the gratification of his passions: notwithstanding

¹ This castle was erected in the time of Edward III. It is surrounded by a moat, and the inner buildings form a quadrangle inclosing a court.

Henry's recent boast that the Lutheran doctrine could not cleave to his kingdom of England, that doctrine had already struck its roots deep into the soil; and while those who secretly favoured its growth knew that Catherine was a devout Catholic, they had reasons for believing that Anne Boleyn inclined to the Reformation. At the same time Wolsey, upon very different motives, was ready to promote the divorce from Catherine, for he was now incensed against her nephew the emperor, and he ardently wished to strengthen the new alliance with France, by marrying his master to Renée, daughter of the late king Louis XII. It is said, indeed, that the cardinal, who during many years had professed the greatest friendship and devotion to Catherine, first suggested the divorce; but this point, though probable, is not proved, and Wolsey sometimes denied it, and at others admitted it, as best suited the purposes he had in hand at the time. It appears certain, however, that the cardinal never for a moment contemplated the possibility of the king's marrying Anne Boleyn. The usage of such marriages—though once common enough—between sovereign and subject, was now generally exploded, and the cardinal promised many advantages to himself from the French alliance. The Bishop of Tarbes, who was in England settling the other marriage proposed in the late treaty, between Henry's daughter Mary and Francis, or the Duke of Orleans, the son of Francis (a delicate specimen of royal matrimonial negotiation!) suddenly asked whether the legitimacy of the Princess Mary, as daughter of Catherine, was beyond the reach of all legal and canonical doubt. It was generally believed that this question was put at the suggestion of Wolsey, as a pretext for the king, as something likely to make a great impression on the public mind.¹ In the course of the summer Wolsey went over to France to negotiate in person. The cardinal was received as if he had been a king. Upon reaching Boulogne the artillery fired a royal salute; but hereby an accident well nigh befell the gorgeous churchman, "through the obstinacy of his mule," which took fright at the noise of the great guns. By the French king's orders he was permitted, in all such places as he passed through on his journey, "to release, pardon, and put at liberty all such transgressors as be detained in prison, of whatsoever quality their offence." On the 4th of August Francis himself welcomed the cardinal, having advanced a mile and a half from the city of Amiens to meet him on the road.²

The great ostensible object of Wolsey's splendid embassy was, to concert measures with Francis for the rescue of the pope, who was still besieged in the castle of St. Angelo by the Germans and Spaniards. This object, indeed, was loudly proclaimed on the journey; and wherever the cardinal stopped for Divine worship the litany which was chanted included a "Santa Maria, ora pro Papa nostro Clemente." On one of these occasions Cavendish, the attached servant and minute biographer of Wolsey, says—"I saw the lord-cardinal weep very tenderly, which was, as we supposed, for heaviness that the pope was at that present time in such calamity and great danger of the lance-knights." But, in the consultations which now took place, the pope and the interests of the Catholic church were secondary subjects, the primary ones being the treaties of close alliance and intermarriages between the courts of England and France, and the establishing of Wolsey as a sort of pro-pope during the restraint of Clement. The emperor, by means of his ambassador, remonstrated with Wolsey on his master's divorce from Queen Catherine, whispers of which had already got abroad, and which was considered by Charles as a grievous family insult, to obviate which he was ready to make many concessions. The emperor was also alarmed at the prospect of the close alliance between Henry and Francis; and he did his best to outbid the French king, offering, among other things, to give the hand of the Princess of Portugal, his wife's sister, to the Duke of Richmond, Henry's natural son, now a boy about eight or nine years old. Wolsey, by his master's orders, listened to all these proposals, and even treated the report of the divorce as an idle rumour. The cardinal, however, concluded four separate treaties with Francis. The first confirmed the recent engagement of perpetual alliance between England and France; the second stipulated that Henry's daughter should be married to the Duke of Orleans, the son, if she were not married to Francis, the father; the third fixed the subsidies to be furnished by England for the war in Italy, that was to be conducted by Francis in aid of the pope; and the last declared that, till the pope should resume the government of the church, whatever should be determined in France by the clergy of the Gallican church, and in England by the cardinal-legate (Wolsey) and the principal members of the English church, called together by the king's authority, should be held good and valid, even as if the pope had decreed and spoken it. It has been plausibly supposed—and

¹ Cardinal Pole, *Apologia*; *Hist. Divorce de Henri VIII.* par le Grand, who quotes original letters.

² Letters from Wolsey to the king, in *State Papers*, published by order of government. The learned and accurate editor of Vol. I.

this invaluable collection of historical materials remarks, that this appears to be the first occasion of Wolsey's adopting the style of "majesty," in addressing Henry VIII. Our kings had, till now, been satisfied with "your highness," or "your grace."

the supposition is in much seeming accordance with extracts from letters written by Wolsey at the time, to his master—that the object of the last clause was to invest the cardinal with full power to manage “the great and secret affair,” or the divorce of Catherine. But this throwing open of ecclesiastical authority had another effect, which Wolsey probably did not foresee; “for here,” says a noble contemporary, “*began the rash our king took of governing the church himself*.”¹

When the treaties were signed, Henry expressed his entire satisfaction at them; and Wolsey told Louisa, the mother of Francis, that within a year she would see a princess of her own blood Queen of England, and wife of his master, in lieu of the emperor's aunt Catherine. The cardinal returned to England rejoicing in his success; but, while he had been engaged for a French princess, Henry had been assiduously courting his fair English subject—*Mistress Anne Boleyn*.

As soon as Wolsey returned from France, Henry announced to him his fixed determination of making Anne Boleyn his wife and Queen of England. The astounded cardinal fell upon his knees and implored the king to renounce this project; but soon seeing, in Henry's wrath, that opposition and remonstrance would only be dangerous to himself, he adroitly changed his tack, fell in with the hard-set current, and soon engaged to perform whatever service the king might require of him in this matter. By Henry's orders his treatise on the divorce was submitted to the consideration of the learned Sir Thomas More, who, feeling the danger of acting as a reviewer in such a case, tried to excuse himself by saying that he was not a theologian. But Henry urged him to confer with some of the bishops, and so get up an approval of his writing. Sir Thomas, who was himself against the divorce, found but few ready to embrace the royal doctrines, and, in an ingenious speech, he recommended Henry to see what St. Jerome, St. Augustine, and the other fathers of the church, had said upon such subjects. When Wolsey attempted to win over the bishops and great divines, they said they thought it a matter to be referred to the supreme arbitrament of the pope.

After long hesitation, Henry's agents in Italy were instructed to refer the cause to the pontiff. But this application was provided against by the emperor. Long before it was definitively made, or any succour sent to his Holiness, Clement had been obliged by famine to capitulate and deliver up the castle of St. Angelo to the Imperialists, who continued to keep him and some thirteen of

the cardinals in a kind of imprisonment at Rome; and in settling a treaty with the pontiff, who was made to pay 400,000 ducats, Charles did not neglect to bind him to oppose the divorce of his aunt Catherine. Clement, however, escaped from Rome, disguised as a gardener, and took refuge in the strong town of Orvieto; and a French army, under the command of Lautrec, which at last crossed the Alps, advanced through Lombardy to his relief. But Lautrec loitered at Piacenza, and, instead of his army, the first who waited upon the pope were Henry's matrimonial agents, who had been recently reinforced by the arrival of Dr. Knight, the king's secretary. The pope was in a distressing dilemma. If he refused to grant what Henry required he had to apprehend that the French army, partly supported by English money, would do nothing for him, and if he complied he drew down upon himself the vengeance of the Imperialists, who were still masters of Rome, and likely for some time to remain so, seeing the dilatory movements of Lautrec. He seems naturally to have wished to gain time, but the envoys, knowing the anxious impatience of their master, induced him to sign two papers which had been drawn up in England, empowering Wolsey to decide the divorce, and granting Henry a dispensation to marry any other woman whatsoever, without regard to certain canonical restrictions. He hoped that these papers might be kept secret, at least till the French army was near enough to support him, and this, it should appear, was promised to him by the English diplomatists; but scarcely had Clement signed the two authorizations when Gregorio Cassali, a friend of Wolsey, who seems to have dreaded the responsibility of acting alone, “presented himself, and requested that an Italian cardinal, a legate from Rome, should be sent into England, and joined in the delicate commission with the English cardinal.” Clement remarked that this was likely to lengthen and embarrass the proceedings; but he complied with this request also, and offered Henry his choice of any one out of six cardinals whom he named. These transactions with the pope took place at the end of the year 1527.

A.D. 1528.

As yet neither Henry nor Francis had openly declared war against Charles, but now, in the month of January, Clarenceux and Guienne, kings-at-arms, defied him, in the forms of chivalry, upon the same day. To the Frenchman Charles merely said that his defiance was uncalled for, as he and Francis had long been engaged in hostilities; but to Clarenceux he justified his conduct, protested he had done nothing to merit the resentment of his master, and delivered a long and well-written paper, which cast the whole blame upon Henry. The

¹ Lord Herbert, letters quoted in Burnet's *History of the Reformation*; Le Grand; Guicciardini; Dr Lingard.

affair of Queen Catherine was made very prominent. "Can I," said the emperor, "overlook the indignity with which he threatens my aunt, by applying for a divorce, or the insult which he has offered to me, by soliciting me to marry his daughter Mary, whom he now pronounces a bastard! . . . But I well know who has suggested all this. I would not gratify the rapacity of the Cardinal of York, nor employ my armies to make him pope; and he has sworn vengeance against me, and now seeks to work out his purposes."¹ But, in reality, there was no war at all, except what was carried on by the French in Italy, Henry having neither money nor time to spare from his other grand pursuit. He had not thought it wise to make his selection of a second legate, and he doubted whether the pope might not consider himself at liberty to revise any sentence of divorce pronounced by Wolsey, or by any other delegate; and he now despatched Dr. Gardiner and Dr. Edward Fox to demand a fresh and more ample dispensation, and a new instrument, called a decretal bull, in which the pope was not only to promise an entire confirmation of the judgment which Wolsey and his other legate might pronounce, but also to declare that the prohibition in Leviticus, notwithstanding the permission in Deuteronomy, was imperative, and a fundamental law of the Christian church, and consequently that Henry's treatise upon the divorce was a correct piece of polemical reasoning. The two learned English doctors were instructed not to rely wholly upon their own eloquence, but to promise the pope possession of Ravenna and Cervia, which, by some means or other, he (Henry) was to obtain from the Venetians, a people by no means remarkable for a lack of tenacity in keeping what they had got. Clement readily enough signed the dispensation in the form prescribed; but he was more scrupulous as to granting the decretal bull, which went to destroy the dogma of infallibility, as his predecessor, Julius II., had fully sanctioned the marriage of Catherine, notwithstanding the fact of her previous union with Henry's own brother, Prince Arthur. But the doctor's reasoning, and the flattering promises made to him, shook the resolution of Clement, who consented to refer the original dispensation of Julius, which allowed the marriage, to a commission, and to authorize Wolsey, with the aid of any one of the English bishops, to pronounce thereon, and to dissolve the marriage, if the instrument had been obtained unfairly. In consideration to the Princess Mary, a clause was added to legitimize her in case of her mother being divorced. The compliance of the pope filled Henry with joy and Wolsey with misgiving, for the cardinal saw that Clement was

throwing the responsibility upon him. He sent to implore that Cardinal Campeggio should be joined with him in the commission, and he explained to the king some doubts and difficulties which he had encountered among the English canonists. Henry answered him with "terrible terms," forgetting the long services of his minister in his absorbing passion. He probably saw that since Wolsey had been disappointed in his expectations of marrying him to the French princess, he was not over eager for the divorce; and there was already a feud between the cardinal and the family and friends of Anne Boleyn. But the fury of Henry now made Wolsey tremble, and in great haste he supplicated the pope to sign the decretal bull, which he considered as the only security that his judgment would never be revoked, and that the court of Rome would never listen to any appeal on the part of the divorced queen. Clement at last signed the instrument, and appointed Campeggio to act with the English cardinal, instructing him not to let the said bull out of his hands, but merely to show it in the English court, if absolutely obliged thereto.²

In the month of May, the city of London and the court were thrown into great consternation by the sudden appearance of the sweating sickness. The disease soon showed itself among the female servants of Anne Boleyn. By the orders of the anxious lover, Anne was instantly conducted into Kent, to Hever Castle, the seat of her father, Lord Rochford; but she carried the infection with her, and communicated it to her parent. Both father and daughter, however, were soon out of danger. Some noble retainers of the lord-cardinal died in his palace, and several gentlemen of the privy chamber were in great danger. Upon this, the king fled, and sought to escape the contagion by locking himself up and frequently changing his place of residence.³ His love was all forgotten, and he thought very seriously about his soul, confessing himself every day, and taking the sacrament, in company with his wife Catherine, every Sunday and every saint's day. People began to think that he would give up the project of the divorce, and lead a chaste and religious life; but, as soon as the sweating sickness was over, he recalled Anne to court, and ordered the degraded nobles to attend her levees as if she were their queen. Soon after this Cardinal Campeggio, who had loitered as long as he could on his journey, arrived at the English court, where he was received by Henry with exceeding great joy, and with tempting offers of bishoprics for himself, and lay honours for his son—by the un-

¹ Letters of the Bishop of Bayonne, quoted by Le Grand; Lord Herbert: *Burned*.

² Wolsey was not more courageous than the king—he fled from his own sumptuous palace, and for some days concealed himself from everybody in the country.

fortunate Queen Catherine with tears and remonstrances. Campeggio exhorted her, in the name of the pope, and for the sake of peace, to retire into a convent. The queen replied that it was not for herself, but for her child, that she would struggle; and protested that she would never do anything to prejudice the rights of the Princess Mary, the presumptive heir to the throne of England. The king now expected that the legates would proceed with their commission, but such was not the intention of Campeggio, who consulted the interests of his superior, the pope, and who saw that the Emperor Charles was again acquiring that ascendancy in Italy which would enable him to wreak his vengeance on the pontiff, if he should concur in degrading his aunt. We may believe that Clement would in no circumstances have been anxious for despatch in this unpleasant business; but it is certain that the unmarrying and remarrying of the English king were made to depend upon the chances of war beyond the Alps. When Pope Clement signed the decretal bull, and commissioned Campeggio to go to England, the Imperialists seemed defeated at all points; and Lautrec, the French general, after victoriously traversing nearly the whole of Italy, was laying siege to the city of Naples, with the good hope that the people within the walls would soon rise upon the Spaniards, and open the gates to the French. Nor could Lautrec have failed in this enterprise, even by force of arms, had he been properly seconded by his master; but Francis was as busily engaged with many mistresses as his brother Henry was with one, and he sent neither money nor reinforcements into Italy. He had also the lamentable imprudence to quarrel with the great family of the Dorias, upon which Andrea joined the Emperor Charles with the whole power of Genoa; and Filippino Doria, who was co-operating in the siege by sea, sailed away with all the Genoese galleys, leaving Lautrec to take Naples by himself. But Doria had scarcely sailed out of the gulf when a malaria fever broke out in the French camp, and this was soon accompanied by that more fearful scourge the plague. Men and officers died by heaps; and from besiegers the French became besieged in their intrenchments between Mount Vesuvius and Naples. Lautrec fell a victim to disease and grief on the 15th of August; and having fought their way with great loss as far as the town of Aversa, only six miles off, the wretched remnant of his army capitulated to the Imperialists in the beginning of September.¹ From this moment the pope, finding himself at the mercy of Charles, began to negotiate for a peace without informing Francis or Henry, who had both proved themselves bad allies.

¹ Giannone; Guicciardini.

A.D. 1529. A bright gleam of hope now broke both upon the king and Wolsey, for, in the month of February, Clement was not only dangerously ill, but reported to be dead. Francis engaged to make Wolsey pope in his stead; and in this elevation Henry saw the removal of all difficulties. But Clement recovered; and shortly after Henry learned, to his unspeakable wrath, that Francis himself was negotiating for peace with the emperor. As his imprecations could have no effect in changing the policy, either of the French or of the Papal court, he determined to hurry on the process as best he could, without waiting for any further concessions from Rome, whence he had recalled his learned ambassador Gardiner, to be his leading counsel; and, on the 30th of May, Henry issued a license under the broad seal to the two cardinal-legates, who were requested to proceed with all despatch. But Campeggio, though he had been already nearly eight months in England, was in no hurry; and not being able to prevent the assembling of the court, he resolved to prolong its deliberations as much as possible, and then, in the end (unless the affairs of Italy took a very different turn), to render them nugatory.

The court met on the 31st of May in the great hall of the Blackfriars, where Wolsey and Campeggio took their seats with much solemnity, and summoned the king and queen to appear before them. Henry appeared by proxy, the queen in person; and, protesting at once against the judgment of the two cardinals, appealed to the pope. Campeggio then adjourned the court, nor did they meet again till the 21st of June. On that day Henry sat in state on the right hand of the cardinals, and, when his name was called, he answered "Here!" Catherine, who sat on the left hand of the cardinals, attended by four friendly bishops, would not answer to her name or plead in any way. On the citation being repeated, she rose from her chair, crossed herself very devoutly, and then, throwing herself at the king's feet, thus addressed him:—"Sir, I beseech you, for all the loves that hath been between us, and for the love of God, let me have justice and right; take of me some pity and compassion, for I am a poor woman and a stranger, born out of your dominions. I have here no assured friend, much less impartial counsel, and I flee to you as to the head of justice within this realm. Alas, sir! wherein have I offended you, or on what occasion given you displeasure? Have I ever designed against your will and pleasure, that you should put me from you? I take God and all the world to witness that I have been to you a true, humble, and obedient wife; ever conformable to your will and pleasure. Never have I said or done aught contrary thereto, being always well-pleased and

contented with all things wherein you had delight or dalliance, whether it were in little or much; neither did I ever grudge in word or countenance, or show a visage or spark of discontent. I loved all those whom you loved, only for your sake, whether I had cause or no, whether they were my friends or mine enemies." After reminding him that she had been his true wife these twenty years, and had borne him divers children, although it had pleased God to call them out of the world; denying that her previous marriage with his brother had been more than a form, on which point she appealed to his own conscience whether she spoke true or no; and declaring that, if there were any just cause why their marriage should be dissolved, she was contented to depart, "albeit in great shame and dishonour:" she continued—"The king, your father, was, in the time of his reign, of such estimation through the world for his excellent wisdom, that he was accounted and called of all men the second Solomon; and my father Ferdinand, King of Spain, was esteemed one of the wisest princes: both, indeed, were excellent princes, full of wisdom, and princely behaviour. . . . Also, as me seemeth, there were in those days as wise, as learned, and as judicious men as be at the present, who thought then the marriage good and lawful; therefore it is a wonder to hear what new inventions are brought up against me. . . . Ye cause me to stand to the order and judgment of this new court, wherein ye may do me much wrong; for ye may condemn me for lack of sufficient answer, having no impartial advisers, but only such as ye assign me. . . . Ye must consider that they who be your subjects cannot be impartial counsellors for me: they have been chosen out of your own council, and they dare not, for fear of you, disobey your will, or frustrate your intentions. Therefore, most humbly do I require you, in the way of charity, and for the love of God, who is the just Judge, to spare me the extremity of this new court until I be advertised what way my friends in Spain may advise me to take; and if ye will not extend to me so much impartial favour, your will then be fulfilled—unto God I commit my cause."¹

She then rose; and after a low obeisance to the king, and when every one expected she would return to her seat, she walked hastily out of the court, in which she would never again be persuaded to make her appearance, either personally or by proxy. To counteract the effect of her eloquent appeal, Henry made a most hypocritical speech, telling all present that, in truth, she had always been a dutiful and loving wife, and that his present proceedings arose solely from the de-

licacy of his own conscience and his Christian fear of God's wrath.

As Catherine would not appear in court, she was pronounced contumacious, and the trial was carried on without her. The king's counsel, who had it all their own way, maintained the three following points as justifying and imperiously calling for the divorce:—1st. That the marriage between her and Prince Arthur had been consummated, which fact made her subsequent marriage with Henry unlawful and unnatural; 2d. That the dispensatory bull of Pope Julius II. had been obtained under false pretences, and a concealment of facts; and 3d. That a Papal breve which had been procured to prop the bull was a manifest forgery. Holding all this to be proved, Henry urged Wolsey, and Wolsey urged Campeggio, to pronounce judgment. But the Italian legate had no such intention: his master, the pope, had concluded his favourable treaty with the Emperor Charles on the 29th of June, and no longer stood in dread of the wrath of Henry. On the 23d of July, Henry's counsel called for judgment in peremptory language. Campeggio said, "I have not come so far to please any man for fear, meed, or favour, be he king or any other potentate. I am an old man, sick, decayed, and looking daily for death. What should it, then, avail me to put my soul in the danger of God's displeasure, to my utter damnation, for the favour of any prince or high estate in this world? Forasmuch, then, that I understand the truth in this case is very difficult to be known, that the defendant will make no answer thereunto, but hath appealed from our judgment; therefore, to avoid all injustice and obscure doubts, I intend to proceed no further in this matter until I have the opinion of the pope, and such others of his council as have more experience and learning. For this purpose (he concluded, rising from his chair), I adjourn the cause till the commencement of the next term, in the beginning of October."²

As Campeggio finished speaking, Henry's brother-in-law, the Duke of Suffolk, struck the table with his fist, and exclaimed, in real or affected rage, that the old proverb was verified—"Never did cardinal bring good to England." The remark was especially meant for Wolsey. The court did not meet again; and in a few days after, it was known in London that the pope had revoked the legate commission on the 15th of July, or eight days before this scene took place, and had entertained the appeal of Queen Catherine. Campeggio, who had skilfully drawn out the business to the proper moment, now took his leave of the English court. Henry, who could check the violence of his temper when he thought it expe-

¹ Cavendish.² Cavendish.

dient, behaved decently with the Italian cardinal, and even gave him some presents, as usual on such occasions; but as Campeggio lay at Dover, previous to his embarkation, his chamber was broken open by armed men, who searched his trunks, pretending that he was carrying out of the kingdom a great treasure belonging to Wolsey. The real object of this rough usage seems to have been to get possession of the decretal bull; though others think that the men were in search of Henry's letters to Anne Boleyn, which the cardinal had cautiously despatched beforehand to Rome.

But the English cardinal was more at the mercy of a vindictive court; and Wolsey soon found that "Mistress Anne," who had often expressed her gratitude and affection, and in the preceding year had vowed an eternal friendship to him, was bent heart and soul on his destruction. Suffolk, whom Wolsey had stung at the trial, and the great Duke of Norfolk, and others of the highest nobility, made common cause with her who was plainly about to become their queen. They represented that the cardinal had never wished for the divorce, except in favour of his French scheme; that he had constantly been bribed and bought by France. Henry turned a ready ear to all this, and to more, and already, in conceit, devoured Wolsey's immense wealth; and his courtiers began to talk at dinner-time, that, when once the cardinal was dead or ruined, they would relieve the church of its superfluous treasure.¹ The amorous king set out on a progress: Anne Boleyn was with him, and Wolsey was not. The cardinal, however, soon rode after the court, and joined it at Grafton, in Northamptonshire, where, to the great dismay of Anne and her party, the king received him with his old familiarity and affection. But either Henry was acting a part, or had changed his mind very speedily, for on the morrow Wolsey was ordered back to London, and he never saw his master's face again.²

A few weeks after the commencement of the Michaelmas term, when Wolsey proceeded to the Court of Chancery, it was observed that none of the king's servants paid him any honour; and on the same day Hales, the attorney-general, filed two bills against him in the Court of King's Bench, charging him with having transgressed the law of the land in exercising the functions of pope's legate. Wolsey's long courtier life seems to have deprived him of the spirit of a man, and the sudden loss of the royal favour was to him like the removal of the bright sun from the heavens. The gorgeous creature fell prostrate at once, and

crawled in the dirt like a vile worm. Without an effort he submitted himself to the scourge, and, ordering his counsel to admit his guilt, where he was innocent, he threw himself on the king's mercy, whining and saying he knew not how he had offended. On condition of being allowed to retain his rank and property in the church, he drew up a deed, transferring his entire personal estate to his gracious master. The property thus surrendered was valued at 500,000 crowns—an immense sum; but Henry had need of it all, and of more, and the cardinal's promptitude could not disarm persecution. Shortly afterwards the Dukes of Suffolk and Norfolk waited upon him at York Palace, to tell him, from the king, who meant to live there himself, that he must quit that splendid palace, and confine himself to his house at Esher. Wolsey submissively prepared to depart. But he showed some little spirit when his sworn enemies, with an air of triumph, requested him to deliver up the great seal. "My lords," said he, "the great seal of England was delivered to me by the hands of my sovereign; I hold it by his majesty's letters-patent, which, along with it, have conferred on me the office of chancellor, to be enjoyed during my life; and I may not deliver it at the simple word of any lord, unless you can show me your commission." The great lords were mean enough to taunt and insult the fallen minister; and the next day, when Wolsey was ready for a short journey to Esher, they returned to him with an order under the sign-manual. The cardinal read the paper, immediately resigned the seal, and gave an inventory of his jewels, plate, cloth of gold, silks, satins, velvets, tapestries, and all other precious commodities. He then issued from his most sumptuous palace, and entered his barge. The news had got wing, and the Thames was covered with boats full of men and women, who hooted and shouted, and told him how happy they were to see him sent to the Tower. They were fools for their pains; for the words of Wolsey's faithful attendant were fully verified, and there came "another hungry and lean officer in his place, that bit nearer the bone than the old one." They were also disappointed as to the lord-cardinal's present journey, for, instead of descending the river to the Tower, he ascended it to Putney.

As he was travelling by land from Putney to Esher, one of the royal chamberlains (Sir John Norris) spurred after him, and overtaking him on the rise of a hill, presented him with a ring which the king, who had taken it from his own finger, sent him, with a very comfortable message. "Therefore," added Sir John, "take patience, for I trust to see you yet in better estate than ever." Hereupon the lord-cardinal alighted from his

¹ Letters written at the moment from the English court by the French ambassador, the Bishop of Bayonne.

² Cavendish; Bishop of Bayonne; Hall.

mule, fell upon his knees, pulled off his cap, and humbly thanked God for such happy intelligence from his lord the king. He told the chamberlain that his tidings were worth half a kingdom; but,

and he not only said that he would lose £20,000 rather than he should die, but he also sent his physicians, and some presents and tokens of friendship, to the cardinal. This seems to have had a wonderful effect upon Wolsey. And when the Court of King's Bench pronounced sentence against him, the king took him into his protection.

At this crisis the king had thought fit once more to summon a parliament. On the 1st of December a bill of impeachment against the cardinal, containing forty-four articles, mostly of a vague and ridiculous description, and signed by fourteen peers and all the law officers, was presented to the commons, who, after an eloquent speech from Thomas Cromwell, formerly secretary to Wolsey, but now in the king's service, threw it out. The cardinal



ESHER—GATEWAY OF WOLSEY'S PALACE.¹—FROM A VIEW BY HAVELL.

now mended rapidly. If he had been allowed to retain his numerous church preferments he would still have been a very rich man; but he soon found that Henry had no intention of keeping this promise. In the beginning of the following year he was deprived of everything except the bishoprics of York and Winchester, and the far greater part of the revenue of the latter was appropriated by the king, who divided it among the Viscount Rochford, Anne Boleyn's father, the Duke of Norfolk, the Lord Sandis, Sir John Russell, and other laymen. In return, however, Wolsey received a free pardon and some plate, furniture, and a little money for present expenses. He was now permitted to come nearer to the court, and he removed from Esher to Richmond. But the party of Anne took the alarm, and he was presently ordered to reside in the north of England, within his archbishopric. Languishing at every stage, in the fond hope of being recalled to court, Wolsey travelled to York. Yet, when once there, his mind seemed reconciled to the change, and he devoted himself with wonderful zeal to his ecclesiastical duties. At the same time, casting off his courtly pride and arrogance, he became meek and mild as a primitive apostle—courteous and affable to all men. The gentlemen of Yorkshire he entertained at a plain but hospitable table; to the poor he gave liberal alms and (what was better) abundant employment to 300 of them in repairing the churches and houses of the see. His popularity in the course of a few months

as he had nothing left except the clothes on his back, he could make him no suitable reward. He, however, gave Sir John a small gold chain and crucifix. "As for my sovereign," he added, "sorry am I that I have no worthy token to send him; but stay, here is my fool that rides beside me. I beseech thee take him to court, and give him to his majesty. I assure you, for any nobleman's pleasure, he is worth a thousand pound."²

But the beautiful solitudes of Esher were gloomy and horrid without the smiles of the king, and Wolsey soon sank in despondency and sickness. He wrote the most abject letters to his "most gracious, and merciful, and most pious sovereign lord," calling himself a poor, heavy, and wretched priest, that was dying for want of the light of his countenance; but Henry gave him no further comfort till he heard that a slow fever had fixed upon him, and that it was generally believed that he was dying. Then the king somewhat relented towards the man who had been his dearest friend for almost twenty years;

now mended rapidly. If he had been allowed to retain his numerous church preferments he would still have been a very rich man; but he soon found that Henry had no intention of keeping this promise. In the beginning of the following year he was deprived of everything except the bishoprics of York and Winchester, and the far greater part of the revenue of the latter was appropriated by the king, who divided it among the Viscount Rochford, Anne Boleyn's father, the Duke of Norfolk, the Lord Sandis, Sir John Russell, and other laymen. In return, however, Wolsey received a free pardon and some plate, furniture, and a little money for present expenses. He was now permitted to come nearer to the court, and he removed from Esher to Richmond. But the party of Anne took the alarm, and he was presently ordered to reside in the north of England, within his archbishopric. Languishing at every stage, in the fond hope of being recalled to court, Wolsey travelled to York. Yet, when once there, his mind seemed reconciled to the change, and he devoted himself with wonderful zeal to his ecclesiastical duties. At the same time, casting off his courtly pride and arrogance, he became meek and mild as a primitive apostle—courteous and affable to all men. The gentlemen of Yorkshire he entertained at a plain but hospitable table; to the poor he gave liberal alms and (what was better) abundant employment to 300 of them in repairing the churches and houses of the see. His popularity in the course of a few months

¹ Esher Palace belonged to the see of Winchester, and is supposed to have been erected by Archbishop Wainfleet, who preceded Wolsey in that see about eighty years. It was a stately mansion, built of brick. The only part now remaining is an elegant gatehouse. The interior of the tower comprises three stories, the apartments in which are small and greatly dilapidated.

² *Cavendish*. The fool, it appears, was so much attached to his old master, the cardinal, that he would not leave him until forcibly carried off by six stout yeomen, who delivered him to the king. But other men, besides his poor buffoon, loved Wolsey dearly.

waxed great all over that county. But this winning of men's hearts did not suit the party who now ruled at court, and who were alarmed, not only at the cardinal's popularity, but also at a correspondence he was carrying on with the French king and with the pope.

The clergy of York, delighted with their metropolitan, waited upon Wolsey in a body, and begged that he would be installed in his cathedral according to the custom of his predecessors. Wolsey consented, on condition that the thing should be done with as little pomp as possible; and the first Monday after All-Saints was fixed for the ceremony. On the 4th of November, three days before that fixed for the ceremony, as the lord-cardinal was sitting at dinner in his house at Cawood, near York, he was told that the Earl of Northumberland had arrived from court, and was dismounting in the yard. He expressed regret that he had not arrived before dinner began, for the earl had been brought up in his household, and he did not doubt that he had been chosen as the bearer of good news from the king. He arose with a cheerful countenance to welcome him as he came into the hall. Northumberland, according to an eye-witness, was



GATEWAY OF CAWOOD PALACE.—FROM A VIEW BY WHITTOCK.

much affected, and hesitated for awhile, but at length he laid a trembling hand on the old man's

¹ Cawood is a small town ten miles south of York, where the Archbishop of York had a palace or castle as early as the tenth century. The castle was dismantled and in great part demolished

shoulder, and said, in a faltering voice, "My lord, I arrest you of high treason." For a season Wolsey stood rooted to the ground, mute as well as motionless; and when he recovered speech, it was only to utter unmanly and unavailing lamentations, accompanied by wretched tears. Passive as a doomed victim of an Eastern sultan, he followed Northumberland. When he reached Sheffield Park, the seat of the Earl of Shrewsbury, steward of the king's household, he was sick and faint, and soon after his arrival he was seized with a dysentery, which confined him to his bed for a fortnight. On resuming his slow journey he was so weak as scarcely to be able to sit on his mule. On the third evening he reached Leicester Abbey, where he was received at the gate by the monks, holding lighted torches, the hour being late. "Father," said he to the abbot, as he dismounted, "I am come to lay my bones among you." The monks carried him to his bed, from which he never rose again. In the course of the following day and night he swooned repeatedly; and on the second morning his servants, whose warm affection proves that there must have been good and amiable qualities in him, saw that he was dying. He called to him Kingston, the lieutenant of the Tower, who had been sent down to take charge of his person, and said, "Master Kingston, I pray you have me commended most humbly to his majesty, and beseech him, on my behalf, to call to his gracious remembrance all matters that have passed between us from the beginning, especially respecting Queen Catherine and himself, and then shall his conscience know whether I have offended him or not. He is a prince of most royal courage, and hath a princely heart—for, rather than miss or want any part of his will, he will endanger one half of his kingdom. And I do assure you, I have often kneeled before him in his privy chamber, sometimes for three hours together, to persuade him from his appetite, and could not prevail. And, Master Kingston, this I will say—had I but served God as diligently as I have served the king, he would not have given me over in my gray hairs." The cardinal expired as the clock was striking eight, on the morning of the 29th of November, in the sixtieth year of his age; and was at midnight, without any solemnity, buried in our Lady's Chapel, in the church of the monastery.²

The faithful Cavendish, his chamberlain, who witnessed his last moments, went on from Leicester to announce the event at court. He found the king amusing himself with archery in the park of Hampton, that stately pile which Wol-

at the conclusion of the war between Charles I. and the parliament. The gateway, the only part now remaining, was built by Archbishop Kemp. ² Cavendish: *Godwin*; *Fiddes*.

sey had built and richly furnished, and had presented as a free gift to his sovereign. When his sport was done Henry listened to the mournful

was still wanting, and this honour was thrust upon the unwilling shoulders of Sir Thomas More. More was a conscientious and zealous Catholic, who showed that he could face the scaffold for his religious opinions; but, a little before this time, chance had introduced into the councils of the king one who was equally zealous for the doctrines of the Reformation.² It chanced that Dr. Gardiner, then secretary to Henry, and Dr. Fox, supped with a gentleman of good family, named Cressy, at a time when the grand topic of conversation was the divorce of Queen Catherine. During supper a grave and learned man, who was tutor in the family, ventured to say, that the proper way of settling that tedious matter would be to have it discussed and determined by learned and holy doctors, upon the sole authority of the



RUINS OF LEICESTER ABBEY.—From a view by Sargent.

messenger. At first he showed some feeling, but this lasted a very little while, and then, with great eagerness, he questioned Cavendish touching a sum of £1500, which, as he had been told, the cardinal had concealed in some secret place. This was all the solicitude he showed about the death of so devoted a servant.

Nearly a year before the cardinal's death, and immediately after his surrender of the great seal, Henry had formed a new cabinet, from which churchmen were carefully excluded. The Duke of Norfolk, Anne Boleyn's uncle, became president of the council; but a still greater share of power fell to Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk and lord-marshal, and to the father of Anne Boleyn, Viscount Rochford, who soon afterwards was created Earl of Wiltshire. But a chancellor

Word of God, without any further reference to the pope. When this conversation was reported to Henry, he said, "that the man who spoke thus had the right sow by the ear."³ This man was Thomas Cranmer, who was immediately summoned to court, and ordered to draw up his opinions in writing. He was soon named chaplain to the king, and sent to reside in the house of the Earl of Wiltshire, Anne Boleyn's father, where a stimulus to exertion could hardly be wanting. But Cranmer had already a higher incentive; and there can be little doubt that many of his friends and associates, as well as he himself, saw the vantage-ground they might gain for the new doctrines. His main argument was sufficiently simple—it was, that the laws of God, as laid down in the Bible, and confirmed by the

¹ Leicester possessed several religious establishments, the principal of which was the Abbey of St. Mary Pré or de Pratès, founded for Black or Augustinian canons, by Robert Bosc, Earl of Leicester, A.D. 1143. Its revenue at the dissolution was £1062, 6s. 4d. gross, or 1961, 14s. 5d. clear. Marston of its ruins still remain.

² Mr. Frome has no doubt of Sir Thomas More's having been a bitter persecutor, and of his presenting in this respect a very unfavourable contrast to Wolsey. "The Protestants," he says, "although from the date of the meeting of the parliament and Wolsey's fall, their ultimate triumph was certain, gained nothing in its immediate consequences. They suffered rather from the eagerness of the political reformers to clear themselves from complicity with heterodoxy; and the bishops were even taunted with the spiritual dissensions of the realm, as an evidence of their indolence and misconduct. Language of this kind boded ill for the 'Christian brethren;' and the choice of Wolsey's successor for the office of chancellor soon confirmed their apprehensions. Wolsey had chastised them with whips; Sir Thomas

More would chastise them with scorpions. And the philosopher of the *Utopia*, the friend of Erasmus, whose life was of blameless beauty, whose genius was cultivated to the holiest attainable perfection, was to prove to the world that the spirit of persecution is no peculiar attribute of the pedant, the bigot, or the fanatic, but may co-exist with the fairest graces of the human character. The lives of remarkable men usually illustrate some emphatic truth. Sir Thomas More may be said to have lived to illustrate the necessary tendencies of Romanism in an honest mind convinced of its truth; to show that the test of sincerity in a man who professes to regard orthodoxy as an essential of salvation, is not the readiness to endure persecution, but the courage that will venture to inflict it." (By orthodoxy the author must mean Roman Catholic orthodoxy, not what is held to be orthodoxy by religious communions which hold all persecution for conscience sake to be the vilest heterodoxy.)—See Frome's *History of England*, vol. II. p. 73.

³ Todd's *Life of Cranmer*; *Le Bus*; *Biography Brit.* article "Cranmer."

ancient fathers, did not permit a man to marry his brother's widow; and his treatise was soon finished and committed to the press—that mighty engine whose infatigable activity was stimulated by this controversy. By the advice of Wolsey, Henry had already sent agents to consult some of the foreign universities, but without any notion of making their decision final, or subversive of the pope's authority. He now consulted Oxford and Cambridge, judging that his own universities would not dare to offer any opposition to his absolute will; but he was mistaken. At Oxford the subject was debated with the utmost violence, and a convocation dissolved in confusion and uproar, without coming to any conclusion. The doctors and seniors, "in hopes of reward, or out of fear, gave their opinions concerning the matter such as they thought would please the king; but the juniors disputed it very eagerly, and could not be drawn to their minds." Upon this the king addressed a remonstrance to Oxford, recommending the more discreet and aged men to bring their juniors to greater order and conformity; and admonishing the young gentlemen,



THOMAS CRANMER, Archbishop of Canterbury.—After Holbein.

that if they went on to play the masters as they were beginning to do, they would find that it is not good to provoke hornets.¹

John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln and master of All-Souls College, the principal champion for the divorce in this Oxford controversy, was a prelate after the king's own heart. He manoeuvred and threatened, and carried his point. But his letter to the king,² which was unknown to earlier historians, completely upsets the assertion that the university of Oxford was allowed

to manage the question in their own way, and to decide impartially. Lord Herbert and the minute Anthony à Wood both stated the facts correctly, but their evidence has been overlooked by our historians. At Cambridge the same kind of opposition was overcome by the same arts and threats, and the seal of each university was, at last, affixed to a long paper declaring the marriage of Queen Catherine to be illegal.

The foreign universities, which could not be threatened, were bribed; and Henry's active agents, who were now numerous, scattered money in all directions. In Italy the faculties of Bologna, Padua, and Ferrara, and some hundreds of learned men, declared for Henry. In Germany the power of the emperor was more prevalent than English money, and not a single university would justify the divorce. Whether Protestants or Catholics, all the German doctors, with a few exceptions, loudly condemned the project. Luther himself told Barnes, one of the agents in those parts, that it would be more lawful for Henry to have two wives at the same time, than to divorce Catherine for the purpose of marrying another woman; and the mild Melancthon seems to have entertained the same opinion. In France it was determined by the court to make a good bargain. Francis represented how dangerous it would be at that moment to irritate Charles, who still held his two sons as hostages; but, upon Henry munificently giving up a claim of 500,000 crowns and the lily of diamonds, and advancing the sum of 50,000 crowns, he consented that his universities should entertain the great subject. But still the learned of France were very dilatory in the cause, and the leading churchmen kept their eyes fixed upon the proceedings of the pope.

In the month of March, Clement, yielding to the personal application of Charles, who was then in Italy, published a breve forbidding Henry to contract a new marriage, under pain of excommunication. A few days after this the Earl of Wiltshire arrived at the head of a new embassy, which was instructed to use all kinds of means to prevail upon both pope and emperor to consent to the divorce. Clement received them in a mild, conciliating manner, but Charles was disgusted and irritated at the sight of the father of Anne Boleyn, whose employment in this mission showed a want both of tact and of delicacy. "Stop, sir," said the emperor to the Earl of Wiltshire, "let your colleagues speak—you are a party in this cause." The earl replied, smartly, that he was there as the representative of his sovereign, not as father of Anne Boleyn; but neither his self-possession, nor his liberal promises of money, produced any favourable effect upon Charles, who said that he would never sell the honour of

¹ *Irretrahere crabrones* is the royal expression, borrowed from the Amphitruo of Plautus, act ii. sc. 2, v. 77. ² *State Papers*.

his good aunt Catherine. Cranmer remained at Rome to convince the pope; the Earl of Wiltshire and the rest returned homeward through France, where the earl remained some time to urge on the unwilling universities. After many intrigues, the universities of Paris, Orleans, Toulouse, Angers, and Bourges, voted that the marriage of Catherine was contrary to the laws of God: the other French universities were not consulted, or, if they were, their answers were suppressed as unfavourable to Henry. But all these opinions rested upon the supposition that the marriage between Prince Arthur and Catherine had been consummated. The queen persisted in her solemn assertion that it had not, and the king could not prove the contrary.¹

Cranmer, finding that he could do no good at Rome, went into Germany, where, some time after, he committed himself to the Reformed doctrines, by the decided step of marrying the niece of his friend Osiander, the Protestant pastor of Nürnberg. He kept the match a secret, however, for the time was not yet come in which he could advantageously break with the Church of Rome. There was wanting, to carry forward in England the important changes that had already begun on the Continent, a spirit more resolute than that of Cranmer, and this spirit had been already found in Thomas Cromwell.

Cromwell was the son of a blacksmith at Putney. As his father rose in wealth or condition, and became a brewer or a fuller, he was enabled



THOMAS CROMWELL, Earl of Essex.—After Holbein.

to give his son a tolerable education, including a little Latin. In his youth Thomas went to the Continent, where he learned several foreign languages. His first occupation seems to have been that of a clerk in the English factory at Antwerp: he afterwards served as a trooper under the Com-

stable Bourbon, and followed that desperate leader to the sack of Rome. When peace was restored to Italy he returned to his commercial pursuits, and worked in the counting-house of a merchant at Venice. After this strange career, in which he acquired a deep knowledge of the world, he bent his steps towards England, where he took up the study and profession of the law. He soon attracted the notice of the great Wolsey, who took him into his household, appointed him his solicitor, and employed him in the dissolution of the monasteries, and as chief agent in the foundation of his colleges. In these offices he acquired wealth, and the hatred of the monastic bodies. He was soon returned as a member to the House of Commons, where his ready address and talent for business were conspicuous. As far as comported with an ambitious nature, he seems to have been attached to his old master, and when Wolsey was disgraced he followed him to Esher. This retirement was ill suited to such a mind; and he soon rode back to London and to court, saying that there he would "either make or mar." It is quite certain, however, that Wolsey, who had a great reliance upon his talents and his fidelity, and who, a few days after, wrote to implore him to "employ all his wit, good-will, and policy, in all places where he should think good might be done for his unfortunate friend,"² did not consider that Cromwell was deserting him, but saw his departure for court with pleasure and with hope. Indeed, it was at this juncture, and a very few days after his leaving his patron, that Cromwell made the eloquent speech in parliament in his defence. It is assumed, and very reasonably, that both Cromwell and the parliament, in rejecting the bill of impeachment, had received orders from the king to that effect, but it is not quite so fair to assume that Cromwell, who showed a grateful heart in other respects, did not use his newly-acquired influence over Henry's mind to the advantage of his old master. Cromwell played his part so well at court, that he was confirmed in the stewardship of the lands of the monasteries which had been dissolved under Wolsey, and was admitted frequently to personal conference with the king. At the critical moment when the weaker minds of Henry and his courtiers were wavering and half alarmed at the firm opposition of the pope, he asked for an audience, in which, after some necessary circumlocution, he said that the chief embarrassment was owing to the timidity of the king's ministers, who stood too much in awe of vulgar opinion, and that the best way to decide the question of the divorce was, to deny the

¹ Letter from Wolsey to Cromwell, dated Esher, 18th December, 1529, published in *State Papers*. The original holograph is in the Cottonian Collection of MSS., British Museum.

² *Le Grand; Herbert, Hall; Godwin.*

authority of the pope altogether—to rest upon the opinions already received from the universities, and the confirmation of the English parliament, which it was easy to obtain. Going further than this, Cromwell even recommended the king to follow the example of the German princes who had received the new religion, and declare himself the supreme head of his own church. He demonstrated that, by the present division of the spiritual and temporal powers, Henry was only half a king; and that, to have the full exercise of authority, the bishops and clergy ought to be made wholly dependent upon the crown, and not allowed to hold anything from the pope. No doctrine could be more palatable to the king, whose greedy imagination already fattened on the wealth of the ecclesiastical estate; and, without pretending to turn Protestant (which he never did), he resolved to follow the advice of Cromwell, who was forthwith sworn of his privy council.

It was not likely that the great churchmen would concur in this grand project, but it was presently seen that the clergy of England were now powerless.¹ By the advice of Cromwell the whole body were involved in a premature, or accused as fautors and abettors of Wolsey, in having acknowledged his authority as legate, which authority, as we have mentioned, had been confirmed by the king himself. At the same time, Henry and Cromwell took care to hint to the clergy, who, in great alarm, had assembled in convocation, that the royal wrath might be assuaged by a round sum of money. The convocation offered a present of £100,000. The king did not complain of the amount, but he refused to accept it or give any pardon unless, in the preamble to their grant, they formally acknowledged him to be “the protector and only supreme head of the church and clergy of Eng-

land.” For three whole days the clergy debated on this unexpected proposition. Many were averse to any such clause, but the majority, dreading the king’s violence of temper, inclined to admit it, with the limitation, *quantum per legem Christi liceat* (as far as may be by the law of Christ). “Mother of God!” roared Henry to Cromwell, and the others whom he had appointed to manage this matter, “you have played me a shrewd turn. I thought to have made fools of those prelates, and now you have so ordered the business that they are likely to make a fool of me, as they have done of you already. Go to them again, and let me have the business passed without any quants or tantums: I will have no quantum nor no tantum in the matter, but let it be done out of hand.”² In the end, however, Henry yielded, pocketed the £100,000, and let the limitation stand. Shortly after Sir Thomas More, as chancellor, attended by twelve peers, spiritual and temporal, went down to the House of Commons, where the chancellor declared all that the king had done touching his marriage with Catherine, “who before time had been wedded and bedded to his own brother;” and showed how the king, like a virtuous prince, for the safety of his conscience and for the peace of his kingdom, had consulted divers universities, not only at home but also abroad, even in the pope’s dominions. Then Sir Bryan Tuke took out of a box twelve writings sealed (the answers of the universities), and read them to the house word by word. He also produced many other papers, and divers books written by doctors of foreign nations, but, as they were long, and the day was already spent, they were not read; and, after a severe trial of patience, the members were dismissed, with strict orders to tell all their neighbours in the country how just and righteous was the king’s cause.³

¹ This was largely owing to their loss of moral influence. Speaking of the ecclesiastical courts in 1529, Mr. Froude says:—“The people might have endured better to submit to so enormous a tyranny, if the conduct of the clergy themselves had given them a title to respect, or if equal justice had been distributed to lay and spiritual offenders. ‘Benefit of clergy,’ unhappily, as at this time interpreted, was little else than a privilege to commit sins with impunity. The grossest moral profligacy in a priest was passed over with indifference; and so far from exacting obedience in her ministers to a higher standard than she required of ordinary persons, the church extended her limits under seditious pretences as a sanctuary for lettered villainy. Every person who could read was claimed by prescriptive usage as a clerk, and shielded under her protecting mantle; nor was any clerk amenable for the worst crimes to the secular jurisdiction, until he had been first tried and degraded by the ecclesiastical judges. So far was this preposterous exemption carried, that previous to the first of the 23d of Henry VIII., those who were within the degrees, might commit murder with impunity, the forms which it was necessary to observe in degrading a priest or deacon being so complicated as to amount to absolute protection.

“Among the clergy, properly so called, however, the procuring offence was not crime, but licentiousness. A doubt has

recently crept in amongst our historians, as to the credibility of the extreme language in which the contemporary writers spoke upon this painful topic. It will scarcely be supposed that the picture has been overdrawn in the act books of the consistory courts; and, as we see it there, it is almost too deplorable for belief, as well in its own intrinsic hideousness, and in the unconscious connivance of the authorities. Brothels were kept in London for the special use of priests; the ‘confessional’ was abused in the most open and profligate manner. Cases occurred of the same frightful profligacy, in the service of the mass, which at Rome startled Luther into Protestantism; and acts of incest between nuns and monks were too frequently exposed, to allow us to regard the detected instances. It may be said that the proceedings upon these charges prove, at least, that efforts were made to repress them.” The author then relates cases showing that such priestly offenders compounded for absolution by payment of trifling fines.—See Froude, vol. i. p. 177.

² Hailey, *Life of Bishop Fisher*.

³ Herbert; *Halt. Stoe*. During this session of parliament one Richard Rose, cook to Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, put poison into the soup, with the intent of killing his master. The bishop escaped, but no fewer than sixteen of his servants were poisoned. The cook was thrown into a cauldron of hot water, and boiled alive at Smithfield!

Soon after prorogation of parliament, the king sent several lords of his council to Queen Catherine at Greenwich, to terrify her into submission, and to make her agree to abide by the decision of four of the bishops and four of the lay peers of England. The high-minded Spaniard was still firm, upon which she was removed to Windsor. In the month of July she was ordered to quit that royal residence. "I go," said she: "but, go where I may, I shall still be his lawful wife." She went to the Moor in Hertfordshire, a beautiful manor with a park, which had belonged to the see of York. From the Moor she soon went to Easthamstead, and thence to Amptill, where she finally fixed her residence.

About the same time, to prove the orthodoxy of the king and court, Thomas Bilney, a learned and amiable man, was burned at Smithfield as an accused heretic, for having attempted to expose the errors of Popery. This was a beginning to the atrocious system pursued during the rest of this reign, in which the Catholic clergy were plundered and hanged on the one side, and the professors of the Reformed religion were burned on the other, in pretty equal proportions. Sir Thomas More, whose great learning and wit did not exempt him from the persecuting spirit of the times,¹ took a melancholy part in some of the prosecutions against Protestants, but he had no taste for those instituted against his own church: he disapproved of the plan pursued with regard to the unfortunate queen; and, in other respects, seeing nothing but danger and disgrace in the retaining of office, he represented to the king that he was growing old, and had need of repose. After making many efforts to retain him, Henry accepted his resignation; and More withdrew to solitude and poverty on the 16th of May, 1532. On the 4th of June following, the seals were given to Sir Thomas Audley.²

Notwithstanding all that had passed, the pope made overtures for a reconciliation; but Henry, acting upon the grand plan of Cromwell, who was now the most influential person in his council, rejected the proposals with wrath and disgust, for an indispensable condition was that he should take back his wife and put away "a certain Lady Anne." Under the absolute guidance of Cromwell, the parliament—which was now frequently assembled, because in all matters, except money-bills, it did precisely what the court wished—passed an act for the abolition of the annates or first-fruits, which formed a very considerable item in the fees or taxes paid yearly to the pope; and at the same time they abrogated the authority of the clergy in convocation, and annexed that authority to the crown. On the

15th of November Clement signed a breve, declaring both Henry and Anne Boleyn excommunicated, unless they should separate: but this deed was laid by for some time.³

Henry was now exceedingly anxious to strengthen his alliance with the French king, and, in the course of the summer, he had induced Francis to agree to a meeting. His grace of England, who could move nowhere without Lady Anne, whom he had recently created Marchioness of Pembroke, proposed as an equitable arrangement, that his grace of France should also bring his favourite lady to the meeting; but Francis, though no great moralist, declined the proposal. But this circumstance did not make the Marchioness of Pembroke stay at home, and she went with the king and a most splendid retinue to Calais. On the 21st of October Henry went to Boulogne, where Francis received him, and entertained him for four days. The two kings then repaired lovingly together to Calais, and there Henry requited the hospitality of his royal brother with balls and masks, in which the marchioness was the principal personage. There was an idle talk of a coalition to oppose the victorious Turks on the frontiers of Christendom; but the only business done was, the making of an agreement by which Francis bound himself to invite the pope to a conference at Marseilles, and to take part with Henry in case Clement should not cease his opposition.

It was altogether improbable that Francis should carry his point with the pope; but Henry did not wait the result of his application. "Much about St. Paul's Day," that is, either the 4th, or more probably the 25th, of January, 1533, between night and morning, Dr. Lee, one of the royal chaplains, was summoned to celebrate mass in a remote garret of the palace of Whitehall. On going there the astounded priest found the king attended only by Norris and Heneage, two of the grooms of his bed-chamber, and Anne Boleyn, with her train-bearer, Mrs. Savage, afterwards the Lady Berkeley,⁴ from which he understood that more was meant than a mass. A court chaplain—and in such a court—was not likely to have many scruples, or the courage necessary to face the wrath of such a king; but it is said that Lee did not perform the marriage ceremony until Henry told him that the Church of Rome had at length decided in his favour, and that he had the pope's instrument under lock and key in his closet. This strange marriage party separated in silence and secrecy before it was daylight; and some of Henry's most confidential advisers knew not what had passed until several

¹ Herbert: *Le Grand*; Burnet, *Hist. Reform.*

² More, however, denied that he had ever been cruel to the servants. We believe that willingly he never was.

³ Roper.

⁴ Another account makes her father and mother, and her uncle the Duke of Norfolk, to have been present.

weeks after. Feeling, however, that this clandestine measure would embarrass the French, who had sent ambassadors to the pope, he despatched Anne's father to explain matters to Francis, and to request the immediate presence

in England of a confidential French agent. To this agent Henry promised that he would keep the marriage a secret till the month of May, by which time it was calculated the interview between Francis and Clement would be over.¹

CHAPTER VI.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1533—1537.

HENRY VIII.—ACCESSION, A.D. 1509—DEATH, A.D. 1547.

Cranmer appointed Archbishop of Canterbury—The divorce of Queen Catherine effected—Henry's attempts to be reconciled to the pope—Birth of Elizabeth, afterwards queen—Injurious treatment of Catherine—Power of the Popedom abolished in England—Henry declared head of the church—The "Holy Maid of Kent"—Her visions and prophecies—She and her adherents executed—Sir Thomas More and Bishop Fisher tried and imprisoned—Henry persecutes Papists and Protestants—Cruel execution of certain monks—Execution of Bishop Fisher—Sir Thomas More refuses the oath of supremacy—His cruel treatment in prison—His execution—Cromwell appointed the king's vice-gerent in ecclesiastical matters—His severe proceedings against those who denied the king's supremacy—Death of Queen Catherine—Anne Boleyn arrested on a charge of adultery—Imprisoned in the Tower—Her conduct in prison—Her trial before the council—Her execution—Cranmer's conduct and letter on the occasion—Henry marries Jane Seymour—His treatment of his daughter Mary—Dissolution of the monasteries—Hardships of the monks and nuns—Henry's tyrannical proceedings as head of the English church—They occasion discontent and revolt—Insurrections in several counties—Rebellion called the "Pilgrimage of Grace"—Demands of the rebels—Henry's answer—The rebellion suppressed—Cardinal Pole—His birth and early history—His writings against Henry—Death of Jane Seymour.

IN the meantime Cranmer had returned from Germany, and again taken up his residence with the family of Anne Boleyn. The see of Canterbury had been vacant several months by the death of Archbishop Warham, and the king now offered it to Cranmer, who, notwithstanding his being privately a married man, and now an entire convert to the doctrines of Luther, agreed to accept it as a Catholic. As Henry had still a lurking respect for the Church of Rome in spiritual matters, he insisted, notwithstanding his assumption of supremacy, that Cranmer should obtain the bull and pallium from the pope, and take the usual oaths. How Clement agreed to ratify the election is difficult to understand; but, taking less than the ordinary fees, he signed the bull on the 22d of February, and Cranmer was consecrated in the usual manner on the 30th of March, taking the oaths of canonical obedience

to the pope, whom he was resolved to disobey, and having been named to the vacant see by his master upon the express understanding that he should so act. Before swearing, Cranmer *protested* that he did not intend by these oaths to the pope to restrain himself from anything that he was bound to, either by his duty to God or his king.² His obedience to the king was soon put to the test—he was immediately ordered to proceed with "the great cause of matrimony." On the 11th of April he wrote a letter to the king containing a formal request that, for the good of the realm and the security of the succession, that matter might be proceeded with. This letter, which was intended by them both to be submitted to the privy council, was not quite to Henry's taste; it was therefore sent back, and the archbishop wrote a second letter, on the same day, in which he styled himself "a poor wretch and much unworthy," and pressed on the royal mind the

¹ "Fallen on evil times, which greater wisdom and greater courage than had for many a century been found in the successors of St. Peter, would have failed to encounter successfully. Clement VII. remained, with all his cowardice, a true Italian; his errors were the errors of his age and nation, and were softened by the presence, in more than usual measure, of Italian genius and grace. Bonvenuto Cellini, who describes his character with much minuteness, has left us a picture of a hot-tempered but genuine and kind-hearted man, whose taste was elegant, and whose wit, from the playful spirit with which it was pervaded, and from a certain tendency to innocent levity, approached to humour. He was liable to violent bursts of feeling; and his inability to control himself, his gesticulations, his exclamations, and his tears, all represent to us a person who was an indifferent

master of the tricks of dissimulation to which he was reduced, and whose weakness entitles him to pity, if not to respect. The Papacy had fallen to him at the crisis of its deepest degradation. It existed as a politically organized institution, which it was convenient to maintain, but from which the private hearts of all men had fallen away; and it depended for its very life on the support which the courts of Europe would condescend to extend to it. Among these governments, therefore, distracted as they were by mutual hostility, the pope was compelled to make his choice; and the fatality of his position condemned him to quarrel with the only prince on whom, at the outset of these complications, he had a right to depend."—*Froude*.

² There was, besides, the vow of chastity, and Cranmer was a married man!

necessity of stopping the tongues of the rude and ignorant people, and of licensing him, the archbishop, to proceed to the examination, final determination, and judgment of the great cause. This second letter, which fully admitted the king's rightful superiority to all law, whether ecclesiastical or civil, gave entire satisfaction to Henry, who forthwith submitted it to the council, and wrote a loving answer to the archbishop, authorizing him to proceed—always in due subordination and submission.¹

The said cause now proceeded roundly. Parliament, receiving their impulse from Cromwell, passed an act prohibiting for ever all appeals to the court of Rome; and another, declaring that Queen Catherine should no longer be called queen, but Princess dowager of Wales, as widow to Prince Arthur, her first and only lawful husband. Thus backed by the authority of parliament, and by a fresh decision of the intimidated clergy assembled in convocation, who voted, by a large majority, that there was canonical proof of the consummation of Catherine's first marriage, Cranmer, on the 8th of May, travelled to Dunstable,

chester, the Bishops of London, Bath, and Lincoln, and three others, as counsel for the king, Cranmer sent Dr. Lee, who had so recently married Henry to Anne, to cite Catherine to appear. The queen refused; but great pains were taken to conceal from her the fact that this court intended to proceed to a final judgment. Cranmer and the rest wrote every day to the king or to Cromwell, to report progress. The citation having been repeated fifteen times in as many days, and Catherine not appearing, judgment was given against her on the 23d of May, by Cranmer, who pronounced her marriage to be null and invalid; and on the same day the archbishop announced his sentence to the king, asking for further instructions concerning the "second matrimony;" adding, "for the time of the coronation is so near at hand, that the matter requireth good expedition."² Having received the royal orders to that effect, Cranmer hurried from Dunstable back to Lambeth, where he held another ecclesiastical court; and on the 28th of May, to complete his job, he declared that his master had already been lawfully married to the Lady Anne; that their

marriage was and had been public and manifest; and that he now confirmed it by his judicial and pastoral authority. On the 1st of June, 1533, only four days after the confirmation of her marriage at Lambeth, Anne, "being somewhat big with child," was crowned and anointed at Westminster, "with as great pomp and solemnity as ever was queen," Cranmer officiating and setting the crown upon her head.³

These doings were soon noised all over Europe, and on the 11th of July the pope annulled the judgment given by Cranmer, and published his bull of excommunication against Henry and Anne. A few days before this was done at Rome, Lord Montjoy made a report to Henry's council of a conference he had had on the 31 of July, with the princess-dowager (Catherine) in her residence at Amptill. He had found her grace there, "lying upon her pallet because she had pricked her foot with a spynne (thorn), so that she might not well stand nor go, and also sore annoyed with a cough." But her spirit was as resolute as ever; she would not submit to be called princess-dowager, saying that she was still a



DUNSTABLE PRIORY CHURCH.—Britton's Architectural Antiquities.

about four miles from Amptill. where the discarded queen was then residing. Having constituted a court, in which the Bishop of Lincoln acted as assessor, and Gardiner, Bishop of Win-

¹ *State Papers*. The original letters are preserved in the British Museum, and in the State Paper Office.

² The most interesting architectural remains in Dunstable is the priory church, founded by Henry I. in 1131. It is a good specimen of a mixed Norman and Early English structure, and is still used as the parish church. Several parts of it have been renewed.

³ *State Papers*.

⁴ *State Papers*; Sir Henry Ellis' *Collection of Original Letters*; *Barnet, Hist. Reform.*; *Le Grand, Hist.*; *Stowe, Godwin*.

queen, and the king's true wife; that she came to the king "a clean maid, and thereupon was crowned and anointed queen, and had by the king lawful issue, and no bastard; wherefore the name of queen she would vindicate, challenge, and so call herself during her life." When Mountjoy told her that she had been separated and divorced, and that, by consent of all the lords spiritual and temporal, and of all the commons of the realm, the Lady Anne was anointed and crowned Queen of England, she replied that bribery and unfair means had been used; that universities, and convocations, and parliaments had no faculty to divorce; and that she still appealed to the court of Rome.¹

Popular opinion (whatever was its worth) set full on the side of Catherine, and nothing was heard from one end of the kingdom to the other, but virulent abuse of "Nan Bullen." The monastic orders, who were smarting under past grievances, and who foresaw more serious ones, set no limits to their clamour, and some of them were bold enough to reprehend the king to his face.

In the meantime, Henry, at intervals, showed an earnest desire to be reconciled to the pope; and Francis, who had his own views of political advantage² therein, more constantly laboured to bring this about. He sent the French fleet to convey his holiness, and, after many delays, Clement kept his appointment, and arrived in the city of Marseilles in the month of October. When the meeting took place, Henry regretted his having promoted it, and did what he could to render it of no effect. The Duke of Norfolk, who was a zealous Catholic, and seems to have hoped for a reconciliation with the church, was suddenly recalled from France, and the Bishop of Winchester and Bryan were left to attend the conference at Marseilles. Francis refused to proceed with any other business until the pope had promised him to stretch his authority to the utmost in order to satisfy the King of England: but the surprise and displeasure of both were great, upon learning that the two English ambassadors had no authority from their court to treat or to enter into any definitive arrangement. Apparently at the suggestion of Francis, they spoke of referring the matter to a consistory, from which all the cardinals holding preferments under the emperor, were to be excluded as partial judges; but early in November,

before Clement could give an answer to this proposition, Bonner arrived from England, and appealed, in the name of his master, from the pope to a general council of the church. This was rudely putting an end to the solemn conference at Marseilles, and the pope returned into Italy; but, before he went, he arranged a marriage (which afterwards proved a great curse to France) between his niece, Catherine of Medici, and the Duke of Orleans, the second son of the French monarch. The young lady had no money, and the unlucky match was otherwise considered very unequal. Francis told Henry that he had consented to it *solely* on his account, and to make up his quarrel with Rome; but this was not quite true, though such considerations may have had some weight. Such, however, was the power of England, that the French king and the pope were alike eager to overlook the insults they had received from Henry, and to renew negotiations with him. The witty Bishop of Bayonne, new Bishop of Paris, who had resided so long at the English court, was sent from Paris to London, from London to Paris, whence, in the middle of winter, he was hurried to Rome with letters and verbal messages to the pope from Henry, who appears to have been once more disposed to return to the obedience of the Apostolic See, upon condition that Clement should approve of, and solemnly sanction all that he had done. The vivacious bishop wrote to England to say that all was going on well, and to implore Henry to stop all proceedings in parliament of a religious nature. But Henry was vacillating and impatient, and Cromwell and others of his council had fully made up their minds to prevent any reconciliation with Rome; some of them acting from a sincere conviction of a spiritual kind, and some, it must be admitted, from a mere longing after the property and power of the church.³

On the 7th of September, while the pope was preparing for his voyage to Marseilles, Anne Boleyn was brought to bed. Whether it was that the king pretended to some knowledge in these occult matters, or whether it was that he had consulted the astrologers, he had made quite certain that the child would be a son and heir; and not only his disappointment, but also his wrath, was great when it proved to be a girl. Yet this ill-received child—the lion-hearted Eli-

¹ *State Papers*. There are two other very long letters on the same harrowing subject, written within a few weeks by the same Lord Mountjoy, who was or had been chamberlain to Catherine. In his first report, which is preserved in the British Museum, the words *princesse-douleur* are scratched out with pen and ink. This was done by Catherine's own hand. In his second letter Mountjoy says, "on showing her the report, she called for pen and ink, and carefully struck out the words *princesse-douleur* wherever they occurred." Every part of Mountjoy's letters is full of interest. In one of them he says that Catherine rested

on the unfairness of pretending to try her cause "within the king's own realm, before a man of his own making, the Bishop of Canterbury, whom she thought to be no person indifferent (impartial) in that behalf."

² The French king had a project of forming a grand coalition against the emperor. Henry was to be a principal member, and the pope was to give it his sanction, and to co-operate *et cetera* in Italy.

³ Du Bellay's *Letters and Instructions*, given by Le Grand; Herbert; Bunsen.

zabeth—showed herself to be worth many men. Soon after this event the persecution of Queen Catherine was carried on more keenly than ever, that unfortunate woman (to use the language of the courtiers) "still persisting in her great stomach and obstinacy." The highest in rank, the most martial and chivalrous in reputation, durst not refuse themselves to the vile office of insulting a helpless woman. The Duke of Suffolk, the gentle Charles Brandon, waited upon her at Ampthill to explain her grievous misconduct in calling herself queen, and to tell her that she must instantly remove from that manor to Somersham, there to live with a reduced establishment, and with such servants alone as the king should be pleased to appoint.¹ The queen said that they might hew her in pieces, but she would still style herself wife and queen until the court of Rome should decide to the contrary; that they might bind her with ropes, and violently enforce her thereunto, but that, of her own will, she would never go from Ampthill, or take upon herself the state and condition of Princess-dowager of Wales. After a violent scene the Duke of Suffolk and his noble and worshipful mates (for he was accompanied by the Earl of Sussex, Sir William Poulet, and Dean Sampson) locked up the queen's chaplains, who maintained that she was right both in law and in religion, and then wrote to the king for further instructions, "trusting, by God's help," to make a comfortable end of the matter.² Two days after, the duke and the earl, and the doctors, were followed by Archbishop Lee and Bishop Toustal, who told her that his highness, after being discharged of the marriage made with her, had contracted a new marriage with his dearest wife Queen Anne; and that for so much as, thanked be God, fair issue had already sprung, and more was likely to follow, by God's grace, the whole body of the realm, gathered together in parliament, had, for the establishment of this issue, made acts and ordinances to which she and all others must submit. The two prelates, however, reported to their master that her obstinacy was undiminished. It appears that some money was sent down to pay her debts, that she was removed by force, and that all persons who persisted in calling her queen were thrown into prison or otherwise punished with great severity.³

¹ For some time she was left almost in utter solitude, without any attendants. Her servants were commanded to swear that they would never call her queen, but only princess-dowager: those who refused the oath were dismissed or imprisoned—those who took it she would not retain.

² Original letter in the Museum, and published in *State Papers*. The letter, which is addressed to the king, is signed by all four.

³ *State Papers*; letter of Lee (Archbishop of York) and Toustal (Bishop of Durham) to the king's highness.

⁴ "There is no known instance in family history, in which a brother and his two sisters appeared to be doomed to be each other's enemies by a destiny inseparable from their birth. so

It was a very awkward time for absent-minded parsons, and for old men who could not easily get out of the routine of praying for Queen Catherine, which they had been in the habit of doing for twenty-five years. A mere slip of the tongue was considered of sufficient moment to be circumstantially reported by a bishop to a minister of state.

Soon after the Christmas holidays parliament met for the despatch of very important business; and before it rose (on the 30th of March) it wholly broke the ties which for so many centuries had united England with Rome. Acting on the impulse already received, the parliament prohibited every kind of payment and every kind of appeal to the pope, confirmed Henry's title of supreme head of the English church, and vested in the king alone the right of appointing to all bishoprics, and of deciding in all ecclesiastical causes. The royal assent to the bills which abolished the Papal power in England was given on the 30th of March; and as the definitive sentence of the Roman consistory was not pronounced until the 23d of March, it seems certain that the bills were not produced by that decision. They had been drawn up by Cromwell some months before; they had been passed through the commons and the lords before the 20th of March (the reader will attend to dates); and when Henry gave the finishing stroke to them it was not possible that the news of the proceedings at Rome could have reached London. These last proceedings, in a business which had seemed to be interminable, were very simple. Notwithstanding the expectations of the Bishop of Paris, the pope, awed by the still growing power of the emperor in Italy, found himself obliged to entertain the appeal of the emperor's aunt, and to refer the whole matter to a consistory; and on the 23d of March, nineteen out of twenty-two cardinals pronounced Catherine's marriage valid and indissoluble, and hereupon the pope gave sentence. In the same parliament which proclaimed the spiritual independence of England, the marriage between Henry and Anne Boleyn was fully established as lawful; the Princess Mary, the daughter of Catherine, was set aside as illegitimate, and the succession was⁴ vested in the children of Queen

extraordinary as that of Edward and the two princesses Mary and Elizabeth. The legitimacy of Mary necessarily rendered Elizabeth illegitimate. The innocence of Anne Boleyn threw a deep shade over the nuptials of which Edward was the sole offspring. One statute had declared Mary to be illegitimate, for the sake of settling the crown on Elizabeth. The latter princess was condemned to the same brand to open the door for the nuptials with Edward's mother. Both were afterwards illegitimized, as it might seem, to exalt the lawful superiority of their brother Edward. At his accession Mary was in the thirty-second year of her age, Elizabeth in her fourteenth, and Edward in his ninth year. Mary was of an age to remember

Anne. It was also enacted that anything written, printed, or done, to the slander of the second marriage, or of the children therefrom proceeding, should be high treason, and that all persons of age should swear obedience to this same act of succession.¹

During the same session, parliament and that tyrannical tribunal, the Star Chamber, between them, sent the Holy Maid of Kent and six of her abettors to the gallows. This Elizabeth Barton, a young woman of Aldington, in Kent, had been subject to fits and a strange kind of disease, which not only afflicted her inwardly, but, as often as her fit took her, so wonderfully distorted her mouth and other parts of her body, that most people were of opinion it could not proceed from any natural causes. As among the Turks of the present day, so was it with the English and other Christian nations in these ignorant times—idiotcy was looked upon as a proof of God's favour, and epilepsy was considered as the best medium of heavenly revelations. The incoherent sentences which the Maid uttered were caught up as prophecies, and she herself was induced to believe that she was a prophetess. This was at a moment when the monks were irritated at Wolsey's suppression of a few monasteries, and when the nation was excited by the question of Henry's divorce. Richard Maister, the rector of the parish, advised her to retire into a nunnery, and he appears to have conceived the notion of turning her to some political account; but Bocking, a monk of Christ Church, Canterbury, who became her confessor, was her chief prompter. It is possible, however, that accomplices and principal were alike, in part, the dupes of their own deception, as frequently happened in cases of similar imposture. From Kent the fame of her prophecies soon spread to London and other parts of the kingdom. The king, whose curiosity was ex-

cited, showed a collection of her sybilline leaves to Sir Thomas More, who told him that he found nothing in her words worth notice. As long as the Holy Maid limited her prophecies to obscure people she was safe enough, but as soon as she meddled with state matters her neck was in danger. She announced that she had, in a vision, seen God and Cardinal Wolsey together, and had heard the Almighty declare that, unless the lord-cardinal used his authority properly, it should be sorely laid to his charge. She, however, was not seriously molested during Wolsey's time. Her doom was precipitated by her venturing to prophesy, that if Henry put away Catherine, he would die some infamous death within seven months, and be succeeded on the throne by Catherine's daughter. The party that had chosen her for their instrument, not only took down her revelations in writing, but caused them to be printed and circulated. The jealous eye of the government was upon them; and, of a sudden, Elizabeth Barton and a number of her accomplices were apprehended.² Instead of being tried in the usual courts, they were brought up to the Star Chamber, which, in the month of November, 1533, sentenced them to confess their imposture on a Sunday, at St. Paul's Cross. After they had done this they were all conveyed back to prison. The imposition was thus laid bare; and Henry further proved that the Holy Maid was no prophetess, by outliving the term she had fixed. Thus she and her companions might have been safely dismissed with contempt, while the exposure and the long imprisonment they had undergone might have been deemed punishment sufficient for such an offence; but the majesty of Henry was not to be so easily satisfied, and he submitted their case to the slavish and brutalized parliament, who passed a bill of attainder of treason against the Maid; Bocking, the monk of Canterbury; Maister, the rector of Aldington;

with bitterness the wrongs done to an innocent mother. Her few though faithful followers were adherents of the ancient religion, to which honour and affection, as well as their instruction and example, bound her. The friends, the teachers, the companions of Edward, were, in many instances, bound to the Reformation by conscience. Many others had built their character and their greatness upon its establishment. The pretensions of young Elizabeth were somewhat more remote."—Sir James Mackintosh, *History of England*.

¹ Of the act 26th Henry VIII. cap. 13, whereby, for the better security of the realm, it was enacted—"That any person who, by words, writing, or otherwise, deprives the king or queen of any one of their just titles, shall be held guilty of high treason." Mr. Froude says:—"The terrible powers which were thus committed to the government, lie on the surface of this language; but comprehensive as the statute appears, it was still further extended by the lawyers. In order to fall under its penalties, it was held not to be necessary that positive guilt should be proved in any one of the offences specified; it was enough if a man refused to give satisfactory answers when subjected to official examination. At the discretion of the king or his ministers, the active consent to the supremacy might be required of any person on whom they pleased to call, under penalty to

the recusant of the dreadful death of a traitor. So extreme a measure can only be regarded as a remedy for an evil which was also extreme; and, as on the return of quiet times, the parliament made haste to repeal a law which was no longer required; so in the enactment of that law, we are bound to believe that they were not betraying English liberties in a spirit of careless complacency; but that they believed truly that the security of the state required unusual precautions. The nation was standing with its sword half-drawn in the face of an armed Europe, and it was no time to permit dissensions in the camp. Toleration is good, but even the best things must abide their opportunity; and although we may regret that in this great struggle for freedom, success could only be won by the aid of measures which bordered upon tyranny; yet here also the even hand of justice was but commending the chalice to the lips of those who had made others drink it to the dregs. They only were likely to fall under the treason act, who for centuries had fed the rack and the stake with sufferers for opinions."—Froude's *History of England*, vol. ii. p. 331.

² According to Hall, the matter was investigated by the "great labour, diligence, and painstaking of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Lord Cromwell, and one called Hugh Latimer, a priest, which, shortly after, was made Bishop of Worcester."

Dering, a monk; Gold, bachelor of divinity; Rich, a friar of the order of the Observants; and Risby, a gentleman; and of misprision of treason against several other persons who had had communications with her, and had concealed her treasonable predictions. On the 21st of April, 1534, while parliament was sitting, all the seven victims attainted of treason were drawn to Tyburn.¹

Among those accused of holding correspondence with the Holy Maid of Kent were Edward Thwaites, gentleman; Thomas Laurence, registrar to the archdeacon of Canterbury; John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester; and Sir Thomas More, late lord-chancellor. The venerable Fisher, the admired of Erasmus, was one of the most learned prelates of that age; he had been the friend of Henry from his youth and first accession—the friend of his father and of his grandmother, the Countess of Richmond, who, on her death-bed, recommended him as a good and wise counsellor for her inexperienced grandson. But Fisher was attached to his threatened church, and averse to the new marriage. The old bishop was told by Cromwell that he would be pardoned this offence if he would plead guilty, and throw himself upon the king's mercy; but he preferred justifying his conduct, and, being confined to his chamber by sickness, he sent a spirited letter to the House of Lords. He acknowledged that he had conversed with the Maid of Kent, and had even heard her utter her prophecies touching the king's death. It was also true, he said, that he had not mentioned these discourses to his sovereign; but his silence could not be criminal, because the prophetess had not spoken of any violent attempts against the king's life, but merely of a visitation of Providence; and because she had told him that she had communicated the revelation or vision to the king herself, and *he well knew that she had been admitted to a private audience by the king.* The lords, however, pronounced him guilty of misprision, or concealment, of treason; and he was forced to compound with the crown. The name of Sir Thomas More was erased from the bill (though his innocence was not more clearly established than that of his friend Fisher); and it is supposed to have been introduced into it for the sole purpose of terrifying him into an approval of the new marriage, and other changes which he was known in his heart to condemn. About a fortnight after, More and Fisher were called upon to take the new oath of allegiance, as recently voted by parliament, to the heirs of the king's body begotten, or to be begotten, of his beloved lawful

wife, Queen Anne. Neither of them objected to swear to the succession, excluding the Princess Mary, as it had been established by the estates of the kingdom; but both scrupled to swear to certain doctrinal points which were involved in the oath. For example, they were called upon fully to approve the marriage with Anne Boleyn; and to swear that the former marriage had always been unlawful, and that the Church of Rome had no power to grant dispensations in such cases. Bishop Fisher declared that he could not take the whole of the oath with a safe conscience; upon which, against the wishes of Archbishop Crammer, who would have been satisfied with his swearing to the succession without the theological part, he was committed to the Tower. Sir Thomas More expressed his objections in discreet and qualified terms; but he was, nevertheless, taken into the custody of the abbot of Westminster; and, upon a second refusal, was also sent to the Tower. Both bishop and chancellor were attainted of misprision of treason for refusing the oaths, and were condemned to imprisonment for life with forfeiture of their property, and both were treated with infamous severity in their prison. Fisher, in his seventy-sixth year, was left in sickness and pain, without clothes to cover him, and without proper food to eat; and More was only relieved from a similar condition by the charity of his relations and friends, and the filial heroism of his favourite daughter, Margaret Roper. While these two conscientious men lay in the Tower, "being not to be drawn by any persuasions to be conformable to the new law," all classes of people swore, as rapidly as Henry could wish them, being terrified out of their senses. As the oath had not been very nicely defined by parliament, and as Henry was not likely to pay much respect to any limitations prescribed by that subservient body, he altered it, and stretched it just as he thought fit—forcing, for example, the whole body of the clergy to declare, upon oath, whatever he chose to dictate, including several things wholly incompatible with their profession and existence as a Romish priesthood. If he had really made up his mind to change the religion of his country, and to adopt the Reformed faith, all this might have been intelligible and consistent enough; but, at the very same moment, he was actually burning people in Smithfield for differing from the Church of Rome—making no distinction as to sects, but consuming in the same flames Lollards, Lutherans, and Anabaptists. To free himself from all suspicion of favouring either Luther or any of the authors of the new opinions, he began to prosecute indiscriminately "all that sort of men whom the vulgar called heretics." On the 22d of July, during the prorogation of

¹ *Hall.* The annalist probably witnessed the execution of these seven persons. He says, very coolly, "They had most justly deserved it."

parliament, John Frith, "a very learned young man, of an excellent and godly wit," who had been long in trouble for the making of a book against purgatory, and for expressing certain opinions about transubstantiation and consubstantiation, and one Andrew Hewet, "a very simple and utterly unlearned young man, and a tailor," who told the bishops that he believed as his friend John Frith believed, were burned at one stake in Smithfield, as accursed heretics.¹

In the month of November parliament re-assembled, and, under the guidance of Cromwell, passed a variety of acts, which had all for their object the erecting of Henry into a sort of lay-pope, with full power to define and punish heresies, and to support whatever he might deem the true belief or the proper system of church government. The first-fruits and tenths were now annexed to the crown for ever, and a new oath of supremacy was devised and taken by the bishops.

A.D. 1535. Some of the monks—the poorest orders were the boldest—refused either to take the oath, or to proclaim in their churches and chapels that the pope was Antichrist. The system pursued in regard to them was very simple and expeditious; they were condemned of high treason and hanged, their fate in the latter respect being sometimes, but not always, milder than that allotted to the Lutherans and other Protestants, who were burned. Cromwell had no bowels for the poor monks; and the gentler and more virtuous Crammer seems to have done little or nothing to stop these atrocious butcheries. A jury now and then hesitated to return a verdict, but they were always bullied into compliance by Cromwell and his agents, who sometimes threatened to hang them instead of the prisoners. On the 5th of May John Houghton, prior of the Charter-house in London; Augustine Webster, prior of the Charter-house of Belval; Thomas Lawrence, prior of the Charter-house of Exham; Richard Reynolds, a doctor of divinity and a monk of Sion; and John Hailes, vicar of Thistleworth, were drawn, hanged, and quartered at Tyburn, their heads being afterwards set over the city gates. On the 18th of June, Exnew, Middlemore, and Nudigate, three other Carthusian monks, suffered for the same cause. On all these conscientious men, who preferred death to what they considered a breach of their duty as Catholic priests, the horrible sentence of the law was executed in all its particulars. They were cut down alive, had their bowels torn out, and were then beheaded and dismembered. They suffered on account of the oath of supremacy; but between the executions there was an atrocious interlude of a more doctrinal

nature. On the 25th of May there were examined in St. Paul's nineteen men and five women, natives of Holland, who had openly professed the doctrines of the Anabaptists, and denied the



INNER GATE OF THE CHARTER-HOUSE, LONDON.—FROM A drawing by J. W. Archer.

real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the bread and wine of the sacrament. Fourteen of them were condemned to the flames: two, a man and woman, suffered in Smithfield; the remaining twelve were sent to other towns, there to be burned for example's sake, and for the vivid manifestation of the king's orthodoxy.

But greater victims were now stricken; for, casting aside all feelings except those of vengeance, Henry had resolved to shed the blood of Fisher and of More. The aged bishop was put upon his trial for having maliciously and traitorously said that the king, in spiritual matters, could not be the head of the church; and he was sentenced in the usual manner to die the death of a traitor. While he lay in the Tower, in respect for his sufferings in the cause of the church, his great age, learning, and unquestionable virtue, a cardinal's hat was sent to him from Rome. "Ha!" cried the savage Henry, "Paul may send him the hat; I will take care that he have never a head to wear it on." Accordingly, on the 22d day of June, of this same year of blood, the old prelate was dragged out of the Tower and beheaded. His gray head was stuck upon London bridge,

¹ Over this gate the head of John Houghton was exposed. Within the gate are the initials I H, according to the tradition of the place, a memorial of John Houghton. They are figured in the brickwork of one of the old buildings, together with a cross.

¹ Herbert; Hall; Stow; Godwin.

turned towards the Kentish hills, among which he had passed so many happy and respected years. His body, by the king's orders, was exposed naked to the gaze of the populace, and then thrown into an humble grave in Barking church-yard, without coffin or shroud.¹ Such was the end of Henry's oldest friend—of an amiable and most accomplished man—of one of the most indefatigable restorers of ancient learning.

Without losing time, the ruthless king proceeded against Sir Thomas More. Archbishop Crammer, Cromwell, and others, had waited upon him several times in the Tower, with the object of winning him over, or inducing him to take the oath of supremacy, in order to save his life; but More, though he had sometimes shown a timidity of disposition, had now fully made up his mind to die rather than to act contrary to his conscience. Sharp interrogatories were ministered to him in his dungeon for the purpose of entrapping him. After many other questions, he was asked whether he would obey the king's highness as supreme head on earth of the Church of England, immediately under Christ; to this he said that he could make no answer. He was next asked whether he would consent and approve the king's highness' marriage with the most noble Queen Anne to be good and lawful, and affirm that the marriage with the Lady Catherine, princess-dawger, was, and is, unjust and unlawful; he replied, that he never did speak nor meddle against the same, but that he would make no further answer. Finally, they demanded whether he, being one of the king's subjects, was not bound to recognize the supremacy, as all other subjects were bound thereto by the statute; he replied again that he could make no answer.²

Before this he had said, in an affecting letter, "I am the king's true faithful subject and daily beadsman. I pray for his highness, and all his, and all the realm. I do nothing harm; I say no harm; I think none harm; and wish everybody good: and if this be not enough to keep a man alive, in good faith I long not to live. I am dying already; and since I came here have been divers times in the case that I thought to die within one hour. And, I thank our Lord, I was never sorry for it, but rather sorry when I saw the pang past; and, therefore, my poor body is at the king's pleasure. Would to God my death might do him good!"³ But this mixture of an almost heavenly meekness with an heroic firmness made no impression on the king, who was now drunk and mad with the heady spirit of absolutism. By his orders they had deprived that glorious wit and scholar of the sweet solace of his

books—Rich, the king's solicitor, having been sent to the Tower to take them all from him. Nay, they had even deprived him of pen, and ink, and paper. Some commiserating soul, however, put some scraps of paper in his way; and on such materials, and with a piece of charcoal, he wrote his last letter to his beloved child. At length, after a year's most trying imprisonment, he was brought out of the Tower, led on foot through the crowded streets to Westminster Hall, and there arraigned of high treason. He appeared in that court, where he had once presided as an upright judge, in a coarse woollen gown, bearing about him frightful evidences of a rigorous confinement. His hair had become white, his face was pallid and emaciated, and he was obliged to support himself on a staff. But the mind was much less bowed and bent, and some of his old wit and vivacity soon lighted up his sunken eye; and his vile judges—the slavish instruments of a despot—dreaded his eloquence, and the sympathy which the mere sight of him excited. They attempted to overpower and confound him with the length and wordiness of the indictment; but, after declining an offer of pardon upon condition of doing the king's will, he entered upon a clear and eloquent defence, stripping the clauses of their false coverings, and exposing them in their nakedness and nothingness. But his doom was fixed by those who had put themselves above all law or scruples of conscience. The infamous Rich, the solicitor-general, who was afterwards created Lord Rich, deposed that, in a private conversation he had had with the prisoner in the Tower, More said, "The parliament cannot make the king head of the church, because it is a civil tribunal without authority in spiritual matters." More denied that he had spoken these words; and he remarked upon the character which Rich had borne in the world, and which was so bad as to render even his oath unworthy of belief. Two witnesses were produced to support the charge made by Rich; but, in their case, conscience got the better of authority, and they declared that, though they were in the room, they did not pay attention to what was said. The judges, who were assisted by the Duke of Norfolk and other great men appointed by the king, hid it down as law that silence *was* treason, and the jury, without any hesitation, returned a verdict of guilty. When sentence had been pronounced, More rose to address the court: he was coarsely interrupted. He tried again, and was again interrupted; but on a third attempt he was allowed to proceed. He told them that what he had hitherto concealed he would now openly declare, and he boldly proclaimed that the oath of supremacy was utterly unlawful. He regretted to differ from the noble lords whom he saw on the bench, but his con-

¹ Cardinal Pole; Hall; Stow; Fuller.

² State Papers, published by government.

³ Roper's Life of More, by Singer.

science would not permit him to do otherwise. He declared that he had no animosity against them, and that he hoped that, even as St. Paul was present and consented to the death of Stephen, and yet was afterwards a companion saint in heaven, so they and he should all meet together hereafter. "And so," he concluded, "may God preserve you all, and especially my lord the king, and send him good counsel!" As he moved from the bar his son rushed through the hall, fell upon his knees, and begged his blessing. With the axe turned towards him he walked back to the Tower, amid the great wonderment and commiseration of the citizens. On reaching the Tower-wharf his dear daughter, Margaret Roper, forced her way through the officers and halbardiers that surrounded him, clasped him round the neck, and sobbed aloud. Sir Thomas consoled her, and she collected sufficient power to bid him farewell for ever; but, as her father moved on, she again rushed through the crowd and threw herself upon his neck. Here the weakness of nature overcame him, and he wept as he repeated his blessing and his Christian consolation. The people wept too; and his guards were so much affected that they could hardly summon up resolution to separate the father and daughter. After this trial the bitterness of death was past. The old man's wit flashed brightly in his last moments. When told that the king had mercifully commuted the hanging, drawing, and quartering into simple decapitation, he said, "God preserve all my friends from such royal favours!" This happy vein accompanied him to the very scaffold. The frame-work was weak, and some fears were expressed lest the scaffold might break down. "Mr. Lieutenant," said More, "see me safe up, and for my coming down let me shift for myself." The executioner, as usual, asked forgiveness. "Friend," said More, "thou wilt render me to-day the greatest service in the power of man; but my neck is very short; take heed, therefore, that thou strike not awry, for the sake of the credit of thy profession." He was not permitted to address the spectators, but he ventured to declare that he died a faithful subject and a true Catholic. After prayers said he placed his head upon the block, but he bade the headsman hold his hand until he removed his beard, saying, with a smile, "My beard has never committed any treason." Then the blow fell, and the neck was severed at once. His head was picked up, and fixed upon London bridge.¹

More was executed on the 6th of July, the eve of St. Thomas, in the year 1535, fourteen days after the death of his friend Fisher. These de-

testable murders spread a panic through the nation; and the expression of the popular opinion, however timid and meek, went, with the workings of his own conscience, to increase the tyrant's jealousy and apprehension. In the month of August, Erasmus wrote to a friend that the English were now living in such a state of terror that they durst not write to foreigners or receive letters from them. In fact, in all foreign countries where civilization had made progress, the fate of Fisher, and still more of that admirable wit and scholar, the author of the *Eutopia*, excited universal execration; and there, at least, men could speak their minds loudly. The lofty eloquence of Cardinal Pole, and the classical point of Erasmus, recorded the crime, and their striking accounts were afterwards circulated throughout Europe, awakening everywhere a hatred of its brutal author.

We are told that Henry himself was disposed to throw the blame upon his wife Anne. When an account of More's execution was brought to him he was playing at tables with the queen; and (as this probable story goes) he looked sternly at her, and, after saying, "Thou art the cause of this man's death," withdrew, in evident perturbation, to the solitude of his chamber. At Rome both Fisher and More were considered as martyrs in the cause of the church; and as Henry had shown by many other measures that he was determined to keep no terms with the Papacy, on the 30th of August Paul III. put his hand to a bull which allowed him ninety days to repent and appear at Rome in person, or by proxy; and in case of default, pronounced him and all his fautors and abettors excommunicated—declared him to have forfeited his crown, and his children by Anne Boleyn, and their children, to be incapable of inheriting it. Going still further, the pope enjoined all Christian priests and monks whatsoever to quit Henry's dominions; absolved his subjects from their oaths of allegiance; and commanded them to take up arms against him. He also dissolved all Henry's treaties and alliances with Christian princes; prohibited all Christian nations from trading with England; and exhorted them to make war upon him until he should cease his schism and rebellion against the church. But it was deemed expedient to keep this thunder in reserve for the present, and so the pope suppressed the bull for a season. It was, however, known in England that the instrument had been drawn up; and this circumstance only exasperated the court and a large portion of the country. Henry was apprehensive of the power of the emperor; and he now opened negotiations with the Protestants of Germany, whose doctrines he had pronounced to be damnable.

¹ According to Stow, the body of Fisher was then "taken up and buried with Sir Thomas More, both in the Tower."—*Annals: More's Works; Erasmus; Epist. Pole; Stapleton; State Papers; State Trials.*

Henry soon found that his new quality of "supreme head" of the English church overburdened him with business; he, therefore, established a separate department or ministry for the conduct of church matters; and at the head of this he placed the bold and vigorous Cromwell, as "royal vice-gerent," "vicar-general," and "chief commissary," with all the spiritual authority belonging to the king. This was a strange office to be held by a layman; but Cromwell, without hesitation, attended convocations of the clergy, discussed questions of schism and heresy, and took precedence of the Archbishop of Canterbury among his own bishops. The clergy hated Cromwell, and Cromwell hated the clergy. At the same time many members of the monastic body, undeterred by the gallows at Tyburn, refused the oath of supremacy, and even ventured to attack the king from the pulpit. The exchequer also was very bare; and when the vicar-general proposed the abolition of certain monasteries, convents, and abbeys in England, and the seizure of all their property, he found a willing listener in the needy king. "Now it was that Cromwell invented an engine to batter the monks more forcibly than the former course of torture and hanging had done. He sent abroad subtle-headed fellows, who, warranted by the king's authority, should, throughout England, search into the lives and manners of religious persons;"¹ for it was assumed, as a principle, that the vices of the monastic bodies not only justified, but imperiously called for their suppression. These commissioners were let loose in pairs to hunt every part of England wherein were monasteries, cells, priories, or any other religious houses. Their mission was called a visitation for the advancement of religion, and for the reformation of discipline and manners; but where those

who had to pass judgment were the very men to profit by finding the monks guilty, it was not likely that they would declare many of them innocent. From this sole consideration we must decide that the vices and irregularities of the monks and nuns were grossly exaggerated, and in some cases altogether invented, by the greedy agents of Cromwell. But at the same time every impartial mind will feel that there were certain vices, the inevitable consequence of a monastic system; and there are pretty good proofs to show that in some cases there existed irregularities and delinquencies at which humanity shudders. But still there were certain clauses in the instructions of the visitors, and in the inquiries they were ordered to make, which compel us to regard their reports with considerable doubt and suspicion. They were commanded, for example, to make all the monks and nuns renounce the authority of the pope, to take the oath of supremacy, and to swear to the succession of the king's children by Anne Boleyn; and we may be sure, that when a monastery or a convent showed scruples of conscience on these heads, their morals were not spared in the report² of the commissioners.³

A.D. 1536. Queen Catherine, "whom extremity of grief cast into disease," died at Kimbolton on the 8th of January, her last moments being most wretched. At the approach of death she repeated an earnest request—made many times before—that she might be permitted to see her daughter Mary once, at least, before she died; but her heartless husband refused even this favour.

It is said that Anne Boleyn exulted in the death of Catherine, proclaiming to her friends

its usefulness. They fell implicitly into the snares of crafty priests, who made submission to the church not only the condition, but the measure of all praise."—*Hallam*, iii. 382.

After adducing some palpable proofs of the corruption of the monasteries, from among a mass of evidence, of which much is unfit to appear in print, Mr. Froude proceeds as follows:—"In reply to these and similar evidences of the state of the monasteries, it will be easy to say, that in the best ages there were monks impatient of their vows, and abbots negligent of their duties; that human weakness and human wickedness may throw a stain over the noblest institutions; that nothing is proved by collecting instances which may be merely exceptions, and that no evidence is more fallacious than that which rests upon isolated facts.

"It is true; and the difficulty is felt as keenly by the accuser who brings forward charges which it is discreditable to have urged, if they cannot be substantiated, as by those who would avail themselves of the easy opening to evade the weight of the indictment. I have to say only, that if the extracts which I have made lend persons, disposed to differ with me, to examine the documents which are extant upon the subject, they will learn what I have concealed as well as what I have alleged; and I believe that, if they begin the inquiry (as I began it myself with believing that the poor monks have been over hardly judged, they will close it with but one desire—that the subject shall never more be mentioned."—*Froude, Hist. Eng.* ii. 428.

¹ *Gulwin*. ² *Lord Herbert*; *Godwin*; *Cottier*; *Stygg*; *Stow*.

³ "We must reject, in the excess of our candour, all testimonies that the middle ages present, from the solemn declarations of councils and reports of judicial inquiry, to the casual evidence of common fame in the ballad or romance, if we would extenuate the general corruption of those institutions. In vain new rules of discipline were devised, or the old corrected by reforms. Many of their worst vices grew so naturally out of their mode of life, that a stricter discipline could have no tendency to extirpate them. Such were the frauds I have already noticed, and the whole scheme of hypocritical austerities. Their extreme licentiousness was sometimes hardly concealed by the cowl of sanctity. I know not by what right we should disbelieve the reports of the visitation under Henry VIII., entering as they do into a multitude of specific charges, both probable in their nature, and consonant to the unanimous opinion of the world. Doubtless, there were many communities as well as individuals to whom none of these reproaches would apply. In the very best view, however, that can be taken of monasteries, their existence is deeply injurious to the morals of a nation. They withdraw men of pure conduct and conscientious principles from the exercise of social duties, and leave the common mass of human vice more unrefined. Such men are always inclined to form schemes of ascetic perfection which can only be fulfilled in retirement; but, in the strict rules of monastic life, and under the influence of a grovelling superstition, their virtue lost all

that she was now indeed a queen. But she herself was already doomed; for the king had cast his eyes on one of *her* maids of honour. It has been stated, that she accidentally discovered this secret by surprising Henry with the object of his new passion seated on his knee, and that her agitation brought on a premature accouchement. On the 29th of January, twenty-one days after the death of Queen Catherine, Anne was delivered of a son—an event which Henry had so long and so impatiently desired; but the child was still-born. Upon May Day following there was a great entertainment in Greenwich Park, the king and queen being present, and the Viscount Rochford, Anne's brother, and Henry Norris, one of the grooms of the stole, being principal challengers in a tilting match which was going on very guily. Suddenly the king rose and departed for London, having not above six persons with him. "Of this sudden departing many men mused, but most chiefly the queen, who, the next day, was apprehended at Greenwich."¹ She was met upon the river by the Duke of Norfolk, Audley, the chancellor, and Cromwell, who informed her that she was accused of adultery. She fell on her knees, and exclaimed,



AN INTERIOR IN THE MARTEN TOWER.²—From a drawing by J. W. Archer.

wildly, "O Lord, help me, as I am guiltless of that whereof I am charged." She was presently

¹ Hall.

² Anne Boleyn was confined in the Marten Tower. On the wall of a part of that tower now used as a lobby, and represented in the engraving, the autograph of her name is still to be seen. This autograph is represented separately.

locked up in the Tower—though she knew it not, her brother, Viscount Rochford, and Henry Norris, were there before her—and she was soon followed to that dismal state-prison by Mark Smeaton, a musician, and William Brereton and



ANNE BOLEYN'S AUTOGRAPH.

Francis Weston, both gentlemen of the king's privy chamber. As if to finish the complete overthrow of her heart and intellect that had been sinking and wavering ever since her unfortunate accouchement, and the discovery which preceded it, they gave her for her

prison the very chamber in which she had slept the night before her coronation, when the king and the nation seemed to be at her feet studying and striving how most they should honour her. On finding herself in this place she fell upon her knees, exclaiming, "Jesus have mercy on me!" and then she fell into a convulsive fit of weeping and laughing. As soon as she recovered some use of her reason, she began to ask a number of questions with great rapidity. "Wherefore am I here, Mr. Kingston?" she said to the lieutenant of the Tower;—"When saw you the king?—Where is my sweet brother?—Oh, my mother, thou wilt die of sorrow!" At last she said, "I shall die without justice." Kingston assured her that there was justice for the meanest subject in England; upon which she burst into loud laughter. This was the effect of insanity; but if she had been perfectly in her senses, a laugh would have been no improper reply to the lieutenant's assertion.

By orders of the king, Mrs. Cosen, Mrs. Boleyn, her own aunt, but her enemy, and one or two other female attendants, were left with her in the Tower, with instructions to note down all that she might say in her moments of agitation or despair; and to entrap her into confessions or admissions by putting leading questions to her. Mrs. Cosen asked her why Norris had said to her almoner on Saturday last, that he could swear to her being a good woman. She replied, "Marry, I bade him do so; for I asked him why he did not go through with his marriage; and he made answer that he would tarry a time. Then, said I, you look for dead men's shoes; for, if aught but good should come to the king, you would look to have me. He denied it; and I told him that I could undo him if I would." It is said that she appeared to be greatly alarmed as to Weston, because he had spoken to her about Norris' excessive admiration of her person. Mrs. Stoner,

another of the female attendants or spies, told her that Smeaton was treated with greater severity than the other prisoners, being put in irons: but to this she replied, that he was so treated *because he was not a gentleman born*; and she added, that Smeaton had never been in her chamber save once, when he went to play as a musician, and that she had never spoken to him since, until last Saturday, when she asked him why he looked so sad; and he replied that a look from her sufficed him. All this, with much more, was communicated to the king and the court lawyers. The habitual frankness of her disposition, and the distracted state to which she was now reduced, make it not improbable that she may have said some things which admitted of being turned against her; but, on the other hand, we must always suspect the subtle exaggerations of the court lawyers, and must remember that, even according to their showing, none of her words necessarily bore a more serious construction than that of imprudence, or over-familiarity with some of the courtiers—a result, in all probability, of her education in France, where such matters were not considered even indecorous. On the 6th of May Anne wrote to the king; but Henry paid as little attention to her touching appeal as he had formerly done to those made by Catherine—his whole soul was bent upon marrying another woman! Anne was sent back to Greenwich to be examined by the privy council, where she found her most determined enemy in her own uncle, the Duke of Norfolk. On her return to the Tower she told Kingston that she had been cruelly handled by the council. She was, however, very merry, and made a great dinner. She asked the lieutenant where he had been all the day, and Kingston replied that he had been with prisoners. This hard-hearted and stern man had been, no doubt, engaged with the Viscount Rochford, Norris, Brereton, and Smeaton; and there was much to do with them, in order to intimidate them, or otherwise prepare them for examination.

When brought before the council, they all maintained their innocence and the innocence of the queen, and were recommitted; but upon being brought up a second time, Mark Smeaton, the musician, who had been loaded with irons, and in all probability put to the torture, confessed his guilt. Edward Baynton wrote from Greenwich to tell the treasurer "that no man will confess anything against her, but only Mark, of any actual thing." "Wherefore," he continues, "in my foolish conceit, it should much touch the king's honour if it should no farther appear: and I cannot believe but that the other two be as culpable as ever was he; and I think assuredly the one keepeth the other's counsel." On the

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10th of May a bill of indictment of high treason against the Lady Anne, Queen of England, Henry Norris, Weston, Brereton, and Smeaton, was laid before the grand juries of Kent and Middlesex, because, as it was stated, the acts of adultery had been committed in both counties; *and because it was the usual character of this court to invest the most illegal proceedings with all the forms and niceties of law.* The indictment charged the queen with treason and adultery of three years' standing, stating that, inflamed with pride and the lusts of the flesh, she had confederated with her brother the Viscount Rochford, and with Norris, Brereton, Weston, and Smeaton, to perpetrate divers abominable treasons; that she had lain with each of the five, not excepting her own brother, several times; that she had told each of them that she loved him better than the king or than any other man, which was slander of the issue begotten between her and the king; and finally—to end with the most improbable clause of all—that she and her paramours had been engaged in various plots for murdering the king. On the 12th of May, Norris, Weston, Brereton, and Smeaton, as commoners, were arraigned in the Court of King's Bench. As before the council, all pleaded not guilty, except Mark Smeaton, the musician; all, however, were convicted, and were sentenced as traitors to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. Bishop Godwin relates that the king greatly favoured Norris, and was reported to be much grieved that he should die with the rest. "Whereupon he offered pardon to him, conditionally that he would confess that whereof he was accused. But he answered resolutely, and as it became the progenitor of so many valiant heroes,¹ that in his conscience he thought her guiltless of the objected crime; but whether she were or no, he could not accuse her of anything; and that he had rather undergo a thousand deaths than betray the innocent: upon relation whereof the king cried out, 'Hang him up, then; hang him up, then!'"

There was no precedent for the trial of a queen, and Rochford, her brother, could claim the privilege, as a peer, of a trial before the House of Lords; but these impediments were trifles in the eyes of the absolute king, and it was determined that they should both be arraigned before a commission of lords chosen by himself, as had been practised with the late Duke of Buckingham. The Duke of Norfolk, Anne's uncle and enemy, was named high-steward, and there were twenty-

¹ The son of Norris was ennobled in the reign of Elizabeth by the title of Baron Norris, which is still borne by his descendant the present Earl of Abingdon. Sir John Norris, a grandson of the first Baron Norris, greatly distinguished himself in the wars of Elizabeth's reign in Ireland, the Low Countries, and elsewhere.

six other noble peers equally ready to do the king's pleasure. On the 15th of May the unhappy queen was led by the constable and lieutenant to the king's hall in the Tower, where a scaffolding was erected, upon which, under a cloth of state, as High-steward of England, sat the Duke of Norfolk, with the lord-chancellor on his right hand, and the Duke of Suffolk on his left, with other marquises and lords about him—the highest-sounding names of the English aristocracy! As all records of the trial were carefully destroyed soon after, we have no sure guide as to what passed; nor, indeed, were those records preserved and entire, could we consider them in the light of fair and impartial evidence. It is the curse of all such men and measures, and properly so, that they are suspected even when they have truth and right on their side. On an impartial consideration of such facts as are before us, we cannot, however, believe that Anne Boleyn was guilty of any part of the crimes laid to her charge by the depraved imagination of Henry; and the plot to murder him seems too absurd to arrest attention for a single moment. In regard to the most revolting charge of all, it appears that Lord Rochford had been seen lolling over his sister's bed. But Henry had not a monopoly of vice and malignancy—the nobility were becoming worthy of the king; and Rochford's own wife, a woman of infamous character, bore witness against her husband and the queen. There was also a death-bed deposition made by the Lady Wingfield, but we have no means of judging how it was procured, or whether it was not a forgery; and the document itself has been destroyed with the exception of the first lines.

But the peers, among whom the Duke of Suffolk, the king's brother-in-law, was chief—as one wholly applying himself to the king's humour—pronounced her guilty. Whereupon the Duke of Norfolk, bound to proceed according to the verdict of the peers, condemned her to death, either by being burned on the green in the Tower, or beheaded, as his majesty in his pleasure should think fit.¹ When she was removed from the bar, her brother, Lord Rochford, was put in her place—was convicted on the same evidence—and sentenced to lose his head, and to be quartered as a traitor. On the following day (the 16th of May) Kingston, the lieutenant of the Tower, wrote impatiently to Secretary Cromwell to know the king's pleasure touching the queen, as well for her comfort as for the preparation of scaffolds and other necessaries, adding, "I pray you have good remembrance in all this for us to do, for we shall be ready to do always to our knowledge." He also informs Cromwell that the king's grace had showed him that my lord of Canterbury

should be her confessor, and that he, Cranmer, had been with the queen in the Tower that day. The mind of the wretched woman was evidently upset from the moment of her first committal; fits of anguish and despair were mixed with bright hopes and with bursts of levity—the most melancholy proof of her derangement. One hour she would say that she was ready to die—the next she would talk confidently of being allowed to live. If, in her sane moments, she really entertained any such hopes, they were soon put an end to; and as the crisis approached she looked on death without terror. On the 18th of May Kingston again addressed Cromwell, telling him that she had sent for him early in the morning, to speak touching her innocence (apparently in the presence of Cranmer), and that she had again sent for him while he was writing the same letter, and at his coming had exclaimed, "Mr. Kingston, I hear say I shall not die before noon, and I am very sorry therefore, for I thought to be dead by this time and past my pain." "I told her," continues the lieutenant of the Tower, "that it should be no pain, it was so subtle; and then, she said, 'I heard say the executioner was very good, and I have a little neck;' and she put her hands about it, laughing heartily. Truly this lady has much joy and pleasure in death." But she did not die that day. On the morrow, the 19th of May, a little before the hour of noon, she was brought to the place of execution, on the green within the Tower, some of the nobility and companies of the city being admitted, rather to be witnesses than spectators of her death. From the scaffold Anne addressed a few words to the "Good Christian people," and afterwards baring her beautiful neck, and kneeling down, kept repeating—"Christ have mercy on my soul!—Lord Jesus receive my soul!" until the executioner of Calais, at one blow, struck off her head. Thus perished Anne Boleyn within four months of Catherine, and in little more than three years after her marriage, for which the passionate Henry had moved heaven and earth.² An old tradition strongly depicts the impatience with which he now expected her death. On the fatal morning he went to hunt in Epping Forest, and while he was at breakfast his attendants observed that he was anxious and thoughtful. But at length they heard the report of a distant gun—a preconcerted signal. "Ah! it is done!" cried he, starting up—"the business is done! Uncouple the dogs and let us follow the sport."³ In the evening he returned gaily from the chase, and on the following morning he married Anne's maid of honour, Jane Seymour, who on Whit-

¹ Godwin.

² *Original Letters* (printed by Sir Henry Ellis) as written at the moment by Kingston, the lieutenant of the Tower, Baynton, &c. Hall; Stow; Godwin.

³ Dr. Nott's *Life of Surrey*.

sunday, the 29th of May, clad in royal habiliments, appeared in public as queen, without any coronation, however, for Henry never indulged



QUEEN JANE SEYMOUR.—After Holbein.

any of his wives with that expensive ceremony after Anne Boleyn.¹

Smeaton, the musician, who is supposed to have been bribed and tortured into his confession, seems to have expected that his life would be spared, and so much, no doubt, was promised to him; but, "as it was thought not fit to let him live to tell tales," he was hanged. Rochford and the rest were beheaded.

Archbishop Cramer, who had made Anne Boleyn queen, and who had lived in the most perfect friendship with her and her family, both before and after, had not heroic courage sufficient to resist the will of the king; and he certainly made no bold and generous effort to save her or her honour. To avoid his interference, Henry, on the day after her arrest at Greenwich, ordered Cramer to keep to his palace at Lambeth, and on no account to venture to court. The archbishop evidently fancied that he was to be involved in her ruin. His fears, however, did not wholly overcome his gratitude and affection, and he wrote a curious letter to the king. He began by exhorting his grace to bear this bitter affliction with

resignation. As for himself, his "mind was clean amazed;" the good opinion he had formerly entertained of the queen, who had been the best of his benefactors, prompted him to believe her innocent; but, as this was a dangerous assertion, he subjoined immediately, that his knowledge of the king's justice and prudence induced him to believe her guilty; and he went on to say that he hoped that it might be permitted him to pray that she might prove her innocence; but, still cautious, he here again added, that if she could not do so, he would deem that man a traitor who did not call for the severest punishment. He had loved her formerly, because he had thought that she loved the gospel; but if found guilty, men ought to hate her in proportion to their love of the gospel. He ventured, however, to hope that no misconduct on her part would arrest the important work of church reformation which (he did not blush to write) the king had begun, not through his affection for her, but solely out of his love for the truth. On the very day on which he wrote this letter Cramer was summoned to the Star Chamber, where the king's commissioners declared unto him "such things as his grace's pleasure was they should make him privy to," and acquainted him with certain other things which the king expected him to do forthwith. A brave good man would have laid his head on the block rather than consent to this new duty, which was nothing less than to declare the marriage which he had pronounced good and valid to be illegal, and to dissolve it, as he had done the marriage with Catherine. Though she had not yet been brought to any trial, Cramer may have been convinced of the queen's delinquency by depositions shown to him in the Star Chamber; and if he believed her guilty he might consider himself justified in declaring that the marriage was dissolved by her adultery; but this was not enough for the king, who exacted from him that he should declare that the marriage had been unlawful from the beginning, and consequently that the Princess Elizabeth was as illegitimate as her half-sister the Princess Mary. No doubt it was to save his head that the archbishop set to work vigorously, for Henry was not likely to be pleased unless he did the business in a solemn manner. He sent copies of articles of objection to the validity of

¹ "Before the discovery of this proceeding [Lord Thomas Howard's contract of marriage with Lady Margaret Douglas], but in anticipation of inevitable intrigues of the kind, the privy council and the peers, on the same grounds which had before led them to favour the divorce from Catherine, petitioned the king to save the country from the perils which menaced it, and to take a fresh wife without an hour's delay. Henry's experience of matrimony had been so discouraging that they feared he might be reluctant to venture upon it again. Nevertheless, for his country's sake, they trusted that he would not refuse.

"Henry, professing in obedience to this request, was married, immediately after the execution, to Jane, daughter of Sir John Seymour. The indecent haste is usually considered a proof

entirely conclusive of the cause of Anne Boleyn's ruin. To myself, the haste is an evidence of something very different. Henry, who waited seven years for Anne Boleyn, was not without some control over his passions; and, if appetite had been the moving influence with him, he would scarcely, with the eyes of all the world fixed upon his conduct, have passed so gross an insult upon the nation of which he was the sovereign. The precipitancy with which he acted is to me a proof that he looked on matrimony as an indifferent official act which his duty required at the moment; and if this be thought a novel interpretation of his motives, I have merely to say that I find it on the statute book."—Froude's *History of England*, vol. ii. p. 562.

the marriage to the king in his palace, and to the queen in the Tower, "that it might be for the salvation of their souls;" and he summoned each to appear in his ecclesiastical court at Lambeth, to show cause why a sentence of divorce should not be passed. Dr. Sampson appeared for the king, and Drs. Wotton and Barbour for the queen—of course all three were appointed by the king. The objections were read in the court, and the doctors and divines soon joined in opinion. On the 17th of May, the day on which her brother and friends were executed, and two days after she herself had received sentence of death, Cranmer, having "God alone before his eyes," pronounced that the marriage of Anne Boleyn was, and always had been, utterly null and void, in consequence of certain just and lawful impediments which, it was said, were unknown at the time of the union, but had lately been confessed to the archbishop (Cranmer) by the lady herself. The process, after Anne's death, was submitted to the members of the convocation and the two houses of parliament; and the church, commons, and lords fully confirmed it, thus cutting Elizabeth off from the succession.¹

In the month of June the king caused parliament to agree to a new act of succession, entailing the crown on such issue as he might have by

¹ Lord Herbert; *Journals*; *Godwin*; *Wilkins*; *Burnet*. Burnet gives the whole of Cranmer's strange letter to the king.

² After imploring the king's merciful heart and fatherly pity, Mary acknowledged that she had most unkindly and most unnaturally offended his most excellent highness, in that she had not been sufficiently obedient to his just, wise, and most virtuous laws. Then followed the confession "of me, the Lady Mary." First she confessed and acknowledged the king's majesty to be her sovereign lord and king, to whose laws, statutes, &c., she was bound to yield implicit obedience. In the second place she agreed to recognize, accept, take, repute, and acknowledge the king's highness to be supreme head of the Church of England; and she utterly renounced all manner of remedy which she by any means might claim of the Bishop of Rome, &c. But the last clause is by far the most striking of all:—"Item, I do freely, frankly, and for the discharge of my duty towards God, the king's highness, and his laws, without other respect recognize and acknowledge that the marriage heretofore had between his majesty and my mother, the late princess-dowager, was, by God's law and man's law, incestuous and unlawful."—Letter with Deed, from the Princess Mary to the king, in *State Papers*.

³ This parliament is remarkable for the act incorporating Wales with England.

⁴ As Henry was descended from the Tudors, a Welsh family, he naturally directed his attention to the native country of his paternal ancestors. It might be divided into two portions—that which had been originally conquered by the arms of his predecessors; and that which had been won by the courage and perseverance of the individuals afterwards called the lord-marchers. The former had been apportioned into shires, and was governed by the laws of England; the latter comprised 141 districts or lordships, which had been granted to the first conquerors, and formed so many distinct and independent jurisdictions. From them the king's writs and the king's officers were excluded. They acknowledged no other laws or customs than their own. The lords, like so many counts-palatine, had their own courts, civil and criminal, appointed their own officers and judges, punished or pardoned offences according to their pleasure, and received all the emoluments arising from the administration of justice within their respective domains. But the

Jane Seymour. Having some doubt or misgiving as to these children to be begotten, he proposed that he should be allowed to bequeath the crown by letters-patent, or by his last will, to any person whom he might think proper; and the obsequious parliament passed a bill accordingly! It was understood that the king hereby contemplated the appointing of his natural son, the Duke of Richmond, to be his successor; but at this very moment the duke died, in the eighteenth year of his age, to the great grief of Henry, who, like a very Turk, had no affection for his daughters, but a great deal for his son. The Lady Mary, who had been living in seclusion at Hunsden, under the displeasure of her father for her attachment to her mother, and to the discipline of the Romish church, made her peace with the court a few weeks before the Duke of Richmond's death, being obliged by Cromwell to subscribe to certain most humiliating articles of submission and acknowledgment.² She received a suitable establishment, but was not restored in blood—still remaining by law a bastard.

The parliament, which by successive prorogations had sat for the unprecedented term of six years, was now dissolved; and Henry, after all their passive obedience, seems to have been disgusted at some feeble effort at opposition.³ He

great evil was that this multitude of petty and separate jurisdictions, by holding out the prospect of impunity, proved an incitement to crime. The most atrocious offender, if he could only flee from the scene of his transgression, and purchase the protection of a neighbouring lord, was sheltered from the pursuit of justice.

"The king, however, put an end to this mischievous and anomalous state of things. In 1536, it was enacted that the whole of Wales should thenceforth be united and incorporated with the realm of England; that all the natives should enjoy and inherit the same rights, liberties, and laws which were enjoyed and inherited by others the king's subjects; that the custom of gavel-kind should cease; that the several lordship-marchers should be annexed to the neighbouring counties; that all judges and justices of the peace should be appointed by the king's letters-patent; that no lord should have the power to pardon any treason, murder, or felony, committed within his lordship; and that the different shires in Wales, with one borough in each, should return members to parliament. Most of these regulations were extended to the county-palatines of Chester."—*Lingard*.

Sir James Mackintosh, it will be seen, viewed this as a general benefit to the English constitution.

"Some direct benefits the constitution owes to this reign. The act which established parliamentary representation in so considerable a territory as Wales, may be regarded as the principal reformation in the House of Commons since its legal maturity in the time of Edward I. That principality had been divided into twelve shires, of which eight were ancient, and four owed their origin to a statute in Henry's reign. Knights, citizens, and burgesses were now directed to be chosen, and sent to parliament, from the shires, cities, and boroughs of Wales. A short time before, the same privileges were granted to the county-palatine of Chester, of which the preamble contains a memorable recognition and establishment of the principles which are the basis of the elective part of our constitution. Nearly thirty members were thus added to the house on the principle of the Chester bill—that it is disadvantageous to a province to be unrepresented; that representation is essential to good government; and that those who are bound by the laws ought to have a reasonable share of direct influence on the passing of laws. As the

now named commissioners to take possession of the suppressed monasteries, and to prepare measures for the seizure of others. If these men, mostly the friends of Cromwell or of Cranmer, had a better religion before their eyes, they certainly were not blind to the charms of lucre, and the temptations of fair houses and fat glebes; and most of them made a very rich harvest for themselves out of the spoils of the monks and nuns. The superiors of the suppressed houses were promised small pensions for life, which were very irregularly paid.¹ All the monks, not twenty-four years of age, were absolved from their vows, and turned loose on the world without any kind of provision; the rest, if they wished to continue in the profession, were divided among the greater houses that were still left standing. The poor nuns were turned adrift to beg or starve, having nothing given to them save one common gown for each. At the same time the crowds of poor who, by a defective but ancient system, had derived their support from the monastic establishments, became furious at finding their resources cut off, and at seeing the monks who had fed them now begging like themselves by the roadside. In the midst of these general discontents, Cranmer and Cromwell issued certain doctrinal injunctions to the clergy, which were too novel to find immediate favour with the multitude; and certain Protestant reformers, who had more courage than they, ventured to print books against image-worship, auricular confession, transubstantiation, and other fundamental tenets and practices of the Roman church. The king, who assumed all the authority in matters of dogmas that had ever been claimed by the popes, and much more than they had ever put in practice in England, pronounced awards and sentences which irritated both parties alike, and all these questions were referred to him—thus occupying a good deal of his time, and keeping in dangerous activity his old polemical bile.

Henry was by no means backward in issuing his final orders and decrees spiritual; and (the Reformers herein concealing their ulterior views) he was led to reduce the number of sacraments from seven to three—baptism, the Lord's Supper, and penance; to forbid the direct adoration of

practical advantages are only generally alleged, and could scarcely have been proved, they must have been inferred from the nature of a House of Commons. The British constitution was not thought to be enjoyed by a district till a popular representation was bestowed upon it. Election by the people was regarded, not as a source of tumult, but as the principle most capable of composing disorder in territories not represented."—Sir James Mackintosh, *History of England*.

¹ "The pensions to the superiors of the dissolved greater monasteries, says a writer not likely to spare Henry's government, appear to have varied from £260 to £6 per annum. The priors of cells received generally £13. A few, whose services merited the distinction, obtained £20. To the other monks were allotted pensions of £6, £4, or £2, with a small sum

images; to abrogate a number of saints' days or holidays, especially such as fell in harvest-time; to declare the Scriptures, with the Apostolic, Nicene, and Athanasian creeds, the sole standards of faith; to order every parish priest to expound these to his parishioners in plain English, and to direct the printing and distribution of an English translation of the Bible, one copy of which was to be kept in every parish church. The king, in his wisdom, insisted on the necessity of auricular confession, and denounced any questioning of the real presence in the eucharist as a damnable heresy to be punished with fire and fagot. Purgatory, he confessed, puzzled him, and steering a middle course, he declared himself to be uncertain on this head, and kindly permitted his subjects to pray for the souls of their departed friends, provided only that they fell into none of the old abuses of enriching religious houses and shrines for this object.

Most of these changes were far too sudden; but the people seem to have more particularly regretted the curtailing of their holidays. Many of the nobility and gentry fauced the flames of discontent, though, for the most part, they afterwards found means of convincing the king that they had acted under compulsion of the people. The hereditary patrons of the suppressed monasteries pretended that those houses and lands ought by no means to fall to the crown, but that, if it was suitable and necessary to take them from the religious orders, they ought to revert to the descendants or representatives of the original founders and benefactors. In the month of October the commons of Lincolnshire, being assembled touching certain subsidies to be paid to the king, suddenly, as if animated by one spirit, took up arms to the number of 20,000 men, forcing certain lords and gentlemen to be their leaders, and to swear to their articles. Such as refused they threw into prison, and a few they killed. The king sent a great force against these rebels, under the command of the Earls of Shrewsbury, Kent, Rutland, and Huntingdon, and the Duke of Suffolk—the last having the highest authority. Suffolk found the insurrection so formidable, that, instead of fighting, he was glad to negotiate; and even the king himself, furious as

to each at his departure, to provide for his immediate wants. The pensions to nuns averaged about £4.—[*Lingard*, vi. 341.] He admits that these were ten times their present value in money; and surely they were not unreasonably small. Compare them with those generally and justly thought munificent, which this country bestows on her veterans of Chelsea and Greenwich. The monks had no right to expect more than the means of that hard fare to which they ought, by their rules, to have been confined in their convents. The whole revenues were not to be shared among them as private property. It cannot of course be denied that the compulsory change of life, was to many a severe and unmerited hardship; but no great revolution—and the Reformation as little as any—could be achieved without much private suffering."—Hallam's *Const. Hist. Eng.*, note, p. 72.

he was, seems to have been more willing to rely on his pen than on his sword. By entertaining the proposal of a redress of grievances; by forwarding their petition to court; and by giving them fair promises, Suffolk stayed the first dangerous fury of the insurgents, gained time, and promoted dissensions among them; so that when Henry answered them, he was enabled to do so in a high tone. "The king," says an historian, who lived in servile times, "had a spirit befitting his greatness; and, perceiving them to shrink, could not dissemble the rage he had conceived at the presumption of this rascally rout, that durst capitulate with their sovereign, and seek to curb the unlimited power of kings."¹ Henry's answer "to the petitions of the traitors and rebels in Lincolnshire" has been preserved; and a most characteristic document it is! It ended by requiring them to deliver up into the hands of his lieutenants no fewer than 100 persons, to be punished according to their demerits, at his will and pleasure.² The insurgents, however, did not disperse till the 30th of October; and before they retired to their homes a fierce rebellion broke out beyond the Trent. Of the men of Lincolnshire, fifteen victims were given up to satisfy the royal vengeance. Among these were holy Dr. Makerel, the prior of Barlings, or Oxley, and Captain Cobbler, the chief leader, who is said by some historians to have been the prior himself, though it is conjectured, from a contemporary paper, that the real name of this Captain Cobbler was Melton.³ These men were respited for a season, but they were afterwards executed as traitors with the usual barbarity. But Henry's thirst of blood grew with his years. On the 9th of October a priest and a butcher were hanged at Windsor by martial law, "for words spoken" about the insurgents. At the same time, Dr. Mallet, who had been chaplain to the late Queen Catherine, was summarily executed at Chelmsford, in Essex, for some words spoken to the like effect.⁴ Meanwhile the insurrection north of the Trent spread from Yorkshire into Durham, Northumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire; and nothing seemed wanting but a proper leader to overthrow this most tyrannical government. Henry was greatly alarmed; but he told Wriothesley that he would rather sell all his plate than fail to subdue these traitors "in such sort that all others should take warning by their example."

Some money was sent to the Earl of Suffolk,

who was now at Newark, and who made a good use of it in buying over some of the ringleaders, and in exciting jealousies and dissensions among the ignorant insurgents. The Earl of Shrewsbury was constituted the king's lieutenant north of the Trent; and the Duke of Norfolk was despatched into Yorkshire, with the Marquis of Exeter, and an army of 5000 men. Including all the forces, there was a regular army of about 10,000 men in the field; but the rebels at one time were estimated at 40,000, being under the nominal command of Robert Aske, a gentleman of Yorkshire, who was not destitute either of talent or of energy. These men of the north had given a religious character to their rising, and had bound themselves by oath to stand by each other "for the love which they bore to Almighty God, his faith, the holy church, the king's person, and the persons of the nobility, to expel all villain blood and evil counsellors from the privy council, not for any private profit, nor to do displeasure to any private person, nor to slay or murder through envy, but for the restitution of the church, and the suppression of heretics and their opinions." They painted on their banners the figure of Christ in his agony; they wore upon their sleeves the emblem of the



EMBLEM OF THE FIVE WOUNDS OF CHRIST.—From a boss in the Lady Chapel, Tynemouth Priory.

five wounds of the Saviour, with the name of Jesus; and they called their march the "Pilgrimage of Grace." Wherever they advanced they restored the monks and nuns to their houses; and by tremendous threats they compelled the people to take their oaths and join their ranks. Every man was summoned to be at a place of rendezvous at a fixed hour, and in his best array, as he would answer for it before the High Judge at the day of doom, as he would avoid the pulling down of his house, the loss of his goods, and the destruction of his body. The cities of Hull, York, and Pontefract admitted the "Pilgrims

¹ Bishop Godwin.

² *State Papers*. This remarkable paper is alluded to by Lord Herbert, and given at length by Hall. It is printed in the volume of the *State Papers* from the minute, corrected by Lord Cromwell, which remains among the miscellaneous papers in the Chapter-house. The hand and style of the king are most visible in the composition.

³ Note by the editor of *State Papers*.

⁴ *Ibid.*

of Grace," and took the vows. The Lords Darcy, Lumley, Latimer, and Nevil, together with Edward Lee, Archbishop of York, with a vast number of the knights and gentlemen of the northern counties, joined the insurgents; but the tremendous threats favoured their pleading afterwards that they had done so upon compulsion. The undisciplined host was amenable to no authority, and there arose many conflicting opinions as to the proper mode of conducting their campaign. It is also very evident that some of their chiefs were already bought by Suffolk, for there was much difference of opinion and contention in the camp. When they moved upon Doncaster they were checked by the Earl of Shrewsbury and the Duke of Norfolk. The royal army, however, readily agreed to an armistice, during which the insurgents named delegates, who laid their demands before the king, who, in the meantime, had sent more money to the Duke of Suffolk.¹ The king also despatched the Lord-admiral Howard, and other soldiers and statesmen, to the north, with most elaborate instructions as to the way in which they were to proceed with the rebels. They were particularly charged to withdraw all fear of punishment from the Lord Darcy and the rest of the nobility that had joined the people; to offer them safe-conducts for the present, and a free pardon for the future.²

The paper presented by the northern delegates was longer than that which had been sent up by the men of Lincolnshire, but the chief grounds of complaint were the same in both. The most striking of the additional clauses (to some of which Henry deigned not to reply) were that the heresies of Wyckliffe, Huss, Luther, Melancthon, and others, should be rooted out, and that all heretical books whatsoever should be utterly destroyed; that the supremacy of the church, inasmuch as related to the care of souls, should be restored to the pope, who should have the consecration of bishops, with the first-fruits and tenths, as formerly; that the Lady Mary should be declared legitimate, and the statutes to the contrary annulled; that the pains and penalties against such as kept hand-guns and crossbows should be repealed, unless used in the king's parks and forests upon his royal deer; that parliament should be restored to its ancient privileges, and that the manner of conducting the elections of knights of the shire and members for boroughs should be reformed; that the cruel statute of treason for words spoken should be abrogated, and that the common law should be used as it was in the beginning of his grace's reign. Henry himself dic-

tated the answer. Touching the maintenance of the faith, he says, he marvels not a little that ignorant people like them should go about, or take upon them to instruct him, "who something had been noted to be learned." As for the maintenance of the church, this was so general a proposition that, without distinctions made as to which was the real and true church, no man could answer it; but he told them that, mean what church they might, it pertained not to them, the commons, to meddle in the matter, and that he could not but reckon it a great unkindness and unnaturalness in them to prefer that a churl or two should enjoy the property of the monasteries in support of vicious and abominable lives, rather than that he, their prince, should have the profits, for the support of his extreme charges incurred in their defence. In the end, he told them that the greatest concession he could make was, to pardon them their rebellion upon their delivering up to him "ten of their ringleaders and provokers, such as he should name and appoint."³ The insurgents rejected these terms, and kept the field; nor did the royal army consider itself strong enough to hazard a battle. Henry was put to his straits in order to send £6000 more to the north; and the Duke of Norfolk and the lord-admiral were ordered to look after and fortify the fords of the Don, the works at Nottingham, and the bridges and fords there. By this time it was the 21st of November; the weather was cold and stormy, and the rebels began to feel an anxiety to return to their agricultural labours. The Duke of Norfolk, however, was again glad to negotiate, and he made more promises than the king would ratify. The insurgents now became furious, and the royal army was compelled to retreat to the south of the Don and the Trent. At last Norfolk was authorized to give such assurances to the rebels as induced them to separate; and the king wrote gracious letters to his "trusty and well-beloved" Captain Aske, Lord Darcy, and others, expressing his earnest desire to see and converse with them, trusting that they were in heart repentant, and that he should have cause to reward them for their fidelity. They were both wise enough to decline the invitation; but Aske, it should seem, really undertook to oppose, if not to betray his party.⁴

A.D. 1537. As early as the 23d of January, bills and scrolls were stuck up, by night, upon the church doors, containing these words:—"Commons, be ye true among yourselves, and stick one to another, for the gentlemen have deceived you; but yet, if need be, ye

¹ The sum sent at this time amounted to about £10,000, and Wriothesley, in the name of the king, thanked Cromwell for the "great labours and travails" he had taken in the getting of this together.—*State Papers*.

² Letter of the king.—*State Papers*.

³ *State Papers*: from a fair copy preserved in the Chapter-house. The letter is supposed to be in the handwriting of Sir Ralph Sadler, but there are a few minute corrections in the king's hand.

⁴ *State Papers*.

shall lack no captains." In spite of all the efforts made to produce a lukewarmness or desire of division among the people, they met in arms in the beginning of February. But most of their leaders had bargained to betray them; the royal army was reinforced, and admitted into the heart of the country, and, after failing in three or four sieges of towns or castles, the insurgents were disheartened and again dispersed—every man doubting of the good faith of his captain, and looking only to the preservation of his own life. The Lord Darcy, Robert Aske, and most of the original leaders, not excepting those who had betrayed the cause, were taken, sent to London, and there ordered for execution as traitors in the month of June.¹ The king's banner was unfolded; martial law was proclaimed in all the northern counties; and Henry wrote minute instructions to the Duke of Norfolk, fearing that that nobleman might be too lenient. "Our pleasure is," saith the king, "that before you shall close up our said banner again, you shall in anywise cause such dreadful execution to be done upon a good number of the inhabitants of every town, village, and hamlet, as have offended in this rebellion as well by the hanging them up in trees as by the quartering of them, and the setting of their heads and quarters in every town, great and small, and in all such other places, as they may be a fearful spectacle to all other hereafter that would practise any like matter, which we require you to do, without pity or respect, according to our former letters."² The monks had stood too conspicuously in the van to escape his vengeance; and after naming some of them whom he wishes to be sent up to him with all speed, he adds:—"And forasmuch as all these troubles have ensued by the solicitations and traitorous conspiracies of the monks and canons of those parties (parts), we desire and pray you, at your repair to Sawley, Hexham, Newminster, Lannercost, St. Agatha, and all such other places as have made any manner of resistance, or in anywise conspired, or kept their houses with any force since the appointment at Doncaster, you shall, without pity or circumstance, now that our banner is displayed, cause all the monks and canons that be in anywise faulty to be tied up without further delay or ceremony, to the terrible example of others, wherein we think you shall do unto us high service."³ When the north had been converted into a shambles, and the pleasant

banks of the Tweed, the Tyne, the Tees, the Don, and the Trent, were loathsome with the number of ghastly heads and reeking members, a pardon was proclaimed; and the king felicitated himself and his ministers on the wholesome vigour of government.

It is now time to allude to Cardinal Pole, the man that threw the greatest bitterness into the cup of the absolute Henry, and that recorded his infamy in strains of eloquence which the world could not forget. Reginald Pole was the son of Sir Richard Pole, by Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, daughter to George, Duke of Clarence, the unfortunate brother of Edward IV. He was thus second cousin to the king, and Henry, allowing the claim of consanguinity, and being charmed with the abilities of his young relative, patronized and protected him, allowing him a handsome pension, upon which he studied and lived



CARDINAL POLE.—After Sebastian del Piombo.

a considerable number of years in the universities of France and Italy. The king had been disposed to confer upon him the richest promotion in his dominions, but he exacted in return that the eloquent churchman should defend his divorce from Catherine, his assumption of supremacy, and all his other extreme measures; and this Pole was too high-minded to undertake. After several negotiations they quarrelled out-

¹ They were attainted in the court of the lord high-steward, Lord Darcy was not sent back from London, but was executed at Tower-hill; Aske was sent down to York, and executed there: Constable suffered at Hull; Lord Hussey at Lincoln; and other leaders of less name at other places.

² *State Papers.*

³ *State Papers.* The pleasing prospect of blood did not blind the king to the charms of confiscation and forfeiture. In the

same letter to Norfolk, he says:—"We desire and pray you to have good respect to the conservation of the lands and goods of all such as shall be now attainted, that we may have them in safety, to be given, if we shall be so disposed, to such persons as have truly served us; for we be informed that there were amongst them divers freeholders and rich men, whose lands and goods well looked unto will reward others well, that, with their truths, have deserved the same."

right, and, on Henry's rupture with the church, Pole declined all preferment in England, and, retiring to the north of Italy, he assailed the king both with argument and most stinging invective. He spread the infamy of the murder of Sir Thomas More through all Europe: his great work, entitled *De Unione Ecclesiastica* (On Ecclesiastical Union), was the best defence of the rights of the Romish church; and, even where it failed in argument, it touched the king to the quick, by exposing the baseness and the selfishness of his motives. Paul III. invited this noble English champion to Rome. For awhile Reginald Pole hesitated, for he feared what might befall his friends and relatives in England; but at last, in the end of 1536, he repaired to the Vatican, entered into the pope's service, and received a cardinal's hat. This was at the very moment that the insurrection was raging in the northern counties. The pope, it appears, thought that this demonstration would terrify Henry into a reconciliation with the church; but, if it failed to do this, the occasion would be most favourable for extending his protection to the monks and their party, and for shaking the king on his throne. He named Cardinal Pole legate beyond the Alps, and intrusted him with extraordinary powers. Intimidated by the threats of his loving cousin of England, who had requested him to arrest the cardinal and deliver him up, Francis refused to see Pole on his passage through France, and on reaching Cambrai he was denied permission to enter the territory of the Emperor Charles. The cardinal had been supplied with money to remit to the insurgents, and he was instructed to treat with some of the neighbouring princes, who were supposed by the court of Rome to be likely to exert themselves in the

cause of the Catholic faith, and to support the rebels in England, notwithstanding the dangerous precedent that would be thereby established; but the insurrection was suppressed before Pole reached the frontiers of Flanders, and he soon found that his own person was in danger from the far-reaching hands of Henry, who proclaimed him a traitor, and offered 50,000 crowns to any man that should bring him his head; while his minister, the indefatigable Cromwell, vowed that he would make the cardinal eat his own heart through vexation! Pole was thus reduced to study how he should save his own life; and, being unable to hold any communication with England, or to do anything in behalf of the church, he returned to Rome in the month of August, being followed across the Alps by the loud curses of the king.¹

On the 12th of October, Jane Seymour gave birth, at Hampton Court, to a son, and died twelve days after.² The king's joy at having an heir-male seems to have been greater than his grief for the loss of his wife; and the infant Edward, who succeeded him on the throne, was immediately created Prince of Wales,³ Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of Chester—his maternal uncle, Edward Seymour, being made Lord Beauchamp and Earl of Hereford. "Then also William Paulet and John Russell began their races in the lists of honour, Paulet being made treasurer, and Russell comptroller of the king's household, and both being sworn of the privy council: neither was here their *non ultra*, the one being afterwards raised to Lord-treasurer of England and Marquis of Winchester, the other, Russell, to be Earl of Bedford." These latter promotions, however, did not take place till the next reign.⁴

¹ Pole, *Epist.*; Burnet.

² The story, so long told in all histories, of Prince Edward's being brought into the world by means of the Cæsarean operation, and by the sacrifice of his mother's life, is a complete fable, that seems to have first proceeded from the fertile imagination of Sanders, the Jesuit. Jane Seymour's death was owing to her having been suffered to take cold and eat improper food.—See *State Papers* (Despatch to the Ambassador in France).

³ Such is the common account (see Nicolas, *Synopsis of the Perage*, l. 7). Edward, however, tells us himself, in his jour-

nal, that he was only about to be created Prince of Wales. Duke of Cornwall, and Count-palatine of Chester, when his father died. Burnet (*Hist. Reformation*) says that Henry, towards the end of his life, designed to create his son Prince of Wales; for though he was called so, as the heirs of this crown are, yet he was not by a formal creation invested with that dignity. The formal creation designed by Henry seems to have been a solemn coronation of his son, somewhat similar to what took place in the case of Prince Henry, the eldest son of Henry II.

⁴ Bishop Godwin.

CHAPTER VII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1537—1543.

HENRY VIII.—ACCESSION, A.D. 1509—DEATH, A.D. 1547.

Selfish zeal of Henry VIII. for reformation in religion—Trial and sentence on the bones of Thomas à Becket—Spoliation of monasteries—Effects of this havoc on religion and learning—Effects on national industry and comfort—Henry's indiscriminate persecutions—The pope endeavours to promote a crusade against Henry—The relations of Cardinal Pole persecuted—Execution of the Countess of Salisbury—Henry's attempts to reconcile and rule Papists and Protestants—He holds a disputation for the purpose—He enacts the Six Articles—Cromwell negotiates the marriage of Henry with Anne of Cleves—Henry's aversion to his new bride—He falls in love with Lady Catherine Howard—Cromwell arrested and imprisoned—Henry marries Catherine Howard—His repudiation of Anne of Cleves—Cromwell executed—Executions of Papists and Protestants—Catherine Howard accused of adultery—Cranmer's account of her examination in prison—Attempts made to extort a confession of her guilt—Her trial, and the charges brought against her—Declarations of witnesses—Mean conduct of the Duke of Norfolk during her trial—Catherine Howard executed—Absurd law enacted after her execution—Henry's arbitrary proceedings in religion—His regulations for the government of Wales—Condition of Ireland at this period—Rebellion of the Fitzgeralds—Its treacherous suppression—It is succeeded by that of Cromer, Archbishop of Armagh—Disquietude of Henry's government by Irish insurrections—He resolves to elevate Ireland from a lordship into a kingdom.



MEANWHILE "the king continued much prone to reformation, especially if anything might be gotten by it."¹ Nothing was more easy than to prove that all the monastic orders had been engaged in the late insurrection; and, as many of the richest abbeys and priories remained as yet untouched, there was no want of wise counsellors, anxious to share in the spoils, to recommend the suppression of all of them. In some cases, out of a dread of martial law, or what was equally bad, a prosecution for high treason, the abbots surrendered, gave, and granted their abbeys unto the king, his heirs and assigns for ever; but still many replied, like the prior of Henton, in Somersetshire, "that they would not be light and hasty in giving up those things which were not theirs to give, being dedicated to Almighty God, for service to be done to his honour continually, with other many good deeds of charity which be daily done in their houses to their Christian neighbours."² These recusants were treated with great severity. The prisons were crowded with priors and monks, who died so rapidly in their places of confinement as to excite a dreadful suspicion.

Without waiting for a needless act of parliament, the king suppressed many other houses, and soon after, with the full consent of lords and commons, finished this business by seizing all the abbeys without exception, and all the rest of the religious houses, except a very few, which were spared at the earnest petition of the people, or given up to the representatives of their original founders. Before proceeding to the final

suppression, under pretext of checking the superstitious worshipping of images, he had laid bare their altars and stripped their shrines of everything that was valuable; nor did he spare the rich coffins and the crumbling bones of the dead. At the distance of 400 years, exasperated at that extraordinary man's opposition to the royal prerogative, he determined to have vengeance upon the bones and relics of Thomas à Becket. The martyr's tomb was broken open, and, by an insane process, worthy of a Nero or a Caligula, a criminal information was filed against him as "Thomas Becket, sometime Archbishop of Canterbury," and he was formally cited to appear in court and answer to the charges. Thirty days were allowed the saint, but we need scarcely inform our readers that his dishonoured bones rested quietly at Canterbury, and did not appear to plead in Westminster Hall. We have repeatedly noticed Henry's nice attention to the forms of law and justice: on the present occasion, when Becket might have been declared contumacious, and have had judgment passed against him for default of appearance, the king, by his special grace, assigned him counsel to plead for him. With due solemnity the court opened its proceedings on the 11th of June, 1539. The attorney-general eloquently exposed the case for the prosecution; and the advocates of the saint, who no doubt spoke less boldly, were heard in defence: and that being over, sentence was pronounced that Becket had been guilty of rebellion, treason, and contumacy; that his bones should be burned as a lesson to the living not to oppose the royal will; and that the rich offerings with which many generations of men, native and foreign, had enriched his shrine should be forfeited to the crown

¹ Bishop Godwin.² Ellis' *Original Letters*.

as the personal property of the traitor. In the month of August, Cromwell, who must have smiled at the course pursued, sent down some of his commissioners to Canterbury, who executed their task so well that they filled two immense coffers with gold and jewels, each of them so heavy that it required eight strong men to lift it. A few months after the king, by proclamation, stated to his people that, forasmuch as it now clearly appears Thomas Becket had been killed in a riot provoked by his own obstinacy and insolence, and had been canonized by the Bishop of Rome merely because he was a champion of that usurped authority, he now deemed it proper to declare that he was no saint whatever, but a rebel and traitor to his prince, and that therefore he, the king, strictly commanded that he should not be any longer esteemed or called a saint—that all images and pictures of him should be destroyed—and that his name and remembrance should be erased out of all books, under pain of his majesty's indignation, and imprisonment at his grace's¹ pleasure.²

Other shrines had been plundered before, and certain miraculous images and relics of saints had been broken in pieces at St. Paul's Cross, and the machinery exposed by which some of the monks had deluded the superstitious people; but now every shrine was laid bare, or, if any escaped, it was owing to the poverty of their decorations and offerings. Hitherto Henry had burned the Reformers, and hanged the Catholics; but, on the 22d of May (1539), a monk was hanged up by the arm-pits, and underneath him a fire was made, "wherewith he was slowly burned." There was a pulpit erected near the stake, from which Hugh Latimer, now Bishop of Worcester, preached a sermon; and there was also a scaffold in the centre, for the accommodation of the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the Lord-admiral Howard, the lord privy-seal (Cromwell), and divers others of the council, together with Sir Richard Gresham, lord-mayor, and many citizens. By frequent spectacles like these was the mind of England brutalized to a degree scarcely ever seen before.³

In the final seizures of the abbeyes and monasteries the richest fell first. After Canter-

bury, Battle Abbey; Merton, in Surrey; Stratford, in Essex; Lewes, in Sussex; the Charterhouse, the Blackfriars, the Grayfriars, and the Whitefriars, in London, felt the fury of the same whirlwind, which gradually blew over the whole land, until, in the spring of the year 1540, all the monastic establishments of the kingdom were suppressed, and the mass of their landed property was divided among courtiers and parasites. The gold and silver and costly jewels of shrines had partly gone in that direction, and had partly been kept for the king's use. Between the ignorant zealots of the new doctrines, and the rudeness of the men employed in the suppression, who were all most anxious for spoil, and who probably cared little for any form of religion, or any decency of worship, innumerable works of art were destroyed, and magnificent specimens of architecture were defaced and left roofless; statues and pictures, many of them the productions of Italian masters, and which had in the eye of taste a sort of holiness independent of saints and Madonnas, were broken to pieces or burned. The mosaic pavements of the chapels were torn up, and the same brutal hands smashed the painted windows, which almost more than anything gave beauty and glory to our old abbeyes and cathedrals. The church-bells were gambled for, and sold into Russia and other countries. The libraries—of which all the great houses contained one, numerous, if not well stocked, but wherein, no doubt, existed many a book in manuscript which we would now willingly possess—were treated with the greatest contempt. "Some books were reserved to scour their caudlesticks, some to rub their boots, some sold to the grocers and soap-boilers, and some sent over sea to book-binders, not in small numbers, but at times whole shipments, to the wondering of foreign nations—a single merchant purchasing, at forty shillings a-piece, two noble libraries to be used as gray paper."⁴

All the abbeyes were totally dismantled except in the cases where they happened to be the parish churches also; as was the case at St. Alban's, Tewkesbury, Malvern, and elsewhere, where they were rescued, in part, by the petitions and pecuniary contributions of the pious inhabitants, who were averse to the worshipping of God in a stable. Cranmer and Latimer petitioned the king in some cases; but, as is proved by their existing letters, they were too dependent on the court, and too fearful of its wrath, to do very much.

The men who had recommended the wholesale spoliation of the church had represented it as a never-failing fund, which would enable the king to carry on his government with none, or but

¹ Wilkins' *Concilia*.

² "The part that Erasmus had in precipitating the downfall of the conventual establishments in England, by arming public opinion against them, must not be forgotten. 'Erasmus, the prince of European scholars, was in the fiftieth year of his age, and in the full maturity of his fame, when Luther began to preach the Reformation at Wittenberg. No man had more severely lashed the superstitions which were misnamed acts of piety, or scourged the frauds and debaucheries of the priesthood with a more vigorous arm. The ridicule which he so plentifully poured on the monks during his residence in England, doubtless contributed to their easy overthrow in this country.'"—Sir James Mackintosh, *History of England*.

³ Hall: *Stow*; *Godwin*.

⁴ Spelman, *History and Fate of Sacrilege*.

the slightest taxes, and would furnish him with the means of creating and supporting earls, barons, and knights, and of forming excellent institutions for the promotion of industry, education, and religion. But, in the event, the property was squandered in a manner which is scarcely accountable; and the king had the conscience to demand from parliament a *compensation for the expenses he had incurred in reforming the religion of the state*; and within a year after the completion of his measures, the slavish parliament voted him a subsidy of two-tenths and two-fifteenths for this express purpose. None of the objects spoken of were promoted by the money of the religious houses, always excepting the making and supporting certain noblemen. Pauperism increased, as the whole body of the poor, which had been supported by the monks, who had funds for that purpose, were thrown, clamorous and desperate, and unprepared for and unprovided with employment, upon the wondering nation, which had not before been aware of the extent of the evil. Education declined rapidly; the schools kept in the monasteries were at an end; and other schools and even the universities were comparatively deserted. Religion was not promoted—for nothing but miserable stipends were given to the preachers, and none but poor and unlettered men would accept the office. To preach at St. Paul's Cross had been a great object of clerical ambition; but now there was a difficulty of finding a sufficient number of preachers for that duty; and about four years after the final suppression, Bonner, Bishop of London, wrote to Parker, then master of Corpus, importuning him to send him some help from Cambridge; and, not long after that, during the short reign of Edward VI., Latimer said, "I think there be at this day 10,000 students less than were within these twenty years." The rural parishes were served by priests who had scarcely the rudiments of education. Following an example set them by the king, who required Cromwell to give a benefit to a priest who was kept in the royal service, because he had trained two hawks for his majesty's pasture, which flew and killed their game very well,¹ the patrons of livings gave them to their menials as wages or rewards, to their gardeners, to the keepers of their hawks and hounds.² So completely were the funds absorbed, and so greedy were the courtiers in keeping what they got, that no proper recompense was reserved for Miles Coverdale and his associates, who translated and printed the first complete English Bible—the greatest achievement

of the age, and the measure that most effectually promoted the Reformation. Coverdale himself was left in great poverty; and the printers, in order to cover their expenses, were obliged to put a high price upon their copies, thus impeding the circulation of the book, and thwarting the wishes expressed by the king himself.³

The destruction of the monasteries left important gaps even in the physical accommodations of the people, which not a pound sterling of the spoil was devoted to fill up. They had been hospitals, infirmaries, and dispensaries for the poor—caravansaries to the wayfarer—and, in the absence of inns, the badness of roads, and the thinness of the population, their value had been felt in this respect both by rich and poor. In many of the wilder districts they had served as a nucleus of civilization, and sociality and hospitality were nowhere to be found but within these walls. The Chancellor Audley, who was seldom anxious to stop the hand of the spoiler, and who partook largely in the spoil, ventured, in a letter to Cromwell, to beg that two of the abbeys in Essex might be left standing on this account. The Archbishop Cranmer, however, did what he could with safety to himself; and Henry, startled perhaps by a popular outcry, resolved to appropriate a part of the spoil to the advancement of religion. Parliament passed an act for establishing new bishoprics, deaneries, and colleges, which were to be endowed with revenues raised on the lands of the monasteries; but it was too late: the money and lands were gone, or the king and his ministers needed all that remained. The number of new bishoprics was reduced from eighteen to six—those of Westminster, Oxford, Peterborough, Bristol, Chester, and Gloucester; and these were so scantily endowed that they scarcely afforded the new bishops the means of living.⁴ At the same time, fourteen abbeys and priories were converted into cathedrals and collegiate churches, with deans and prebendaries; but the king kept to himself a part of the lands which had been attached to them, and charged the chapters with the obligation of contributing annually to the support of the poor and the repairs of the highways.

In order to bring this interesting subject—which, notwithstanding its connection with the history of religion, cannot be separated from the political history of the time—under one point of view, we have outrun several contemporary events which we must now take up.

Although the king had overthrown so many

¹ Letter from Fitzwilliam to Cromwell, dated at Hampton Court, the 12th September, 1537.—*State Papers*.

² Latimer's *Sermons*; *Strype*; *Spelman, Hist. and Fate of Sacerdotes*, with letters quoted therein, and by Leland; *Blunt's Sketch of the Reformation*.

³ Letters addressed by Coverdale and Grafton the printer to Cromwell, from Paris, in the year 1538, in *State Papers*.

⁴ *Journals*; *Strype*; *Rymer*; *Godwin*. Westminster was erected into a bishopric on the 17th of December, 1540; Oxford in 1541; Peterborough in 1541; Bristol in 1542; Chester in 1542; and Gloucester in 1541.

of the fundamental doctrines and practices of the Roman church, he would allow no man in his dominions the right of questioning such as, in his wisdom, he had thought fit to retain; and in the month of November, 1538, only a few days after his proclaiming Thomas à Becket a rebel and traitor, the fires of Smithfield again blazed, and a man and a woman were consumed in them as Anabaptists. But in the same month, one John Lambert, formerly in priest's orders, but now a schoolmaster in London, who had adopted the views of the German Reformers respecting the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, was condemned, as an obstinate heretic and opponent of the truth, to be burned alive. The sentence was executed in Smithfield with some circumstances of unusual atrocity. Cranmer and the bishops concurred in the abominable proceeding, although some of them besides Cranmer were more than suspected of going the whole length of the German Reformers, and of entertaining precisely the same notions as to the sacrament for which Lambert was burned alive.¹

Before this time the pope had not only published his bull of excommunication, but had laboured to reconcile the great Catholic princes of the Continent, in order that they might make a crusade against Henry, whose cruelties excited universal disgust. His great effort was to make up all quarrels between the King of France and the emperor; and by his mediation, a truce for ten years was concluded at Nice, on the 18th of June, 1538. During the whole of the years 1538 and 1539, Henry, who was unprepared for war, and who, by this time, had become suspicious of all his subjects, was kept in a constant state of alarm by reports that Francis and Charles were about to head a league against him; and great was the labour of his more courageous minister Cromwell to remove these apprehensions and jealousies.² On one occasion Cromwell assures his majesty that there is no need of being so hot and cold, seeing that there are no ships preparing in Spain for invasion: on another, he comforts him with the prospect of a new and extended alliance among the Protestant princes of Germany, which will be sure to find the emperor employment; and in another he thinks that the finger of God is visible in the stirring up of the Great Turk, who is resolved to make a fresh invasion of Christendom. Shortly after, however, the minister was obliged to allude to some prac-

tices of the Cardinal Pole, and to tell the king that he had learned from Rome a rumour that the emperor, the French king, and the pope were carrying on an active correspondence, but that it was thought that the two sovereigns were only giving the pope "fair words to feed him with."

At the end of the year 1538, the Lord Montacute and Sir Geoffrey Pole, brothers to the cardinal; Henry Courtney, Marquis of Exeter, grandson to King Edward IV. by his daughter Catherine; Sir Edward Nevil; two priests named Croft and Collins; and one Holland, a mariner, were suddenly apprehended and conveyed to the Tower. In the beginning of the year 1539, the Marquis of Exeter and the Lord Montacute were arraigned before some peers,³ and the commoners were tried before a jury, on a vague charge of having devised to maintain, promote, and advance one Reginald Pole, late dean of Exeter, the king's enemy beyond the seas, and to deprive the king of his royal state and dignity. We have no particulars of these trials; but Geoffrey Pole, the youngest of the brothers, upon a promise of pardon, pleaded guilty, and made a confession involving all the rest, who thereupon were condemned to death as traitors.

Lord Herbert says that he "could never discover the particular offences of these great persons. . . . Only I find among our records that Thomas Wriothesley, secretary, then at Brussels, writing of their apprehension to Sir Thomas Wyatt, his highness' ambassador in Spain, said that the accusations were great, and duly proved;" and he adds that another writer said they had sent the cardinal (Pole) money. Cromwell might have had better proofs of their correspondence with the cardinal, through means of his spies and agents, but we have no letter of his that touches upon this prosecution. The Marquis of Exeter and Lord Montacute had remained steady and loyal during the insurrection in the north, where, on account of their descent from the White Rose, they might have exercised a dangerous influence. There was certainly no overt act of treason; and the main cause of their death seems to have been Henry's dread and jealousy of their royal descent, and his anxiety to be revenged upon the cardinal, whose own person was out of his reach, and whose abilities and energies were at the moment actively employed in raising him up enemies. Sir Geoffrey Pole was allowed a dishonoured life. His brother, Lord Montacute, the Marquis of

¹ Hall; Godwin; Fox; Collier.

² The king's dread, and Cromwell's labour to remove it, are both well proved by original letters still in existence. At this moment Cromwell maintained spies and secret agents at Rome, Naples, Milan, Genoa, Venice, Madrid, Paris, Brussels, Frankfurt, and in almost every corner of Europe. One of the chief objects of these agents was to watch the movements of Cardinal Pole, and otherwise to pick up information as to the treaties

between the Catholic princes, and their preparations or non-preparations for war.—*State Papers*.

³ They were certainly not tried in a regular manner before the peers in parliament, for parliament did not meet for more than two months after their execution. It appears that the Chancellor Audley acted as high-steward on this occasion. On the 2d of March Sir Nicholas Carew was beheaded for being of counsel with the Marquis of Exeter and Lord Montacute.

Exeter, and Sir Edward Nevil, were beheaded on Tower-hill on the 9th of January, 1539; the two priests and the mariner were hanged and quartered at Tyburn. But Henry's hatred was not yet satisfied, nor his jealous fears set at rest. In the month of February, Cromwell "learned out of Scotland," that there was a French ship, with sundry passengers, about to set sail from Leith; and on the 14th of March, he wrote joyfully to inform the king "that a certain French ship, laden with Scottish goods, had been driven by stress of weather into South Shields;" and that the Earl of Westmoreland, "being advised by certain persons from Scotland," had seized and searched the ship, and had found "under the baggage, in the bottom thereof, a nest of traitors; that is to say, one Robert Moore, a priest of Chichester, who had lately escaped from Hexham prison, and two Irishmen, a monk and a friar, who had with them seditious and traitorous letters directed to the Bishop of Rome and to the traitor Pole." The poor Irish monk was carried up to London; and, a few days after, Cromwell wrote to the king: "We cannot as yet get the pith of the credence, whereby I am advised tomorrow to go to the Tower, and see him set in the brakes,¹ and, by torment, compelled to confess the truth."² We are not informed as to the full result of this visit to the Tower; but when parliament met on the 28th of April, they were instructed to pass bills of attainder against Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, the mother of Cardinal Pole; Gertrude, the widow of the Marquis of Exeter; the son of Lord Montacute, a boy of tender years; Sir Adrian Fortescue; and Sir Thomas Dingley. The cardinal's venerable mother (the Countess of Salisbury was seventy years old) was privately examined at her first arrest by the Earl of Southampton, and Goodrich, the Bishop of Ely, before whom she behaved with so much firmness of character, that they wrote to their employer Cromwell, that she was more like a strong and constant man than a woman—that she denied everything laid to her charge, and that it seemed to them either that her sons had not made her "privy or participant of the bottom and pit of their stomach, or that she must be the most arrant traitress that ever lived."³ Cromwell himself examined the Marchioness of Exeter, but, as it should appear, without success.⁴ Although Cromwell had got possession of the persons of some of the Countess of

Salisbury's servants, he could not extract sufficient materials for a criminal information. Upon this he called up the judges, and asked them whether parliament might condemn persons accused of treason without any previous trial or confession; and the servile judges replied, that, though it was a nice question, and one that no inferior tribunal could entertain, there was no doubt that the court of parliament was supreme, and that any attainer by parliament would be good in law. Such a bill, accordingly, the parliament passed, condemning to death all the accused, without any form of trial whatever. The two knights were beheaded on the 10th of July: the Marchioness of Exeter, after being further questioned by Cromwell in the Tower, was pardoned some six months after. The old Countess of Salisbury was kept in prison, but what became of her grandson, the child of Lord Montacute, who was included in the attainder, does not appear. Nearly two years after the passing of the iniquitous act of attainder, on the 27th of May, 1541, the aged countess, the nearest to the king in blood of all his relations, on some new provocation, real or fancied, of her son Cardinal Pole, was dragged from her dungeon in the Tower to the scaffold.⁵

But before this happened the minister Cromwell had gone to his account. If the Catholic or Papist party were not the sole cause of the ruin of this man, they seem to have contributed to that event quite as much as his bad luck in match-making for the king. Each of the two great religious parties was animated with the most deadly animosity against the other, neither of them conceiving for a moment the expediency of a mutual toleration and an agreement among themselves as a means of resisting the still-growing tyranny of the crown; and both ministered in turn to the king's insatiable thirst for blood. Cromwell, with Cranmer, had all along proposed a close alliance with the Protestant states of Germany; and when Henry was alarmed about the coalition of the Catholic powers, he thought seriously of this alliance, and sent several ambassadors into Germany. But as religion was to be the basis of the alliance, the German Protestants wished to see a uniformity of faith and practice established in England, and insisted that, at the least, Henry should permit priests to have wives, and should command private masses to be abolished. The king, who, according to Cromwell,

¹ The brake was an instrument of torture: it was also called the "Duke of Exeter's Daughter."

² In this same letter Cromwell speaks of the new parliament which was to meet in April. "Amongst other, for your grace's parliament, I have appointed your majesty's servant, Mr. Morrison, to be one of them: no doubt he shall be ready to answer, and take up such as would crack or face with literature of learning, or by indirection waver, if any such shall be, as I think

there shall be few or none; forasmuch as I, and other your delicate counsellors, be about to bring all things so to pass that your majesty had never more tractable parliament."—*State Papers*.

³ *Ellis*, Letter from Lord Southampton and the Bishop of Ely to Cromwell.

⁴ *State Papers*. Letter from Cromwell to the king.

⁵ Pole, *Epist.*; *Hall*; *Godwin*.

"knew himself to be the learnedest prince in Europe," thought it became not him to submit to them, but expected that they should submit to him, and take his ecclesiastical ordinances as their model and guide. The Germans, who considered him as a slave to the very worst of the dogmas of the Roman church, would not listen to such conditions. Henry now evinced a sudden anxiety to reconcile himself with the Catholic party, by showing them that, though he had cast off the authority of the pope, he was as far as ever from entertaining the leading tenets of Luther. The Duke of Norfolk, who favoured the old learning, was unexpectedly sent for, commissioned to manage the affairs of the crown in the House of Peers, and placed, in many matters, over the head of Cromwell: Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, the most zealous of all the Papists, was also recalled to court, and ordered to preach a course of sermons at St. Paul's Cross. The king must have known the diversity of sentiment which prevailed among the bench of bishops, and he was now resolved that this should cease, probably feeling that it was hard to expect unanimity among the people, when their spiritual teachers, the prelates appointed by himself, differed widely in opinion. In the parliament which attained the mother of Cardinal Pole, and the rest of those victims, he ordered the appointment of a committee of spiritual lords, among whom Cromwell was included in virtue of his office of vicar-general; and this committee was charged to examine the diversity of opinions in matters of faith, with the view of producing a final agreement. In the absence of the king, Cromwell, and Cranmer, Shaxton, Bishop of Salisbury, and Goodrich, Bishop of Ely, ventured to oppose the more Catholic notions of Lee, Archbishop of York, Toustal, Bishop of Durham, Aldrich, Bishop of Carlisle, Clarke, Bishop of Bath, and Saleot, *alias* Capon, Bishop of Bangor. Eleven days of disputation wore out the patience of Henry, who was not present to take part in it; and the Duke of Norfolk, seeing that the committee would never agree, suggested another course, which was adopted by the king's wisdom in concurrence with Bishop Gardiner. On the 18th of May, 1533, the duke proposed to the consideration of the whole House of Lords six questions respecting the eucharist, communion under one kind, private masses, the celibacy of the priesthood, auricular confession, and vows of chastity. On this occasion none but the spiritual peers spoke, and of them only such as were in favour of the Roman practices: the rest, who, no doubt, knew what was coming, remained silent in their seats. On the second day the king went down to the house and joined in the debate. It was perilous work to oppose a controversialist who was accustomed to back his arguments with the

axe, the gallows, and the stake. The temporal lords, not excepting the Lord-chancellor Audley and the Lord Privy-seal Cromwell, were presently all of one opinion; and among the bishops, only those of Canterbury, Ely, Salisbury, Worcester, Rochester, and St. David's, defended the contrary side, which they did for a long time, "but yet they were finally confounded with his highness' goodly learning." There is a dispute between writers of opposite parties as to the extent of the opposition of the Archbishop of Canterbury, but it appears that Cranmer really resisted the bill as far as was consistent with the safety of his life, and that he never gave a very formal consent to it. Shaxton, Bishop of Salisbury, had more courage, and openly resisted to the last; or, in the words of one of the lords who was present, "he yet continued a lewd fool." A few days after, Henry proposed that the severest penalties should be enacted by parliament against all such persons as should dare to teach contrary doctrines, or question the sacred institutions of private masses, confession, and the rest. At the king's order the lords formed a committee, which, after some changes, was headed and wholly directed by the most violent partisans of the old learning—the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Durham, and the Bishop of Winchester, the fiery but accomplished Gardiner. This committee readily adopted the Six Articles, or the Bloody Statute, as it was afterwards called, and which was evidently the joint production of Bishop Gardiner and the king.¹ It was submitted in a hurry to the clergy assembled in convocation; and being approved of there, was introduced by the Protestant Chancellor Audley, and passed through both lords and commons with infinite ease. These notorious articles were—1. That the eucharist was really the present natural body and blood of Christ, under the forms, but without the substance, of bread and wine, which were transmuted by the act of consecration. 2. That the communion under both kinds was not necessary to salvation. 3. That priests could not, by the law of God, marry. 4. That vows of chastity, whether in man or woman, priest, monk, or nun, must be observed. 5. That private masses must be retained as essential. 6. That the use of auricular confession is expedient and necessary. To these Six Articles were attached the following penalties: 1. If any person wrote, preached, or disputed against the first article—which settled the question of the real presence in the eucharist—he should not be allowed to abjure or recant, but should at once be burned as a heretic, and forfeit his property to the king—a worse penalty than ever was enacted by the Inquisition, which

¹ A draft of the act with many corrections, in the king's own hand, is preserved in the British Museum.

allowed the benefit of one recantation. 2. If any man preached, or spoke openly before the judges, against any one of the other five articles, he should incur the penalties of felony; but if he only held contrary opinions, and published them, he should, for the first offence, be imprisoned at the king's pleasure, forfeiting his lands during life, his goods for ever; and for the second offence he should die. 3. All marriages of priests or nuns already contracted were to be of no effect; the parties so marrying were to separate immediately, and if they cohabited afterwards it would be punished as felony; priests and nuns found guilty of fornication were to suffer imprisonment and forfeiture on the first conviction, and death on the second.¹

As soon as this barbarous statute was passed, Shaxton, Bishop of Salisbury, and Latimer, Bishop of Worcester, resigned their sees, or they were deprived of them by the king, for refusing to subscribe the edict;² but Crammer, Fox, and Goodrich did not follow their example. Crammer, more than all, was in a critical situation; he had brought his German wife, the niece of the Protestant pastor Osiander, into England, and by this time she had borne him several children. He had kept his family in retirement, out of sight of the world; but it is difficult to conceive that such a connection could be wholly a secret. He had evidently hoped to prevail upon the king to adopt the Lutheran notion with respect to the celibacy of the clergy; but this hope must have failed him even before the passing of the Six Articles; and he, a married churchman, and the father of a family, had been compelled, on more than one occasion, to denounce severe pains and penalties against all churchmen in the same predicament. Now, however, in all haste he sent his wife and children into Germany, and made himself conformable to the bloody statute. But Crammer, Latimer, and others, relied with a happy hope on the effect of the Bible, which was now circulated in the language of the people.³

The same dastardly parliament which passed the Six Articles voted also that the king's proclamations had, and ought to have, the full effect of acts of parliament; that all transgressions against such proclamations should be punished with fines and imprisonment, or otherwise, at the king's pleasure; and that for a person to quit the kingdom, in order to escape these penalties incurred by disobedience to proclamation, was high treason. (Are we speaking of England, or of an Oriental despotism?) Base, however, as

were lords and commons, this bill encountered some opposition; but still the two religious parties were too intent upon other matters to coalesce and make a bold stand against this horrid tyranny.⁴

As if he feared he had gone too far in the direction of the Church of Rome, the king ordered a silly pageant on the river Thames, where two galleys, the one bearing the royal arms of England, the other the arms of the pope, met and fought in fierce guise. The royal galley was of course victorious, and effigies of the pope and cardinals were thrown overboard amidst the shouts of the king, the court, and the citizens.⁵ On the 8th of July, the vicar of Wandsworth, with his curate, a man-servant, and one Friar Ware, were all hanged and quartered, apparently for questioning the king's supremacy.

In the month of November, Richard Whiting, abbot of Glastonbury, was hanged and quartered; and two of his monks, John Thorne, the treasurer, and Roger James, the under-treasurer, were hanged and quartered with him.⁶ In the same month, Hugh Farringdon, abbot of Reading, and two of his monks, were hanged and quartered near their abbey; and John Beche, abbot of Colchester, was drawn and quartered near his abbey. All these butcheries of men whom they must have considered as faithful sons of the Roman church, could not but have been distasteful to Gardiner and the other leaders of the old learning; but we do not see that they ever ran the risk of incurring destruction by opposing the king's will, or by protesting against his measures. They, indeed, stood by, and saw men hanged and quartered for questioning the supremacy or resisting the seizure of their abbeys and houses, just as the converts of the new doctrine saw men burned for entertaining the Protestant notions as to the sacrament and other points; and each party seems to have consoled itself for the sufferings of its own friends by the recollection and the prospect of the sufferings of the other.

Cromwell had identified himself with the Protestant party, and had gone to such lengths against the Papists, that it was impossible he could ever hope for a safe reconciliation with them. He saw also that the Duke of Suffolk and Bishop Gardiner were gaining ground at court; and to check their progress, he laboured hard to procure Henry a Protestant wife. "The king," says an old writer, "considering his woeful disposition, had long continued a widower."⁷ He had, indeed, been a widower about two years; but this was not owing to a want of alacrity on

¹ *Journal; Statutes; Wilkins; Fox; Godwin; Strype; Le Grand.* Fragment of a letter preserved in the Museum.

² Latimer resigned on the 1st of July, 1539. He was soon afterwards in prison for speaking against the Six Articles, and remained in confinement till the king's death.

³ A new and improved edition of the Scriptures, generally called Crammer's Bible, was published just at this time.

⁴ *Statutes; Fox; Le Grand.*

⁵ Letter of Marillac, the French ambassador, quoted by Le Grand.

⁶ Letter from Lord Russell to Cromwell.

⁷ *Bishop Godwin.*

his part in seeking for another wife. Shortly after the death of Jane Seymour he proposed to the Duchess-dowager of Milan, who is said to have replied, facetiously, that if she had two heads she might think of the match; but that, as she had but one, she would rather decline the honour. He then addressed himself to the Princess Mary of Guise; but this princess was already affianced to his nephew, the King of Scots. A daughter of the house of Vendome was then recommended by the French court; but he refused her because she had been previously rejected by his nephew, the said King of Scots. After this, he had the delicacy to propose that the French king should carry the two sisters of Mary of Guise to Calais, in order that he might go over and choose one of them; but the gallantry of Francis revolted at this idea, and Henry remained wifeless. In the month of March, 1539, we find Cromwell extolling to the king the reported beauty of Anne of Cleves, the sister of the reigning Duke of Cleves, one of the princes of the Protestant confederacy; but he speaks as if the marriage had been already settled.¹

Putting, we suppose, more faith in Hans Holbein, his own painter, than in Lucas the court painter of Cleves, Henry despatched Hans to take the young lady's likeness; and in the month of August, one of his ambassadors in Germany wrote a fuller account of her person and accomplishments, assuring his majesty, moreover, that my Lady Anne was not bound by any previous covenant or contract, but was at her free will to marry wherever she would. As for her education, *sobriety*, and morals, the diplomatist said that they were excellent.² The picture—a miniature, in Holbein's best manner—was brought over in an ivory box, which represented a rose, so delicately carved as to be said to be worthy of the jewel it contained. The king fancied himself in love as he contemplated this nice performance of his favourite artist; and the match proceeded. Hoping, no doubt, that a Protestant wife would finish his conversion, many of the German princes gave it their support; and in the month of September, the count-palatine and ambassadors from Cleves arrived in London, where Cromwell, who was in ecstasies at the success of the scheme, was instructed by his royal master to bid them as hearty a welcome as he could devise.³ The king joyfully finished this treaty; but the marriage, instead of making,

marred Cromwell. All things being prepared as was fitting, and her lover brooking no delay, Anne set forward on her journey in the dreary month of December. Though now unwieldy, Henry rode hastily to Rochester to meet her. He went in disguise, and his first view of her was a secret one; but it was enough: he shrunk back, tottering under the weight of disappointment and dismay; and it was some time before he composed himself sufficiently to wait upon her as her husband and king. It seems to have been with sensations like those with which one swallows a dose of noisome medicine that he embraced her, and gave her his conjugal kiss. The whole interview did not last above the speaking of twenty words: he then hurried from his bride without giving her the presents he had brought with him; and the next morning he sent Sir Anthony Brown, his master of the horse, "with a partlet of sable skins to wear round the neck, and a muffler furred, with as cold a message as might be, and rode himself back to Greenwich, marvellously heavy in heart." His fiercest wrath was kindled against all those who had promoted the match; and he considered that the deception practised upon him was a proof that all faith and loyalty had departed the world, and that no mortal man could be trusted. Cromwell was evidently less culpable than the ambassadors and the painters; but notwithstanding this circumstance, and his great boldness and ability, he must have trembled upon receiving the king's summons. A full council met at Greenwich, and there, after abusing him for marrying him to "a great Flanders mare," coarse, clumsy, and "unfit to nourish love," he commanded Cromwell to devise some pretext or plausible cause for preventing the conclusion of the hateful marriage.⁴ In the very doubtful state of his relation with the Catholic powers, it was humbly but forcibly represented that it might prove very dangerous to give such an affront to the princes of the Protestant confederacy; and Cromwell seems to have made the most of the king's fears. "Is there, then, no remedy?—must I needs, against my will, put my neck into this noose?"—were the affectionate expressions of Henry as he agreed that the marriage should go on. The Lady Anne was met at Blackheath, and, with great state, brought to Greenwich on the 3d of January, and she was married on the 5th day of the same month. But Henry's aversion did not abate on a closer ac-

¹ *State Papers*.

² Ellis' *Collection*; letter of Nich. Wotton to Henry VIII. The original 'not perfect, but injured by fire' is in the Brit. Mus.

³ *State Papers*; letter from the king to Cromwell.

⁴ After all, it does not appear that Anne of Cleves was an ugly woman; and much of Henry's distaste may have proceeded from the mere empiric of the jaded voluptuary. He was certainly himself no very lovable object at the time. As he grew fat he

wished for a fat wife, and his agents had been expressly commanded to look out for a fine, large woman. But Anne, it appears, was on too large a scale. According to Holbein's picture, her complexion was wonderfully fair and beautiful, and her countenance very agreeable. Marillac, the French ambassador, no prejudiced observer, says that she was tolerably handsome—*de beauté moyenne*. Like a true Frenchman he criticizes her German dress.

quaintance; and, without going into the disgusting details with which he, without hesitation, entertained his court, and the noble matrons thereof, we need merely state that he lamented his fate in the most pathetic terms, and declared that life would be a burden to him if he were forced to pass it with such a wife.¹ The Catholic party were greatly rejoiced at this manifest failure of a great Protestant experiment; and other religious feelings came in to hasten the destruction of Cromwell. We will not attempt to explain what perplexed those who were acting on the scene; but, while the Papists made sure that Cromwell's high offices of vicar-general and keeper of the privy seal would immediately fall to Tonstal, and Clarke, Bishop of Bath, he was not only left in possession, but received from the king's hands the order of the Garter, and was created Earl of Essex and lord-chamberlain, ostensibly as a reward for his exertions in obtaining an enormous grant from parliament.² It should appear, however, that Henry was making provision for the despatch of the enormous quantity of business which had hitherto been transacted by Cromwell, who must have been a man of iron. He made two secretaries of state, Wriothesley and Ralph Sadler, and divided many important functions of government between them.

We are not told how long the king had bemoaned his fate with Anne of Cleves when he saw the pretty little Lady Catherine Howard;³ but it seems to have been some four or five months. The Lady Catherine was niece to the Duke of Norfolk, and as entire a Papist as Anne was a Protestant. Henry first met her at a dinner given by Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester. It is supposed that that prelate and his party had calculated upon the impression her charms would make upon him; and it was natural enough for them to suppose that the next step a man like Henry would take, after espousing a Protestant, would be to choose a wife from the opposite sect. By a "notable appearance of honour, cleanness, and maidenly behaviour," Catherine quite captivated the king, who, it appears, frequently met her afterwards at the house of Bishop Gardiner, or of some other person equally anxious for the interests of the Romish church. In this society, composed of the mortal enemies of Cromwell, the king was not likely to hear much good of his minister. Every glance of the bright eyes of Catherine Howard was dangerous to the Protestant interest. At the same time Cromwell, strangely blind to what was passing, continued

to deal his sharp blows at the scrupulous Papists who refused the oaths of supremacy; and he was in the high exercise of despotic power, when, suddenly, on the 10th of June, he was arrested at the council-board on a charge of high treason, and forthwith carried to the Tower. In his days of favour he had encouraged the prostration of all law, and the establishment of the most arbitrary modes of proceeding in judicial cases. He had held up the king as being authorized to make and change statutes as he pleased; and he now felt the whole weight of the monstrous tyranny which he had helped to erect and inflate. His papers were seized—his servants were questioned—and out of their evidence, which was never produced in court, or submitted to any public examination, his enemies fabricated a series of charges, the greatest of which amounted to treason. In his fall Cromwell scarcely showed more fortitude than Wolsey: he wrote imploring letters to his most gracious prince, crying, "Mercy! mercy!" Once Henry's heart seemed touched by these appeals, but it was only for a moment. Archbishop Crammer summoned courage to write a letter in his behalf, but the epistle was not calculated to produce any great effect; and he afterwards gave his vote against his friend. On the 14th of June, Cromwell, deserted by all the world, asked for a trial before his peers, but the court preferred to proceed by bill of attainder, without trial—a practice which he himself had helped the king to establish, with consent of the slavish parliament. The bill of attainder was hurried through the House of Lords; and on the 19th of June, nine days after his arrest, Cromwell received his doom as a manifold traitor and detestable heretic.⁴

But before he was executed, Anne of Cleves was divorced, and the king was united in the holy bands of matrimony with Catherine Howard. On the 25th of June, Anne was ordered to remove to Richmond, being told that that place would be more suitable to her health and pleasure than London. Then the king gave directions to his bishops and ministers to legalize his separation from Anne of Cleves; and the bishops and ministers acted accordingly. It was instantly discovered that there had once been a formal contract of marriage between Anne and the son of the Duke of Lorraine; and this, with Henry's assertion that the marriage had never been consummated, was deemed quite sufficient ground. Parliament met and humbly implored his majesty to investigate the subject. The case was submitted to a convocation of the clergy, and on the 9th of July, it was unanimously decided by the churchmen of all colours that the marriage was null and void, inasmuch as the king had married the princess

¹ Depositions of the king and Cromwell, in *Strype; Burnet; Hall; Stoe.*

² During this session the Knights Hospitallers were dissolved, and their property was vested in the crown.

³ This unfortunate young creature was below the usual stature of English women.

⁴ *Le Grand; Strype; Burnet; Herbert; Journaux.*

"without the inward consent of his own mind," and as there had been a pre-contract between her and another person. Poor Anne, who had the dread of the block before her eyes, and who was a person of more discretion than pride or passion, most quietly submitted to her fate,¹ and two days after, being properly prompted and assisted (for she could write no English), she addressed a letter to his most excellent majesty, wherein she declared that she was not and never had been his wife. "Yet it will please you," she continued, "to take me for one of your most humble servants, and so to determine of me, as I may sometimes have the fruition of your most noble presence, which as I shall esteem for a great benefit, so my lords, and others of your majesty's council, now being with me, have put me in comfort thereof, and that your highness will take me for your sister, for the which I most humbly thank you accordingly. Thus, most gracious prince, I beseech our Lord God to send your majesty long life and good health, to God's glory, your own honour, and the wealth of this noble realm."²

On the very next day Henry commissioned the Duke of Suffolk to go to the Lady Anne at Richmond, and "considering she be now come to her strength, and in good temper of body," to press her further to write to her brother the Duke of Cleves, in order to express her perfect concurrence in all that had been done.³ Anne, too wise to resist, and in all probability but too happy to escape out of the lion's jaws, did everything that was required of her. On the 16th of July, she wrote the most submissive of letters to the most excellent and noble prince, her most benign and good brother Henry, subscribing herself, as had been agreed, his majesty's humble sister and servant.⁴ The obsequious parliament finished its part of the work⁵ by voting that it would be very lawful for the king to take another wife. A private marriage was performed, and some days after, on the 8th of August, Catherine Howard was publicly shown as queen.⁶ On the same day, or nearly on the same day, that Henry took to himself his fifth wife, he sent his minister Cromwell to the block. On the 28th of July, Cromwell was beheaded on Tower-hill; and it is said that he died professing the Catholic faith, by which he might mean that kind of faith which had been established by the last act of parliament. When he was dead many of his virtues

were remembered; and the people particularly called to mind that, twice a-day, 200 poor persons had been fed at his gate. Dr. Barnes, a great preacher and leader of the Protestant party,



QUEEN CATHERINE HOWARD.—After Holbein.

survived his patron Cromwell only three days, "being committed to the torments of the merciless fire," and burned alive, with Garret and Jerome, as an heretic. But, that the scales might be nicely trimmed, Powell, Abel, and Featherston were hanged and quartered at the same time for denying the king's supremacy. On this occasion, as on some others, they were coupled together, a Catholic with a Protestant, on the same hurdle, and so drawn to Smithfield to the horror of both sects. A Frenchman is said to have exclaimed, "Good God, how do people make a shift to live here, where Papists are hanged and anti-Papists are burned!" In the next month the prior of Doncaster and six others were hanged for defending the institution of the monastic life, a crime now become as capital as the greatest.⁷

A.D. 1541. There was a feeble attempt made in Yorkshire to revive the "Pilgrimage of Grace;" but it was easily suppressed, and cost the lives of fourteen gentlemen. In the month of August, the king made a progress into the northern counties, taking with him his young wife, whom he "entirely loved," after more than a year of matrimony. He had, indeed, repeatedly declared that he had never been

¹ In his despatches of the 31st of July, 11th of August, and 3d of September, Marillac writes:—"Anne makes no opposition whatever to the divorce, at which the king is the more pleased, because, as it is said, his new favourite (amourette) is already with child. The former is now called merely Madame Anne of Cleves. She is anything but low-spirited—amuses herself in all possible ways, and dresses every day in new clothes, made in a strange fashion." The reported pregnancy of Catherine seems to have been merely a bit of court or city scandal.

² State Papers.

³ From some expressions in this letter and elsewhere, it might appear that Anne had taken the matter more seriously to heart than is generally stated, and that she was or had been ill. Perhaps it was considered decorous that she should feign a sick new!

⁴ State Papers.

⁵ The lords implored him, out of his love of his people, to marry again!

⁶ State Papers; Herbert; Stow; Godwin.

⁷ Stow; Strype; Godwin.

happy in love or marriage till now, and that the Lady Catherine was the most perfect of women, and most affectionate of wives. Nay, he had even gone so far in his gratitude as to make one of his bishops unite with him in praising the Lord for the great contentment he had found. But, on his return from his progress, Cranmer had a tale for his ear which struck him dumb, and it is said even drew tears in torrents from his eyes. The archbishop declared that the queen before her marriage, had led an abandoned life with Francis Dereham or Deram, a relation of her own, who had associated with her when she lived with her great aunt, the Dowager-duchess of Norfolk. Cranmer, who had consulted with the Chancellor Audley, the Earl of Hertford, and others of the Protestant party, had not undertaken to present this dangerous accusation without proof; *and his witness was a servant of the old Duchess of Norfolk.* The king's faith in the virtue of his wife was annihilated in a moment; but, wishing to proceed cautiously, he arrested all the persons who had been named as the queen's confidants and accomplices, and made them undergo, *in secret*, "a keen examination." Their servants, both men and women, were arrested also, and put to the torture.¹ Under these circumstances it was impossible to fail in procuring confessions against the queen; but it appears that these torture-compelled confessions merely went to show that Catherine had been incontinent before marriage; and this did not amount to treason. Francis Dereham is generally said to have confessed that he had been guilty with her; but the queen denied the charge altogether, and, from the best evidence² we possess, it seems doubtful whether Dereham confessed anything of the kind. That same night, however, she is said to have signed a written confession of her youthful irregularities, but of nothing farther. Cranmer undertook the office of making her disclose more, and admit that there had been a precontract of marriage between her and her kinsman and alleged seducer Francis Dereham, which, in itself, according to Henry's jurisprudence, would annul the marriage, while it might also be considered as a saving of the king's honour—seeing that, by such precontract, and such law, there could have been no marriage at any time, and Catherine must sink into the condition of a concubine, not having ever had the character of the king's wife. We have before us a letter to the king, which will not raise Cranmer in the estimation of the world. The arch-

bishop begins by describing Catherine's wretched condition. He then tells the king that he had delivered to her his grace's *promises of mercy*; upon which she held up her hands and gave most humble thanks; and, for a time, she recovered from the frenzy in which he had found her, and began to be more temperate and quiet, saving that she still sobbed and wept; but, after a little pausing, she suddenly fell into a new frenzy worse than before. "Now," continues the prelate, "I do use her thus: when I do see her in any such extreme frights, I do travail with her to know the cause, and then, as much as I can, I do labour to take away, or, at the least, to mitigate the cause; and so I did at that time. I told her there was some new phantasy come into her head, which I desired her to open unto me. 'Alas! my lord,' she cried, 'that I am alive! The fear of death grieved me not so much before, as doth now the remembrance of the king's goodness—for when I remember how gracious and loving a prince I had, I cannot but sorrow; but this sudden mercy showed unto me at this time maketh mine offences to appear before mine eyes much more heinous than they did before.'" After this, Cranmer goes on to tell the king, that, by degrees, the distracted woman had come to herself; that she was meetly well unto night, and that he had had "very good communication with her," and, as he thought, had brought her into "a great quietness." He discloses all that he had been able to get out of her concerning any contract of matrimony with Dereham, which, he says, *although it did not go so far as he thought it would have done*, yet appeared to him sufficient to establish the contract.³ After Cranmer had thus worked upon the unfortunate young woman in her frenzy, and, on the promise of the king's mercy, had induced her to confess improper conduct with Dereham before her marriage (and nothing more), the king changed his plan. A few days after, the council, consisting of the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Southampton, the Duke of Suffolk, Lord Russell, Sir Anthony Brown, Wingfield, and Sadler, addressed a long letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who had taken upon himself the principal conduct of this wretched business. The minuteness of detail—the petty and innumerable regulations that appear in every part of the transaction—fill the mind with a disgust against all engaged in it, accessories as well as principal. In the king's name they tell Cranmer that he must, with convenient diligence, remove the queen to the house of Sion, there to remain, "till the matter be further ordered, in the state of a queen, but furnished moderately, as her life and condition hath deserved—that is to say, with the fur-

¹ We derive this fact, which is not mentioned by historians, from a passage in a letter to Sir Ralph Sadler, signed by Cranmer, Audley, the Duke of Suffolk, the Earl of Hertford, and others:—"And because Dampart confesseth this now, which he would not do for any torture that he could before be put to," &c.

² *State Papers.*

³ *State Papers.*

niture of three chambers, hanged with mean stuff, without any cloth of estate." Mr. Baynton, her jailer, is to sleep in one of the three rooms; they are to dine in another; and the queen and her attendants are to sleep in a third. They send a book or list of servants to wait upon the queen; but the king's highness trusts to the archbishop's discretion in not exceeding a necessary number. It is also the king's highness' pleasure that my Lady Baynton,¹ the wife of her jailer, shall be one of those to attend upon the queen, and shall have the rule and government of the whole house. My Lady Mary, the king's daughter, who had led a most stormy life with her father's wives, was to be removed. But after these and other minutie, the council proceeded to the pith of the business. "And where the king's highness, weighing deeply all circumstances of the matter, hath, by mature consideration, been determined, that to-morrow (12th November) my lord - chancellor, assembling his majesty's councillors of all sorts, spiritual and temporal, with the judges and learned men, should declare unto them the abominable demeanour of the queen, without calling Dereham,² as was before thought good, and *without speaking or mentioning any precontract of marriage, which might serve for her defence*, but only to open and make manifest the king's highness' just cause of indignation and displeasure, so as the world may know and see that which is hitherto done to have a just ground and foundation; . . . the king's majesty also willet, that those among you that know the whole matter, and how it was first detected, as also the king's majesty's sorrowful behaviour, and careful proceeding in it, should, upon Sunday next, assemble all the ladies, gentlewomen, and gentlemen, and declare unto them the whole process of the matter; foreseeing always that you *make not mention of any precontract*; but, omitting that, to set forth such matter as might impair and confound their misdemeanour, and as truth doth, indeed, truly bear, declare, and set forth the king's majesty's goodness, most unworthy to be troubled with any such mischance."³

The accusations against Catherine Howard were now brought to bear upon misconduct after marriage, in order that her guilt might amount to treason; for Henry seems no longer to have cared about that partial saving of his honour, which might have resulted from the contrary course. It was alleged that not only had Dereham been recalled from Ireland to court, since her marriage, but that Culpepper, one night when the court was at Lincoln, had stayed in the same

room with her and the Lady Rochford for three hours. This Lady Rochford was the infamous woman that had borne testimony against her own husband and her husband's sister, Anne Boleyn. Culpepper was a gentleman of the privy chamber, and probably a near relation of Catherine Howard, whose mother's name was Culpepper. A day or two after, Sadler informs his grace of Canterbury and Mr. Comptroller, that the queen has been examined on the matter now come forth concerning Culpepper; but he adds, that she hath not, as appeareth by her confession, so fully declared the circumstances of what passed betwixt her and Culpepper as his majesty could wish; "and so his majesty would have his grace (Cranmer) once again essay and test to get something of her." Mr. Secretary Sadler next tells the Archbishop of Canterbury that my Lord-chancellor Audley has declared the case in the Star Chamber, *omitting and leaving out as much as in anywise toucheth the precontract*; and that he also has read divers of the depositions of such persons as had been examined, as well men as women, *always omitting as much as touched the precontract*; "and, in the end of his tale," saith Sadler, "he added, that there was an appearance of great abomination in her, which he (the chancellor) *left so in a cloud as it should seem doubtful to the hearers whether all were come out or not*: and the king's majesty would have you (Cranmer) follow this order without your mentioning anything of Culpepper or the precontract." When this business had been in progress about a month, the king ordered that the old Duchess-dowager of Norfolk, her daughter Lady Bridgewater, one of her sons (the Lord William Howard), and other persons of rank, should be arrested upon suspicion of being privy to the queen's irregularities, and that their houses should be taken possession of and diligently searched. The Earl of Southampton took the old duchess into custody, and conveyed her to the house of the lord-chancellor. Here, according to the earl's letter, "she began to be very sick, even at the heart, as she said; which was the sickness of mistrust." The noble lord also reports that he has got one Pewson, a servant of the duchess, with whom he has "somewhat travailed this day, in order to make him confess; but, marry, he is yet stiff."⁴

The government was now divided into two councils, one of which removed with the king wherever he went; the other, with the Archbishop of Canterbury at their head, remained in London, in search of evidence. The attention of both councils seems to have been entirely absorbed by this one business. The champion of the Catholic faith moved about with the champion of the Reformation. Stephen Gardiner was associ-

¹ Both Baynton and his wife had done duty for the king, in the case of Anne Boleyn. They were practised hands in queen killing.

² This seems to prove that, up to this moment at least, Dereham had not confessed.

³ State Papers.

⁴ State Papers.

⁵ Ibid.

ated with Thomas Cranmer, and his name appears to nearly all the letters inculcating his former friend and *protégé* Catherine Howard. On the 6th of December they reported to the king that they had met with some success in the questioning of Ashby, another man-servant of the Duchess-dowager of Norfolk, who, being in the custody of Sir Richard Rich, the chancellor of the augmentation,¹ had written, by commandment, three or four leaves of paper. Among many long tales of small importance, Ashby had confessed that, upon hearing what had happened at court, the duchess had broken open Dereham's coffers and a portmanteau, and had taken out of them all the letters and writings, and had carried them to her chamber, saying that she would peruse them herself at leisure, without suffering anybody to see them with her. Ashby said, also, that the duchess had been in great fear about one Alice Wilkes, a serving-woman, who was supposed to know something of a familiarity between the young Catherine Howard and Dereham. This Alice Wilkes they had safe, and would examine her closely, trusting to find out some pithy matter. They reported, also, that they had learned that Dampot's, or Dammock's, coffers had been broken open in the Duchess of Norfolk's house, and the papers removed; that this Dampot, who had hitherto been "very stiff, confessing nothing for any torture they had used," had at last become pliable and communicative, saying, that he once heard Dereham say at the time when the king's majesty was beginning to court Catherine Howard, "I could be sure of Mistress Catherine an I would, but I dare not. The king beginneth to love her; but, an he were dead, I am sure I might marry her."—[To be extracted by torture, this was a small revelation.] Afterwards, according to the same letter, Dampot confessed that Dereham told him that the Duchess of Norfolk once said to a gentlewoman in the queen's chamber, when he, Dereham, was present, pointing to him—"This is he that came out of Ireland for the queen's sake." The council with the king, in reply, state to the council in London, that the king thinks the duchess' breaking open of the coffers of Dereham a very clear proof of an intention to conceal treason; and that if the judges do impartially weigh this act, and the concealment of the papers by the duchess, they must be led to conclude that she knew of the former naughty life betwixt the queen and Dereham; and that his coming again to the queen's service from Ireland was to an ill intent of the renovation of his former naughty life; and that all this was clear treason. His highness would have the judges answer this, *his* opinion, and satisfy him with

reason. The judges, it appears, had already condemned Dereham; for, in continuation, the council state that his highness thinketh it expedient that they spare the execution of Dereham for a time, till the bottom of this matter shall appear, it being likely that new matter will arise daily upon which they might have cause to examine him. In the same letter, Mr. Pollard, that expert investigator, is commanded to examine the duchess' women, in order to find out whether she did or late burn any letters or writings. The council in London presently rejoined that they had "travailed another whole day in the examination of the duchess," who made herself so clear from all knowledge of the abomination between the queen and Dereham, that she would confess no mistrust or suspicion of their love or unseemly familiarity; and as to the coffers, she said she intended only to see what was in them, and finding anything material (which she said she did not), to send the same to the king's majesty. They go on to say that, having with them the Lord Chief-justice, Mr. Attorney, and Mr. Pollard, they had all come to the conclusion that the things proved against my Lady Norfolk and her son Lord William, "with all presumptions and circumstances," will extend to misprision of treason; and also that the Lady William Howard, the Lady Bridgewater, Alice Wilkes, Catherine Tilney, Dampot, Walgrave, Malin Tilney, Mary Lascelles, Bulmer, Ashby, Anne Howard, and Margaret Burnet, be in the same case, "if it shall please his majesty to proceed against them."²

At a very early stage of these proceedings there was an anxiety betrayed as to the goods and chattels of the accused. Cranmer and his friends, in the same letter, desire to know how his grace would have my Lady of Norfolk and the rest used, and also whether they should commit the Lord William and his wife; "and how their things shall be used, which shall, by this offence, be all confiscate to his majesty, as in case of treason, and also the profit of their lands for the term of their lives, their bodies being sentenced to perpetual imprisonment; *the example whereof would be very notable if his majesty would proceed against them all.*" On the morrow they proposed to meet at the house of the lord privy-seal, the Earl of Southampton, there to examine the duchess' daughter, Lady Bridgewater, who would be brought thither secretly; and they hoped, "with travail and labour, to find out the bottom of the plot, according to their bounden duties." In a frightful postscript they say that they think they have already all that can be got out of Dereham, who, by no force, can be made to confess more; and, therefore, they would be glad to know his majesty's pleasure touching the

¹ Most of the witnesses and prisoners were thus kept locked up in the houses of the king's slavish and unscrupulous ministers.

² State Papers.

execution of him and Culpepper. They were not kept long waiting for their instructions. They were ordered to commit the Duchess of Norfolk, the Lord William Howard and his wife, the Lady Bridgewater, and all others noted in their letters, to the Tower, and to send forthwith "some substantial personages" to take charge of their houses, and to see their goods put into safe custody for his majesty's behoof; in which particular part, his majesty joining with their opinions, *thinketh that the example will be very notable.* Nevertheless, as this matter came first to light by Mary Lascelles, the servant-girl, and as Mary Lascelles had refused the queen's service,¹ and had seemed to be sorry and lament that the king had married Catherine Howard, his majesty thought it best to spare the said Mary without troubling or committing her; *thinking, also, that this may be a means to give courage and boldness to others to reveal things in like cases.*" Touching Culpepper and Dereham, they were commanded to proceed to their execution, after convenient warning, that they might prepare for the salvation of their souls. On the 10th of December Dereham and Culpepper were drawn to Tyburn, where Dereham was hanged and quartered, and Culpepper beheaded. By the 13th of the same month, the Duchess of Norfolk, Lord William Howard, her son, and the rest of her relations and servants, were shut up in the Tower, which was so full already that there was great difficulty in finding room for them.² By his majesty's orders, *Mary Lascelles was clearly left out of the indictment, his majesty considering if she should be indicted with the rest how slanderous it should be to her!* The council in London "travailed" very diligently in forcing confessions from the Lady Bridgewater, Alice Wilkes, and Bulmer; "but as for Bridgewater," they write, "she sheweth herself her mother's daughter—that is, one that will by no means confess anything."

The council in London were startled at this moment by the loud expressions of public opinion in France, and proposed that his majesty should permit some explanation in order to stop men's tongues. At the same moment, while the fate of Catherine Howard was undecided, the Duke of Cleves, losing no time, proposed to Henry that he should take back to wife his sister Anne! Ambassadors arrived in England with letters from Olynger, the vice-chancellor of Cleves, to Cranmer and to the Earl of Southampton.³ Cran-

mer, who was in an agony of alarm lest he should be suspected of the heinous offence of aiding in giving the king back an unpleasant helpmate, wrote a base, flattering letter to his royal master, and refused to have any communication with the Cleves ambassadors, "unless it please the king's majesty to command him." Of course nothing came of this delicate embassy, and the Duke of Cleves was again obliged to consent that Anne should be called the sister, not the wife of his majesty of England.⁴

The affair of Catherine Howard, which had brought the ambassador of Cleves into England, now proceeded rapidly, and with a baseness on the part of all concerned which almost staggers belief.⁵ No man had the spirit to recommend a more legal way of proceeding; none durst open their lips in favour of any of the accused; the nearest of blood to them sought favour with the court by crying for their condemnation. No humiliation was too vile for the loftiest aristocracy of the land. A day or two after their committal to the Tower, the Duke of Norfolk wrote to the king, telling him that he had learned that his ungracious mother-in-law, his unhappy brother and wife, and his *loved* sister of Bridgewater, are in the Tower, which, he says, from his long experience of his majesty's equity and justice, he feels sure is not done but for false and traitorous proceedings. This mighty lord had urged on the ruin of his niece Anne Boleyn, and had presided at her trial; but Anne and he were enemies, and opposed in matters of religion; whereas, in the present case, there was no enmity and no conflicting views as to dogmas of faith. He, however, condemned his other niece, Catherine Howard, just as he had condemned Anne; and he lamented very pathetically, "the most abominable deeds done by two of his nieces against his highness," which, he adds, hath brought him into the greatest perplexity that ever poor wretch was in; fearing that his majesty, having so often and by so many of his kin, been thus falsely and traitorously handled, might not only conceive a displeasure in his heart against him, and all others of that kin, but also, in manner, abhor to hear speak of any of the name. "Wherefore," continues this noble Howard, "my most gracious sovereign lord! prostrate at your feet, most humbly I beseech your majesty to call to your remembrance that a great part of this matter is come to light *by my declaration to your majesty,*

¹ Query—Had not this Mary Lascelles been refused a service by the queen?

² On the 11th of December, two days after her committal to the Tower, Cranmer, Audley, Suffolk, Gardiner, and the rest of the council in London, inform the king that they have again been "travailing" with the duchess, "both to make her confess the things testified against her, and also to cough out the rest, not yet discovered, if any such dregs remain among them."

They seem scarcely to have allowed the infirm old woman a moment's rest. Such was the treatment that Henry reserved for the widow of the hero of Flodden Field!

³ *State Papers.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ There are sundry points which we would not venture to assert on any authority less positive than the *State Papers*, where we find the king's own letters and orders, Cranmer's letters, Norfolk's letters, the letters of the council, written at the moment, &c.

according to my bounden duty, of the words spoken to me by my mother-in-law, when your highness sent me to Lambeth to search Dereham's coffers, without the which, I think, she had not been further examined, nor, consequently, her ungracious children."

Meanwhile they still "travailed" to force confessions from the prisoners in the Tower, and to *make them reveal their hidden treasures*. On the 21st of December, Southampton and Wriothesley informed their assured, loving friend, Sir Ralph Sadler, that they had been with the Duchess of Norfolk, whom they found "on her bed, as it appeared very sickly." They had pressed her hard, and had also promised her pardon of her life if she would make them "her ghostly fathers," and confess the intimacy before marriage between the queen and Dereham; but still this high-minded woman, sick and worn as she was, resisted alike their threats and their promises. Taking God to witness, she protested "that she had never thought them (Catherine and Dereham) to be of that abominable sort; nevertheless she would not deny that she had perceived a light love and favour to be between them, more than between indifferent persons; and that she had heard that Dereham would sundry times give Catherine money, which she thought proceeded upon the affection that groweth of kindred, the same Dereham being her kinsman." According to her examiners, she avowed that it was very sinful in her not to tell his majesty this before his marriage. "After we had done this degree," they continue, with all the coolness of practised hands, "we went to the second, that is, for her hidden money, plate, or jewels; and, without any denial, she confessed that she had hidden, in another place in her house, £700 or £800, giving us such tokens as we might easily find it, which I, Thomas Wriothesley, with Mr. Attorney, Mr. Pollard, and Mr. Bristow, this morning found, being £800, and have safe bestowed it at Westminster."¹ In the end these active agents told the old lady that her life would be spared; upon which she hoped that his majesty would give her something to live upon, and not take away her house at Lambeth, for she had not long to live. Lord William Howard was also "wonderfully troubled and out of all quiet;" and not without reason, for they had been tra-
vailing with his menial servants, and were about

separating him from his wife, not considering it expedient to arraign them together, so as to bring man and wife to the bar in company. Two days after, the Lord William Howard, his wife, Malin Tilney, Elizabeth Tilney, and three other women, among whom was Margaret Burnet, a butter wife, and Bulmer, Ashby, and Dampport, men-servants to the old Duchess of Norfolk, were tried separately,² on a charge of misprision of treason, before a trembling jury, the duchess herself being omitted, for good reasons. According to the report of the council in London,³ Lord William pleaded not guilty; but seeing that this course would not serve him, he confessed to the indictment, or threw himself upon the king's mercy. The result of what they, the council, called their "day's work," was to condemn all the prisoners to perpetual imprisonment, forfeiture of goods, and sequestration of their estates during their lives; and yet nothing was even pretended to be proved against them except that they had been privy to the loves of Catherine Howard and Dereham previous to the marriage.

A.D. 1542. We here lose the sure guides which we have been for some time following through obscure paths that were closed to former historians.⁴ It appears that men had been long aware that nothing but the blood of Catherine Howard would satisfy the king, and that the promise of life, conveyed to her by Cranmer from his majesty, would not be allowed the weight of a feather. A new parliament was summoned; and on the 16th of January the lords and commons, by petition, implored his gracious majesty that he would not vex himself with the queen's misconduct, but allow the two houses to pass a bill of attainder, to which he might give his assent by letters-patent, without suffering the pain of hearing them rehearse the offences of his wife. The king was pleased to grant this, their humble petition, and to thank them for their making his griefs their own. The bill was carried through the lords in three, and through the commons in two days; and on Saturday, the 11th of February, the Chancellor Audley produced the bill in the lords, signed by the king, and with the great seal appended to it; and then, all the lords being in their robes, and the commons being summoned, the act was read, and, at the same time, a paper, purporting to be the queen's confession. In this paper, which ap-

¹ It is quite clear that the court was greatly in need of these gleanings of violence and iniquity. In the same letter is the following passage:—"Furthermore there is now at Westminster, 5000 marks in money, and £1000 worth of plate, which came from Lambeth [the Duchess of Norfolk's house]. I, Thomas Wriothesley, would beseech the king's majesty that it might be delivered to some such hands as his majesty will appoint, or I brought into him to Greenwich. *Metinks I should sleep the better an it were once delivered.*"—*State Papers*.

² They seem to have been tried in separate parties of two or threes. Lord William, for example, was brought to the bar with Dampport, and not with his own wife.

³ This letter relating the trial is signed by Suffolk, Southampton, Sussex, Hertford, Gage, Wriothesley, and Rich, but bears the signature neither of Cranmer nor of Gardiner.

⁴ In the volume of the *State Papers*, from which the preceding particulars are derived, there is a great gap from the 22d of December, 1541, to the 1st of May, 1542.

pears to have been studiously withheld till the last moment, the unfortunate Catherine was made to acknowledge that she had offended against God, the king, and the nation; to express a hope that her sins would not be visited on the head of her brothers and her family; and to implore as a last grace, permission to divide part of her clothes among her faithful female servants. A confession like this was very vague; and, supposing it to have been really and sincerely made by the victim, it might, after all, only refer to offences before the marriage. Lady Rochford was attainted by parliament at the same time; and two days after, both ladies were beheaded within the walls of the Tower. Upon the scaffold Catherine confessed that she had once led a sinful life, but protested, by her hope of salvation, that she had never been untrue to the king since she had been his wife. The Lady Rochford also died very penitent and meek, and was supposed to have made a blessed end.

The Protestants were as ready to believe in the guilt of the Papist Catherine Howard, as the Papists had been to believe in the guilt of the Protestant Anne Boleyn. Since the triumph and firm establishment of the Reformed doctrines, sympathy and admiration have been incessantly demanded for the unfortunate mother of Queen Elizabeth, but no Protestant tears have been shed for the still more hapless Catherine Howard. Yet an attentive examination of documents, contemporary histories, and traditions, will convince every impartial mind that the frailties and guilt of Catherine were no more substantiated and proved than were the guilt and frailties of Anne, and that, in the case of both ladies, Henry and his judges bade defiance to all law and justice. A living and distinguished Roman Catholic historian turns Anne Boleyn into a wanton, and Catherine into an innocent martyr. Alas! for the slow progress of truth and impartiality! Are these, and other historical subjects of still greater weight, always to be treated of with the same angry passions and the same wilful blindness to evidence? Is prejudice to hold for ever the scales? Must every history continue to be one-sided?

It was enacted in the bill of attainder against Catherine Howard, that every woman about to be married to the king, or to any of his successors, should, if she were not a virgin, disclose that fact beforehand, under penalty of treason; that all other persons cognizant of it, and not divulging it in the proper quarter, should be subject to the penalty of misprision of treason; and that the queen that should move any person to commit adultery with her should suffer as a traitor.

As Henry might deny the virtue of the chast-

est maid, if he became tired of her, and as he had provided a law to put her to death, people, who could joke in the midst of these deeds of blood, said that nobody ought to marry him but a widow. But for nearly eighteen months the king seemed to think of marrying no one—devoting his time and attention to divinity and politics. Although he adhered with wonderful firmness to transubstantiation, auricular confession, and the celibacy of the clergy, his mind was not made up as to various fractional parts which he had actually adopted of the Reformation; and while he vehemently condemned the vacillation of his subjects in matters of faith, he was himself wavering on these particular points.

As early as 1536, certain articles were set forth by the convocation of the clergy, which had for their title, "Articles devised by the King's Highness' Majesty to stablish Christian Quietness." In 1537, just after the publication of the whole Bible in English, there appeared the "Institution of a Christian Man," or the "Bishops' Book," as it was called, after its authors, who had worked under the eye of his majesty. In 1543, Henry ordered the publication of another work, entitled "A necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man." This book, which was called the "King's Book," differed materially from the "Bishop's Book," which only six years before had been given to the world as an unchangeable standard of faith and practice; thus affording a glaring proof that the king's own mind was not settled. The "King's Book" did not lean so much towards the doctrines of the Reformation as the "Bishops' Book." It established that, for those "whose office it was to teach others, the reading and studying of Holy Scripture was not only convenient, but also necessary; but for the other part of the church, ordained to be taught, it ought to be deemed, certainly, that the reading of the Old and New Testament was not so necessary for all those."¹ And soon after, it was enacted in parliament, that the Bible should not be read in public; that it should not be read aloud in any private families except such as were of noble or gentle degree; that it should not be read privately to one's self except by men who were householders, and by females who were well born. By any other women, or any artificer, apprentice, journeyman, servant, or labourer, the opening of the book was unlawful, and an offence to be punished by one month's imprisonment! Crammer and all the bishops, whether Papists or Protestants, or half-and-half, concurred in these regulations, and parliament authorized the king to make whatever alterations *he* might deem proper. The fury of persecution was, however, now somewhat allayed. Probably from

¹ Preface to the book itself.

seeing the indiscriminate executions done upon the two sects, the Papists thought it unwise to inform against the Protestants, the Protestants deemed it prudent to be silent as to the Papists with their breaches of the oath of supremacy; and, during the four years which closed this reign, it is said that *only* twenty-four persons were put to death for religion—fourteen of them being Protestants, who were burned; ten Papists, and recusants on the subject of the supremacy, who were hanged.¹

In politics Henry was scarcely more moderate than in religion. The wisest of his measures had been adopted as early as 1536, when it was enacted that the whole of Wales should be united with the realm of England, and be governed by the same laws. Up to this period the principality had been in an anomalous state, from which, without any particular benefits to the Welsh people, there flowed many serious evils to the English. It had been divided into two parts, one of which was governed by English laws, and the other subdivided into feuds or independent lordships, which acknowledged no laws or customs save their own, and were amenable only to their several feudal chiefs. Hence it happened that all criminals who could escape across the English lines, might procure, by favour or purchase, the protection of some petty sovereignty, and bid defiance to English law. The little lordships—141 in number—were frequently engaged in hostilities with one another, like the baronies of the middle ages. It was now, of course, provided that no lord should have the power of protecting or pardoning any criminal; and it was also established that the Welsh shires, with one borough in each, should return members to the English parliament. The most important of the regulations made for Wales were extended to the independent county-palatine of Chester, which had, up to this time, been another anomaly in the political system.

The transactions in Ireland, which have been recently illustrated by a mass of the most curious and minute information,² would form a large chapter of themselves, but we can only touch briefly on the chief events. Soon after the recall of the Earl of Surrey (in 1522), the Earl of Kildare was invested, for the third time, with the high office of lord-deputy. The factions of her great lords were the curse of Ireland, keeping her disunited, weak, and poor. The Butlers, under their chief, the Earl of Ormond or Ossory, had entertained for ages an inveterate feud with the Fitzgeralds, of whom the Earl of Kildare was chief. Their

complaints induced the suspicious Henry to recall the lord-deputy to England, and commit him to the Tower on the usual charge of treason. The Earl of Kildare had been in the Tower before, and had then had a narrow escape from the block. On his present departure from Ireland (in 1533), the chief power fell into the hands of his son, the Lord Thomas Fitzgerald, a brave and generous young man in his twenty-first year, who was soon deceived by a report, purposely circulated, that his father had now been beheaded in reality. He flew to arms, and made defiance to the King of England. He had then five uncles, brothers to his father, three of whom, at first, dissuaded him from these extreme proceedings; but the passion of vengeance excluded reason, and at length they associated themselves with their nephew Thomas, and were all involved in the same ruin. At first many of the Irish flocked to their standard, and the minstrels, in wild strains, sang the sacred duty of revenge, and inflamed them to fury. They surprised Allen, the Archbishop of Dublin, who was supposed to be one of the accusers of the Earl of Kildare, and they murdered him in presence of the earl's son and brothers. They sent an agent to the Emperor Charles, then irritated by the recent divorcing of his aunt Catherine; and they opened communications with Rome, offering, upon conditions, to prevent Henry, or any of the English, from carrying their church reforms into Ireland. But they were repulsed by the citizens of Dublin, who entertained different notions; they were assailed by the whole power of the rival faction of the Butlers, and were compelled to retreat, in want and disorder, into the wilds of Munster and Connaught. "The poor earl (the prisoner in the Tower), already afflicted with a palsy, was so stricken to the heart with the news of this tumult, that he survived but a few days the knowledge of his unhappiness."³ Sir William Skeffington, the newly-appointed lord-deputy, took the field with a numerous army of regular troops; and in the month of August, 1535, Lord Leonard Gray, son of the Marquis of Dorset, arrived in Ireland, and put himself at the head of other forces, which went in pursuit of Lord Thomas. This Lord Leonard bribed some of the rebels, who agreed to betray their leader. As Henry sent little or no money to his troops, they lived at large upon the unhappy country, plundering first, and burning and destroying afterwards, wherever they went. Lord Thomas Fitzgerald was soon reduced to such straits that he offered to surrender upon terms. It appears pretty certain that Gray promised him a full pardon, for he voluntarily surrendered, and was not taken in arms: but Skeffington gave a different

¹ Strype, *Memoir of Cranmer*; Blunt, *Hist. Reform.*

² Published by the Record Commission. It fills vols. ii. and iii. of the important *State Papers*, to which we have so frequently referred, and which, indeed, have been our most valuable guides through this reign.

³ Godwin.

account of the matter. He told the king that O'Connor "came in and yielded himself;" and that the "traitor Thomas Fitzgerald, with divers others his accomplices, considering that he could not be succoured by the said O'Connor, and that his band and strength were by policy allured from him, had in like manner submitted and yielded himself to his highness' mercy and pity, without condition either of pardon, life, lands, or goods, but wholly submitting himself to his grace; so that his desire was, now that he was brought to uttermost extremity, to be conducted to his highness by the Lord Leonard Gray."¹ O'Connor had been too wise to surrender in person—he only delivered certain hostages as security for his good behaviour; but Fitzgerald was forthwith carried over to England by the Lord Leonard Gray, and committed to the Tower. Gray soon returned to Ireland, where he was named marshal, and appointed to the command of the whole army. One of his main objects was to secure the persons of the five uncles of Thomas Fitzgerald, who were still at large. On the 14th of February, of the following year (1536), the council of Ireland, with great glee, informed Cromwell that "the five brethren" had been apprehended by the Lord Leonard, the chief-justice, and others. They did well to avoid particulars; for, by what they termed, "the politic and secret managing of this matter," was to be understood, that Lord Leonard Gray and the others had treacherously seized the five Fitzgeralds at a banquet! After a long imprisonment in the Tower, they were all beheaded, with their nephew, the young earl, in the month of February, 1537. Their betrayer, Gray, though, as a reward, he was promoted to be lord-lieutenant or deputy, did not long survive them: on charges and suspicions he was committed to one of the cells they had occupied, and on the 28th of June, 1541, he was beheaded as a traitor on Tower-hill.²

Of the ancient and powerful family of the Fitzgeralds there remained but one, a boy twelve years old, named Gerald, the younger brother of the Lord Thomas. According to one account, he was seized and conveyed to the Tower, and afterwards escaped from that state prison. There is, however, a better ground for believing that the young Fitzgerald was never brought to the Tower at all, but was secretly carried out of Ireland into France by a sea-captain or merchant who chanced "to be with his ship on merchandise in Ireland," where certain monks entreated him to take charge of the noble boy.³ The remainder of his history is as authentic as it is romantic. Driven from France at the desire of Henry, who claimed the fulfilment of the old treaty, by which neither

power should give refuge to the enemies of the other, the boy sought an asylum in Flanders. There he soon found himself in no less danger than before; upon which he fled into Italy, and implored the protection of his kinsman, Reginald Pole, who received and maintained him very nobly. At length, in the reign of Mary, by means of the same protector, he was restored to his country, and to the honours and estates of his ancestors the Earls of Kildare.

The Fitzgeralds had derived a large portion of that power with which they made themselves formidable to the English government by declaring themselves the champions of the old religion. Upon their arrest, Cromer, Archbishop of Armagh, prolonged the opposition to Henry on the same grounds, being generally supported by the native Irish, who had no hope whatever of sharing in the spoils of the abbeys and monasteries, and as generally opposed by the Anglo-Irish nobility, who had good expectations of enriching themselves by the processes of suppression and confiscation. If matters had been carried with a high hand in England, we may be sure that the government was not very observant of constitutional right in Ireland. The whole body of the Irish clergy was excluded from the Irish parliament, in which they had hitherto voted by their proctors; and then statutes were passed, abolishing the authority of the pope for ever, declaring Henry supreme head of the Irish church, and giving to him the first-fruits and tenths and all the estates of the suppressed monasteries. Fierce personal quarrels raged incessantly among the men intrusted with the government; all the functionaries had their feuds and differences, arising out of conflicting religious beliefs, and still more out of jealousy as to the apportioning of the confiscated lands; and it seems to have been the practice of nearly every one of them to play the informer at the English court for the destruction of his associates. They could never agree as to the proper mode of treating the native Irish, though the notion more generally adopted was, that they were to be treated without mercy; for we find continual complaints of there being over-much favour shown to the Irishry. O'Connor was soon again in arms; and a still more formidable enemy to the English, or to the new system of church government, rose up in the person of O'Neil, the great chieftain of the north. The royal troops, and the Irish kerns acting with them, fell upon O'Neil's country, and plundered and burned it for six whole days. The *plundering* evidently retarded the operations of the war, which was allowed to linger on for nearly three years; nor was the pacification of the country promoted by a constant breach of faith on the part of the government.

¹ *State Papers.*² *State Papers; Stow; Godwin.*³ *State Papers*

The foreign enemies of Henry were not slow in perceiving his weak point. The Scots occasionally succoured the Irish insurgents; and the king was kept in a constant state of alarm by reports of armaments from Spain or France being in Bantry Bay. It was not to be expected that the English would have all the plundering and burning to themselves; in the vicissitudes of war they were often the victims of the same practices. In 1540, soon after the recall of Lord Leonard Gray, O'Connor invaded Kildare, burning every village and town that he could take; and O'Neil fell upon Dundalk; M'Mordo and the O'Tholes moved on another line; and the English pale was visited in its whole length by fire and sword. But in the end of the year O'Connor submitted, upon promise of being made a baron, and after a sanguinary victory gained over the kerns, a certain degree of tranquillity was restored.

Hitherto Ireland had been but a lordship; in 1541, Henry resolved to elevate it to the rank of a kingdom. At the same time he adopted the

policy of attaching some of the most powerful of the native chiefs, and also such of the great Anglo-Irish proprietors as had not already been ennobled, by admitting them to the honours of the peerage. The allurements thus held out was run after with wonderful eagerness by both. The De Burghs, the O'Briens, the O'Neils, the O'Tholes, the Cavanahs, and the rest, were all ready to make a sacrifice of independence for the title and privileges of peers. They consented to hold their lands of the crown by the tenure of military service; they swore fealty to Henry, and they accepted from him houses in Dublin, which they were to inhabit when summoned as peers to the Irish parliament. Thus Ulliac de Burgh became Earl of Clanricarde, Murrock O'Brien, Earl of Thomond, and the formidable O'Neil, Earl of Tyrone. In all these and other measures there was considerable prudence and ability, and the effect of Henry's general policy was greatly to extend the English power in Ireland.¹

CHAPTER VIII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1523—1547.

HENRY VIII.—ACCESSION, A.D. 1509—DEATH, A.D. 1547.

Affairs of Scotland—Earl of Surrey's invasion of Scotland—Return of the Duke of Albany—He unsuccessfully invades England—James V., a minor, proclaimed king—Rash proceedings of his mother Margaret—She is deprived of her authority—James V. escapes from the control of the Douglasses—He defends the cause of the Romish church—His marriages—His severe proceedings against the Reformers—Henry VIII. seeks an interview with James V.—A Scottish army mustered to invade England—Its shameful rout at Solway Moss—Death of James V.—Design of Henry VIII. to reduce Scotland and England into one monarchy—He liberates the Scottish nobles his prisoners—Cardinal Beaton's attempts to obtain the regency of Scotland—Henry's rash proceedings alarm the Scots—Marriage resolved between Prince Edward of England and the Princess Mary of Scotland—Beaton recovers his ascendancy—He is reconciled with the Regent Arran—They unite against Henry and the Reformation—Aid arrives to the Scots from France—Fresh rupture between England and Scotland—Henry's reconciliation with Charles V.—He marries Catherine Parr—Invades France—Besieges and takes Boulogne—Abortive close of the invasion—Invasion of Scotland by sea—The English land at Leith—They burn Edinburgh—Defeat of the English at Ancrum Moor—The French attempt to gain the mastery at sea—Their naval proceedings—Their unsuccessful effort to obtain the Isle of Wight—Henry's poverty—His illegal acts to obtain money—His intrigues with Scottish traitors—He attempts to procure the assassination of Cardinal Beaton—Singular correspondence for that purpose—Scotland again invaded—Havoc wrought by the invaders—Account of George Wishart—His labours in Scotland as a Reformer—His martyrdom—Beaton fortifies his castle of St. Andrews—He is assassinated—Growing infirmities of Henry—His theological debates with his queen—Rivalry between the houses of Hertford and Norfolk—The Duke of Norfolk arrested—His son, the Earl of Surrey, tried for treason—Tampering with the witnesses against him—Surrey executed—The Duke of Norfolk tried and condemned—Last illness of Henry VIII.—His death—Fortunate escape of Norfolk from execution.



Left the affairs of Scotland in a most embarrassed state, at the second departure of the Regent Albany for France, in October, 1522. Henry, who had pretended that the sole cause of his hostility was the presence of that prince, on the retirement of Albany, sent Clarenceux to de-

clare, in a solemn manner, that he held the war to be unnatural, and that he was most desirous of living in peace with his dear nephew James. Nearly at the same moment his troops, collected in the east marches, ravaged and burned the greater part of Teviotdale; and the Earl of Surrey (the Duke of Norfolk of later times), with

¹ State Papers.

10,000 men, burst into the Merse, burning and destroying all before him, without even respecting the beautiful old abbey of Jedburgh, which he left a heap of ruins. Lord Dacre continued his ancient practices; and whenever there was a traitor in Scotland he was ready to bribe him. In 1523 Albany returned with a fleet of eighty-seven small vessels, 4000 foot soldiers, 500 men-at-arms, 1000 hackbutters, 600 horse, and a decent train of artillery, which had been furnished to him by the French. He found his former close and dear ally Margaret, the queen-dowager, who had taken to herself another lover, deep in negotiations with Dacre and Surrey, and sold to promote the English interests at the expense of the independence of the Scottish nation and her son's crown. His position was more than ever difficult; the Scots were jealous of the foreign army with which he was surrounded, and, being well informed of what was passing on the Continent, they maintained that Albany wished to urge them into a war with England for the sole object of obliging France. The Scottish parliament, however, assembled, and a proclamation was issued for a muster of the whole military force of the kingdom on the 20th of October, that the defeat of Flodden might be avenged, and reprisals made for the incursions of Shrewsbury, Surrey, and the other leaders, who had committed such havoc on the Borders. By means of money Albany won over some of the most venal of the nobles, and even shook the English politics of the queen-dowager, who, with great delicacy, informed the Earl of Surrey, that, unless her brother Henry remitted her more cash, she might possibly join the French interest, and co-operate with Albany. On the appointed day the Scottish army appeared in array near Edinburgh; but Argyle, the Lord Forbes, the Earl of Huntly, and other great lords, were absent—some openly condemning the invasion of England, some pretending sickness. Albany, however, marched to the Tweed with about 40,000 men; but the season was far advanced—the roads were almost impassable for his artillery—the Scots quarrelled with the foreign auxiliaries, and many of their chiefs had engaged with Surrey and Dacre to check the regent's progress. When they reached the wooden bridge of Melrose, a large body of troops refused to cross the Tweed; and, soon after, the divisions which had passed halted, wavered, and then, in spite of Albany's entreaties and reproaches, re-crossed the bridge to the Scottish side. The regent then attempted to keep them close on the left bank of the Tweed, and he laid siege to Wark Castle with his foreign troops and artillery. But he was foiled even in this paltry enterprise; and on the 4th of November, after losing some 300 Frenchmen in an assault,

he was compelled to beat a retreat.¹ On his return to the capital, some of the Scottish peers accused him of being the cause of the disgrace they themselves had brought about; and, notwithstanding the presence of Surrey on the Borders, and the inclemency of the season, they insisted on his instantly dismissing the foreign auxiliaries. Soon after, in the spring of 1524, Albany, in disgust and despair, returned once more to France, whence he marched with the French king into Italy. The defeat and capture of Francis at the battle of Pavia completed the ruin of his party in Scotland, where the queen-dowager once more mismanaged affairs for a short time. Henry had opened a correspondence with her husband, the Earl of Angus, who had been living in exile on the Continent, and who, upon certain conditions, engaged to forward the views of the English in his native country. But before this project could be carried into execution, Margaret, assisted by the Earls of Arran, Lennox, Crawford, and others of the great nobles, got possession of the person of her son, carried him to Edinburgh, and there caused him to be declared of age, and to be proclaimed king. James was twelve years old when he received the oaths of allegiance of such of the spiritual and temporal peers as had espoused his mother's party. The whole plan was transparent, and all patriotic minds dreaded to see the government of the kingdom again in the hands of so capricious, unwise, and anti-national a person as Margaret. James Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, and Dunbar, Bishop of Aberdeen, resisted and threw ridicule on the notion of a boy of twelve years being king; for which they were committed to prison. Wolsey flattered Beaton with the hope of a cardinal's hat if he would renounce his engagement to support the regency established by the Scottish parliament, and become the tool of England; but Beaton, with all his faults, had a high and patriotic spirit, and he rejected these proposals. Henry cared not by what means he obtained the ascendancy: giving up Angus, who was now residing at his court, he determined to support this precious revolution, by which Margaret might reign in her son's name, and he might rule in hers. He sent her and the Earl of Arran some money, and 200 men-at-arms, as a body-guard for the young king; but Margaret was as wilful as her brother: she soon found fault with him for permitting the return of her now odious husband, and she threatened to throw herself into the arms of the enemies of England unless Angus were kept away from Scotland. At the same time she clamoured for more money, and demanded the order of the Garter for her friend the Earl of Arran. But, very soon after, she disgusted the

¹ Buchanan; Tytler.

powerful Arrau by taking to herself another paramour, in the person of Henry Stuart, second son of Lord Evandale, a very handsome but inexperienced youth, whom she instantly raised to the important office of lord-treasurer. Upon this, her party fell from her rapidly, and she did not mend matters by making her young lover chancellor soon after. She continued, at the same time, to excite the suspicions of Wolsey and her brother Henry, who thereupon renewed negotiations with her husband Angus, who was still at the English court. After many shameful intrigues, Angus, having agreed to do the will of Henry, was sent into Scotland; and, with English assistance, he was enabled to obtain possession of the young king, and, with that, the exercise of the royal authority. After a bold but unsuccessful attempt at resistance, Margaret consented to a treaty, by which she was removed from any dependence as a wife upon Angus, and permitted to enjoy a voice in the council and the disposal of a portion of the patronage of the church. She would not have obtained such mild terms had it not been for the mediation of the English court, and the manœuvres of its skillful agents; yet the treaty was scarcely signed when she opened a secret negotiation with Albany and the French court, professing a readiness to go to all extremities against England, provided only they would assist her in expelling her husband Angus, and getting a divorce from Rome. But by this time Francis was a prisoner and Albany powerless; and, to complete her misfortunes, her brother's agents intercepted her letters, and laid them before the enraged majesty of England. She was now deprived of the very limited share of authority she had possessed; and her husband Angus, with the rest of the Douglasses, governed the country. Angus consented, at last (in 1526), to a divorce, and Margaret married her paramour, and fell into deserved contempt with all parties.¹

The young King James soon felt a desire to free himself from the thralldom of the Douglasses; and in July, 1528, when he was in his seventeenth year, with the assistance of Archbishop Beaton, he escaped from the confinement in which he was held, and threw himself into Stirling Castle, where he was soon joined by the Earls of Arran, Argyle, Eglinton, and Moray, and by many other powerful noblemen, who saluted him as their free and uncontrolled monarch—and, for the first time in his life, James *was* free. He instantly issued a proclamation, forbidding Angus, or any lord or retainer of the house of Douglas, to approach within six miles of his court, under pain of treason, and he presently levied an army,

which enabled him to drive his enemies across the Borders. Angus became the pensioner of Henry, and remained for some years an exile in England. The young James soon proved that he was very capable of the duties of government; and his frank, generous disposition, and easy popular manners, gained him the hearts of his subjects. He resolved to free his country from foreign dictation and the interference of England; and to that end he sought the alliance of the emperor and the French king. In 1532 the intrigues of the Earl of Bothwell, who had traitorously allied himself with England, and the desperation of Angus and the banished Douglasses, brought on a war between the two countries; but hostilities were confined to the Borders, where, properly speaking, peace never reigned; and a treaty was soon concluded under the mediation of the French king. The treaty, on terms very honourable to Scotland, was signed on the 12th of May, 1534. James was now in his twenty-second year. He publicly deplored his uncle, the King of England's conduct, and expressed his own determination of supporting in Scotland the religion of his ancestors. His counsellors were chiefly priests, whose intolerance was heightened by the notorious fact that many of the Scottish nobles who inclined to a reform of the church were bad patriots, and in the pay of England. The more Henry attacked the Roman church, the more James seemed determined to defend it. The English court was much distressed by this diversity of opinion; and, to win over his nephew, Henry made him an offer of the hand of his own daughter Mary, and sent him one of his own priests, Dr. Barlow, to preach to him. This Barlow found slight encouragement at the Scottish court, and the Scottish clergy shut up all the pulpits against him; upon which he described the clerical counsellors of James as being "the pope's pestilent preachers, and very limbs of the devil." The matrimonial negotiation fell to the ground, and so did a proposal made by Henry for a meeting with his nephew at York; and James soon after married the Princess Magdalen, daughter of the French king, a beautiful girl of sixteen. The ceremony took place in January, 1537, in the church of Notre Dame, at Paris; and on the 19th of May the royal couple landed safely at Leith. But Magdalen, who was in a delicate state of health when she married, died of a rapid decline on the 7th of July, leaving her husband in great affliction, from which, however, he was soon sufficiently roused to send David Beaton, afterwards the celebrated cardinal, to look out for another wife in France. Beaton, who was accompanied by Lord Maxwell and the Master of Glencairn, presently concluded a match with Mary of Guise, the widow of the Duke of Longueville, a lady

¹ She died in 1539, having with great difficulty been prevailed upon not to divorce her third husband.

who had refused the hand of his uncle of England. Mary of Guise arrived in Scotland, and the king's second marriage was celebrated in the cathedral church of St. Andrews, within a year after the death of his first wife. "The Pilgrimage of Grace," and other events in England, the Catholic feelings of his wife Mary, and other circumstances, confirmed James in his opposition to religious reform; and the affairs of the Scottish church, and in good part those of the nation, were chiefly intrusted to David Beaton, who, in



CARDINAL BEATON.—From the picture at Holyrood.

the autumn of 1539, succeeded his uncle, James Beaton, in the primacy. The pope had addressed flattering messages to the king, and David Beaton had received a cardinal's hat—a melancholy effect of which high honours was soon exhibited in the burning of more heretics. These detestable executions drove all those who favoured the new doctrine into an alliance with the banished Douglasses, who could only work by English means, and by modes perilous to the national independence. And this course again exasperated the king more than ever against the Protestants. For a long time patriotism was allied with the old religion, and the new religion was banded with disaffection and anti-nationality. James, indeed, continued to support the church with all his might, not hesitating to adopt from his priestly counsellors a fierce spirit of intolerance and persecution.¹ Early in the following year his parliament passed more severe statutes against heresy: it was declared to be a capital offence to question the supreme authority or the spiritual infallibility of the pope; no person, with the least taint of heresy, was to enjoy any office under government; no private meetings, or conventicles, or societies for the discussion of religious subjects were allowed, and informers against them were

invited by high rewards; no good Catholic was to hold intercourse with any man or woman that had at any time entertained heretical notions, were it his own brother or sister; the easting down of images of saints and the Virgin was declared to be a damnable offence; and a reference was made in the act to that rage for destroying the sacred edifices, which was now in its infancy, but which gathered strength under persecution, and which, in a few years, left the beautiful abbeys and churches of Scotland heaps of sightless ruins. At the same time, however, the parliament exhorted all churchmen, high or low, to reform their lives and conversation, in order to remove a great ground of scandal and reproach.²

Soon after this, Cardinal Beaton, and Panter, the king's secretary, proceeded on an embassy to Rome, with *secret instructions*. Alarmed at this mission, and at some new demonstrations on the Continent, Henry again pressed his nephew to meet him at York; and James, it appears, either consented, or deceived the English envoys with vague and ambiguous language. The English king, in the month of August, took the northern road (it was the fatal journey which preceded the arrest of Catherine Howard), travelled on to York, and waited there six days for the coming of the Scottish king. But James came not; and Henry, furious at what he considered a flaming insult, retraced his steps to London, whence he soon issued orders to Sir Robert Bowes to levy troops near the Borders, and to the Archbishop of York to make search into the records and muniments, so as to ascertain and establish the just title of the Kings of England to the kingdom of Scotland—which absurd claim he was resolved to revive.³ James sent an embassy to deprecate his uncle's wrath; but Beaton and the Catholic party generally were not averse to an open war, fearing greatly that their needy king might not always resist the tempting proposals of the English suppressionists. But, in good truth, peace had never been established on the Borders; on the one side of which were the banished Douglasses, eager to recover their estates with their swords; and on the other, English exiles, the victims of the "Pilgrimage of Grace," who were animated with the same desire. The first great movement, however, proceeded from the English lines: in August, 1542, Sir James Bowes, the warden of the east marches, with the Earl of Angus, Sir George Douglas, and other Scottish exiles, with a body of 3000 horse, rushed into Teviotdale. The invading force was met at Haddenrig by the Earl of Huntly and Lord Home, who gained a complete victory, taking no fewer than 600 prisoners of note. Henry, after proclaiming by manifestoes that the Scots were the aggressors,

¹ Sadler's *State Papers*.

² *Acts of Parl. of Scotland*.

³ *State Papers*; Sadler; Tytler.

ordered a levy of 40,000 men, and sent the Duke of Norfolk, the Earls of Southampton, Shrewsbury, Derby, Rutland, and Hertford, to take the command of this army, which was joined by Angus and all the banished Douglasses that had survived the fight at Haddenrig. At last, in the end of October, preceded by a fresh manifesto, in which Henry claimed the sovereignty of Scotland, Norfolk crossed the Border, and burned two towns and twenty villages on the left bank of the Tweed. There he continued ransacking the country without any opposition, and without venturing to advance, as James was gathering an army in his front, while Huntly, Home, and Seton were watching him on the flank. Thirty thousand men gathered round the standard of James on the Borough Muir, near Edinburgh; but there was disaffection in his camp: many of the nobles favoured the doctrines of the Reformation, either from a conviction of their truth, or from an earnest desire to possess themselves of the lands and houses of the monks; others were led wholly by their hereditary attachment to the banished Douglasses, whose standard floated on the side of the English; others, again, felt the unprofitableness of a war with England, and were of opinion that they should only act on the defensive. The provocation was great, but the latter would have been the wisest course; for, before James reached the Lammermuir Hills, Norfolk, in want of provisions, and distressed by the inclemency of the weather, was in full retreat. Having halted on Fala Muir, and reviewed his troops, which were exceedingly well appointed, though, like the enemy, somewhat short of provisions, James proposed that they should follow Norfolk, and make retaliation for his raid in England; but, to his great dismay, nearly every chief refused to cross the Borders, alleging the lateness of the season, the difficulty of obtaining provisions, and the imprudence of exposing the person of their sovereign, who, like his father, might find a Flodden Field. It was in vain that the gallant James called them cowards and traitors, and attempted to excite their revenge by pointing out the still smoking towns and villages, and Scottish farms, that marked the line of Norfolk's destructive march; they would not move forward—they began to disband—and the king

was obliged to ride back, with a bursting heart, to Edinburgh. The clergy, with a few of the peers, resolved to make an effort to retrieve the disgrace under which the king was sinking; and Lord Maxwell contrived to get together a force of 10,000 men, with which he proposed to burst suddenly into England by the western marches, and to remain there as many days as Norfolk had remained in Scotland, burning and destroying in the like manner. James rode with this little army to the castle of Caerlaverock, where, by agreement with his council, he halted: Maxwell dashed across the Border; but, no sooner were the Scots on English ground, on Solway Moss, than Oliver Sinclair, the king's minion, as he is termed, produced a commission appointing him to the supreme command of the army. Upon this many of the proud chiefs swore they would not serve under any such leader; and the clans and most of the troops broke out into open mutiny. In the midst of this scene of hopeless confusion a body of 300 English horse came up to reconnoitre. The Scots took them for the van of Norfolk's army, and, without attempting to ascertain the fact, fled in the greatest disorder. The English horse, charging the fugitives, took nearly 1000 prisoners—among whom were included the Earls of Cassilis and Glencairn, the Lords Somerville, Maxwell, Gray, Oliphant, and Fleming, the Masters of Erskine and Rothes, and Home of Ayton—and then marched back towards merry Car-



FALKLAND PALACE.—From an old drawing in the British Museum.

vain that the gallant James called them cowards and traitors, and attempted to excite their revenge by pointing out the still smoking towns and villages, and Scottish farms, that marked the line of Norfolk's destructive march; they would not move forward—they began to disband—and the king

lisle.¹ This disgraceful and unparalleled defeat was a death-blow to James: he rode slowly back to Edinburgh, and from Edinburgh he proceeded to his palace at Falkland, where he shut himself

¹ *State Papers; Hall: Herbert.* Some accounts make the English horse 500 or 600, instead of 300; but no increase of

up, brooding over his disgrace, and sitting for hours without speaking a word to any living being. There are few such authenticated cases of dying of what is called a broken heart. He was in the flower and prime of life, being only in his thirty-first year, and, up to this last calamity, his constitution was vigorous, and he had scarcely known sickness; but now a slow fever fixed upon him, and he sank most rapidly. His wife, Mary of Guise, had borne him two sons, but they had both died in their infancy; she was now a third time *enceinte*, and near her time, and it was hoped that a seasonable turn might be given to his consuming thoughts by the birth of a son and heir; but the queen was delivered, at the palace of Linlithgow, of a daughter, the unfortunate Mary; and James died on the 14th of December, seven days after her birth, foreseeing the dismal fate of his child and his country, and muttering in his last moments, "It came with a girl, and it will go with a girl."

A.D. 1543. The news of his nephew's death possessed Henry with new hopes of uniting Great Britain under one head. England had a young prince, and Scotland a queen, and he determined to marry his son Edward to the infant Mary. If he had been content with an arrangement for the future he might have succeeded, and had Edward lived, a great blessing for both countries would have been achieved; but Henry was anxious for an *immediate* enjoyment of the united sovereignty, and resolved to demand, as the natural guardian of the young princess, the entire government of the Scottish kingdom; and this selfishness and precipitancy defeated his scheme. He, however, proceeded at first with considerable craft, and found noble and powerful Scots, who, from anxiety to establish the Reformed religion in Scotland, and, still more, from motives of self-interest, were ready to throw their country in fetters at his feet. Foremost among these were the Earl of Angus and his brother Sir George Douglas, who had both long been in his confidence, and bound to his service. But the Earls of Cassilis and Glencairn, the Lords Somerville, Maxwell, Gray, and the other nobles who had been taken prisoners in the disgraceful rout at Solway Moss, and had been at first (at least in outward appearance) very harshly treated by Henry, who shut

them up for a few days in the Tower like rebels and traitors, were also ready to second his views. As soon as they showed this disposition Henry treated them with great honour and kindness, and under these blandishments their last faint feelings of patriotism departed. They concluded a formal and a solemn treaty, agreeing to acknowledge Henry as the sovereign lord of Scotland, to exert their influence to procure for him the government of the kingdom, with the possession of all the fortresses and the person of the infant queen Mary, who was to be delivered into his hands, to be kept in England. They swore to this treaty; they delivered hostages for its execution, promising that, if they failed, they would return into England to the same state of captivity in which they were before the treaty was made. Sir George Douglas, the brother of Angus, was intrusted with the chief management of the business; and all these unpatriotic lords were bound to proceed with great caution, and to feel their way, at first, by merely speaking of the benefits of the marriage, without alluding to any of its immediate consequences.⁷

As soon as James was dead, Cardinal Beaton produced a will, by which he was appointed guardian to the infant queen, and regent or "governor" of the realm, with the assistance of a council composed of the Earls of Argyle, Huntly, and Moray. The Earl of Arran, now presumptive heir to the throne, and as much wedded to the reforming party as Beaton was to the Papists, declared that this will was a forgery, and he had sufficient power to drive the cardinal from his office, and to acquire possession of it himself in the course of a very few days. Arran became regent or governor on the 22d of December, 1542, upon which the current set wholly in favour of the Protestant party. It was determined that Angus and the Douglasses should be recalled from their long exile of fifteen years. It was not then known that they had agreed to sacrifice the independence of the kingdom; and they did not leave England until after the 10th of January, 1543, when they received a safe-conduct from the Earl of Arran, permitting them freely to return to their homes. In order to ruin Cardinal Beaton and his party, a scroll was produced, which was said to have been found upon the king's person at his death, and which contained a list of above 360 of the Scottish nobility and gentry, who were marked out as heretics, and, as such, recommended as proper objects for confiscation and other penalties. At the very head of the list stood the name of the Earl of Arran, now regent! The cardinal despatched agents to France to represent to the house of Guise the danger of the queen-dowager and her

numbers can explain what happened to the honour of the Scots. We are justified in suspecting that many of them who had been traitors before, and who agreed to sell their country afterwards, were taken willing prisoners. Others, according to Bishop Godwin, were taken by Scottish freebooters, and sold to the English—"We charge them furiously; the Scots amazingly fly; many are slain, many taken; more plunged into the neighbouring seas, and, taken by Scottish freebooters, sold to us."—*Godwin*.

¹ *Lesly; Drummond; Maitland; Sir W. Scott; Tytler*. The crown of Scotland was brought into the family of the Stuarts by a daughter of the Bruce.

infant, and to beg for a supply of money and troops to resist the encroachments of the King of England and the manœuvres of the Scottish party sold to that monarch. As soon as the marriage was whispered, he saw all that Henry intended thereby, and he everywhere denounced the project, as tending to nothing less than the enslaving of Scotland. To quiet his dangerous eloquence, Arran, who found it necessary to seek the support of the men who had engaged to sacrifice their country, ordered his instant arrest; and the cardinal was seized on a charge of high treason, and carried off to the castle of Blackness, before he could get his own party together. Beaton had been recently appointed legate *a latere* for Scotland; and his influence with the clergy was as boundless as was their conviction that his talent and energy alone could prevent their ruin. They now shut up their churches; they refused to administer the sacraments or to bury the dead; and, as the great mass of the people were as yet Catholics, this conduct produced a deep impression; while, being relieved from other duties, the priests and monks had more time to devote to politics. Henry, in the meantime, was far too impatient. As if to proclaim his intentions, he demanded that Cardinal Beaton should be delivered into his hands; and he pressed Angus and the Scottish prisoners to begin by putting him in possession of the Scottish fortresses at once. The traitors told him that, if he would wait patiently, all would go well, and they would fulfil all that had been stipulated between them: but patience was a virtue unknown to Henry; he would only allow them a given time—he would only consent to prolong the truce till the month of June; and he at once collected what troops he could in the northern provinces. The heart of Wallace and the Bruce still beat in the general bosom of the brave Scottish people, though the proudest of the aristocracy—the barons of “the broken faith and the bloody hand”—were Baliols and Comyns. The traitor Sir George Douglas soon told Henry that to demand the government for him would be a perilous and fatal step,—that even the boys of Scotland would resist it with stones, and the old women with their distaffs. With all this patriotism, however, the Papist party seemed resolved to allow of no liberty of conscience in religious matters. The Earls of Huntly, Bothwell, and Moray had demanded that Cardinal Beaton should be set at liberty, offering themselves in bail for his appearance, to answer the charges brought against him. Arran, the regent, refused. They then called to their assistance the Earl of Argyre, and repaired to Perth, where they were soon joined by a great number of bishops and abbots, and many barons

and knights. They then drew up certain articles, which were presented to Arran and the council of regency by the Bishop of Orkney and Sir John Campbell of Caldour, uncle to the Earl of Argyre. One of the principal of these articles was, that the New Testament should not go abroad; by which was meant, that it should not be published in the vulgar tongue, or circulated among the people: another was, that the cardinal should be set at liberty. By the third article they demanded a share in the council: and by the fourth, they insisted that the ambassadors appointed to go to England should be changed for men of less questionable integrity and patriotism. Arran replied that he would grant them no such unreasonable desires; and the bishop and knight were presently followed to Perth by his herald-at-arms, who charged them, under pain of treason, to break up their meeting, and repair to the capital. The assembled lords, both lay and spiritual, readily obeyed, and, with a very few exceptions, went to attend the parliament, which was summoned for the 12th of March, 1543; but they had come to a good understanding among themselves—they were on their guard, and it was scarcely possible that any measure dangerous to the independence of Scotland should be carried, or even proposed in their presence, and in the state to which *they* had brought the popular mind.² The Archbishop of Glasgow, as chancellor, introduced the English proposals of peace and marriage: all voices were in favour of the union, but not one dared to propose the other demands which the King of England had advanced as indispensable preliminaries—as conditions, without which he would do nothing. The parliament, in recommending the marriage, recommended also that their young queen should, on no account, be sent into England; and they made, with jealous care, sundry regulations for preserving the national independence under all circumstances.³

Henry flew into a paroxysm of rage when he heard the turn this affair had taken; his ambassador or political agent Sir Ralph Sadler was instructed to reprimand Angus and his associates. Sadler, who would not have doubted lightly of the success of those intrigues of which he was so expert a manager, wrote to one of the English ministers, that, in his opinion, “the Scots would rather suffer any extremity than come to the obedience and subjection of England—that they would have their own realm free, and live within themselves after their own laws and customs.”⁴ Henry then attempted to terrify or cajole the Regent Arran—a weak and corrupt man, but

² *State Papers.* Letter from the Earl of Angus and Sir George Douglas to the English Lord Lisle.

³ *Acts of the Parliament of Scotland.*

⁴ *State Papers.*

¹ *Sadler: State Papers.*

not wholly destitute of honour and national feeling. He promised that he would give his daughter Elizabeth in marriage to Arran's son; but here a consideration of a selfish nature intervened; for Arran contemplated uniting his son to the young Queen Mary. The regent's passion for church reform was not overlooked; but here, again, Arran could hardly agree with the English king, who continued to maintain the chief dogmas of the Catholic church with fire and fagot; for Arran was at this time a thorough Protestant, entertaining in his house one John Rough, and one Brother William, whom Henry most indubitably would have burned as pestilent heretics. At this very moment Cardinal Beaton recovered his liberty. By what means this was effected is not very clear, but the consequences were soon apparent. The Earl of Lennox, who had served Francis I. in his Italian wars, and who was very nearly related to the royal family of Scotland, was set up as a rival to Arran; and supplies of money and ammunition were brought over from Francis, who undertook to exert himself to the utmost, in order to prevent altogether the English marriage and alliance. But, at the same time, Angus, Sir George Douglas, and the other paid and pensioned agents of Henry, were not idle; and by their advice, Henry relaxed in the harshness of his demands, and agreed to wait the effect of time and intrigue. On the 1st of July his commissioners met Sir George Douglas, the Earl of Glencairn, Sir James Learmont, Sir William Hamilton, and Balnavis, the Scottish secretary, at Greenwich, and there finally arranged a less objectionable treaty. It was agreed that Queen Mary should marry Edward, Prince of Wales, as soon as she was of proper age, and that a perfect peace should be established, from the signing of the treaty, between the two countries; that Mary should remain in Scotland until she completed her tenth year—Henry being permitted to send thither an English nobleman, with his wife and family, to form part of her household; and that two Scottish earls and four barons should be sent forthwith into England as hostages. It was provided in the treaty, and set down as an indefeasible part of it, that in all cases the ancient kingdom of Scotland should keep her name, and be governed by her own laws.¹

But, in effect, this outward parchment was but a cover to a scheme of the utmost perfidy—a scheme which must have been suspected by the Scottish statesmen of those days, though it has only been fully brought to light in our own by the research of a national historian.² Under the treaty of Greenwich there was what was called a *secret device*—a name which very happily expresses the nature of the thing. By this precious compact, Angus, his brother George, Maxwell, Glencairn, Cassillis, and the rest, bound themselves once more to the service of Henry—undertook, in case of need, to arm in his favour, and to adhere solely to his interests; “so that he should attain all the things then pacted and covenanted, or, at the least, the dominion on this side the Firth;” by which last expression was meant the whole of the south of Scotland.³

But the treaty was scarcely concluded, when Cardinal Beaton and the Earl of Huntly collected an army in the north of Scotland, when Argyle and Lennox rose in the west, and Bothwell, Home, and the Laird of Buccleuch mustered their vassals along the Borders. Their manifesto stated that they were forced into these hostile measures by Arran and the Douglasses, who threatened their holy church, and who had sold their country to Henry. At this crisis, or a



THE PALACE OF LINLITHGOW, AS NOW EXISTING.⁴

little later, Arran, who was receiving money from the English court, sent to request the assistance of an English army. Before this, Henry

¹ Mr. Tytler.

² *State Papers*. “Copy of the Secret Device,” dated July 1. 1543. Further information as to these treacherous transactions exists in the Hamilton MSS., in the possession of the Duke of Hamilton, and quoted by Mr. Tytler.

³ The palace of Linlithgow—for several centuries a favourite residence of the Scottish monarchs—was accidentally set on fire in the year 1746, and is now a magnificent ruin.

⁴ *Kymer; Sadler's State Papers*.

tried every possible means for seizing Beaton, and getting possession of the person of Queen Mary. The cardinal dreaded his stratagems and the effect of his gold; and he resolved to put the infant Mary in safer keeping. She was living with her mother, Mary of Guise, in the palace of Linlithgow, guarded by a great force appointed by Arrau and the Hamiltons. By combined movements, the cardinal brought all the forces of Lennox, Huntly, Argyll, and Bothwell, together with the Buccleuchs and the Kers, to act suddenly at one moment on Edinburgh and the neighbourhood. Arran and the Douglasses yielded to the storm; and the infant queen, and the queen-dowager, were given up to Beaton's party, and conveyed for safety to Stirling Castle.¹ Arran, however, retained the office of regent or governor; and in the month of August of the same year (1543) he caused the treaties with England to be ratified by the nobles, and himself swore to their faithful observance.² Cardinal Beaton and his party represented, with perfect truth, that this ratification was made contrary to the wishes of the great body of the nation—that it was unauthorized by parliament, and in consequence illegal. Henry chose this very moment for offering a fresh provocation. As soon as the treaty of peace was published, some Scottish merchants ventured to send to sea a number of ships; these ships were driven by stress of weather into an English port, where, by the king's orders, they were seized, and their cargoes confiscated, under pretence that they were carrying provision to his majesty's enemies in France.³ This measure excited such a fury in Edinburgh, that Sir Ralph Sadler found his life in danger from the populace; upon which Henry threatened the magistrates of that capital with his high displeasure. Angus, Cassillis, Gleuchairn, and the other pensioners of England, now thought that it would be better to bring matters to a crisis openly, and they strongly recommended Henry to send a main army for the conquest of the realm—the time, they said, being come; but Arran, the regent, seems to have trembled at the exasperation of the Scottish people, and, to the surprise of most men, on the 3d September, only six days after protesting to Sadler that no prince alive should have his heart and service save only the English king, he met the cardinal by appointment at Callendar House, and entirely reconciled himself with that party, agreeing to renounce all former pledges, and even his attachment to the Reformed doctrines. Very soon after, he publicly abjured his heresy in the Franciscan

convent of Stirling, and received absolution for his late wandering from the holy Catholic faith. Beaton then applied himself to win over the Earl of Angus and his traitorous associates; but these men seemed determined to earn their pensions, and, withdrawing to Douglas Castle, they assembled their vassals, and drew up a new bond or covenant, to employ their whole strength in fulfilling their engagements with the King of England. Lord Somerville undertook to deliver this bond to Henry, and to concert with him proper warlike measures. Beaton, on the other side, caused the infant queen to be crowned at Stirling, appointed a new council, and made Arran, as governor or regent, take a most solemn oath to govern according to the advice of this council. On a sudden, the Earl of Lennox, whom the cardinal had played off with good effect against Arran, disgusted with the reconciliation that had taken place between Beaton and the regent, and led by other base motives, threw himself into the English interests. Lennox soon showed himself worthy of his new associates. To him had been intrusted the recent negotiations with the French court; and when the Sieur de la Brosse arrived with a few ships, bearing fifty pieces of artillery, some military stores, and 10,000 crowns to be distributed amongst the anti-English party, he anchored at Dumbarton, because the town and castle were devoted to his friend the Earl of Lennox. Taking good care not to inform him of his sudden change of politics, Lennox got all the gold, and then left the poor ambassador to discover his mistake. In his eagerness for the money, Lennox lost the rest of the cargo on board the French ships, which landed a Papal legate, Marco Grimani, who was commissioned to confirm Arran in his new zeal for Papistry, and to attend to the affairs of the church generally. The more patriotic of the Scottish nobles entertained this clever and polished Italian with great hospitality.⁴ But there wanted no legate from the pope to excite the Scottish people. Somerville was seized, and the traitorous bond recently signed at Douglas Castle was found upon his person, along with other letters, which disclosed the full extent of that treasonable plan. Maxwell, another chief agent of the English party, was seized at the same time. Angus, with the Douglasses and others, took up arms; but they were disconcerted by the decisive steps of the regent, who now acted under the control of Cardinal Beaton. Dalkeith and Pinkie, two of the chief places of the Douglasses, were occupied by government troops, and Angus was obliged to take refuge in his strong castle of Tantallon, carrying with him his dear friend Sir

¹ *Journal of Occurrences in Scotland, from Death of James IV. to 1575*, &c., Edin. 1833—a valuable volume, printed by the Bannatyne Club.

² Sadler: *State Papers*.

³ Henry had just declared war against Francis.

⁴ *State Papers; Sadler; Journal of Occurrences*; Hamilton MSS., as quoted by Tytler (*Hist. Scot.*) and Chalmers (*Life of Mary*).

Ralph Sadler, whose life, by all law, was forfeited to the Scots. The Scottish parliament met in unusual numbers; and Grimani the legate, and the French ambassadors, De la Brosse and Mesnage, were introduced at proper moments. Arran would have hesitated, but Beaton boldly censured Angus, and all his party whose names were to the infamous bond signed at Douglas Castle, to be accused of treason; and, not stopping here, the parliament, under the same energetic direction, declared that the late treaties of peace and marriage with England were void and at an end, in consequence of the unjust conduct of the king in seizing the Scottish ships, promoting incursions on the Borders, and refusing to ratify the peace in proper time. De la Brosse and Mesnage delivered a message from Francis, who was expecting to be invaded by the English, and who was anxious on that account to remind the Scots of their long alliance with France.

Henry had for some time been greatly dissatisfied with his ally Francis. They had never been good friends since the marriage with Anne Boleyn; but it was the steady encouragement given by the French king to the Scots that brought about an open rupture. Before declaring himself, Henry sought a reconciliation with their old and common enemy, the emperor; and Charles, though greatly grown in power and in experience, had still such respect for the might of England as to be ready to make many concessions to her capricious king, in order to obtain her alliance. He was willing to admit that, as his aunt Catherine, and her rival Anne Boleyn, were both in their graves, all causes of difference ought to be buried with them; but still Charles was anxious to remove an insult to his family that had been made permanent in the person of Catherine's daughter, the Princess Mary. Here, as on other occasions, Henry's "subtle devisings" saved his pride, and the service to be done was thrown upon that slave of all-work—the parliament. Without mentioning her legitimacy, which would have been to declare that the king had acted most unlawfully by her mother, they passed an act restoring Mary to her place in the succession, and both her and her half-sister, the Princess Elizabeth, to their civil rights; so that it was now treason to hold the marriages of the king with Catherine of Aragon and Anne Boleyn to be legal—it was treason to hold the children by the said marriages to be illegitimate, it was treason to be silent upon the subject, and it was treason to refuse to take an oath upon it when required.¹ The emperor, who had suffered severe losses in his last campaign, was fain to be satisfied with this very extraordinary act, and a treaty was concluded in the month of February (1543). In the month of June, Fran-

cis refused even to listen to the extravagant demands which they had jointly agreed to enforce upon him, and this refusal they considered as a declaration of war. Henry talked largely of campaigns and conquests, but, in effect, he did little more than send 6000 men to the Continent under Sir John Wallop, and this insignificant force acted merely as auxiliary to the army of the emperor, who only thought of recovering some towns he had lost in Flanders, and of reducing the Duke of Cleves, then in close alliance with the French. Instead of taking the field, Henry, after an unusually long widowhood, took to himself a sixth wife, in the person of Catherine Parr, a very matronly, learned, discreet, and sagacious woman, widow to Nevil, Lord Latimer. It is said that Catherine was well versed in the new learning, and a sincere convert to the Protestant faith: it is quite certain that the Protestant party rejoiced at the union; and yet it is equally certain that, only sixteen days after the nuptials, three Sacramentarians or Protestants were burned alive in Smithfield. Catherine seems to have crawled with the axe hung by a thread over her neck, till death relieved her of her dangerous husband.

Sir Thomas Wallop, after failing miserably in the siege of Landreci, and losing a considerable portion of his army, withdrew to winter quarters.²

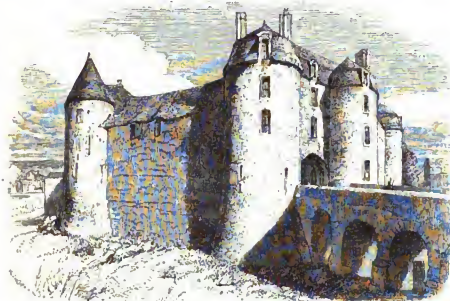
A.D. 1544. With an exhausted exchequer, it was resolved, in the wisdom of the king and his council, to conquer both Scotland and France at one and the same time; and, with an obese body, no longer fit even for the mere parade and spectacular part of war, Henry resolved to take the field in person. By immense and ruinous efforts an army of 30,000 men was raised, and in the month of July, about a year after his late marriage, of which he was probably already tired, the king's gracious majesty, in his royal person, passed the seas from Dover to Calais. A part of the army, led by the Duke of Norfolk and "the gentle Lord Russell," had taken the field, and laid siege to Montreuil, "where they lay a long time, and left the town as they found it." When Henry, "like a very god of war," assumed the command of the English forces and of 15,000 Imperialists sent by Charles to act with him, wonderful things were expected. The plan of the campaign had been nicely defined by the two allies. Charles was to strike across France by Champagne, Henry by Picardy; and neither was to stop till he reached Paris, where, in their united might, they were to dispose of the French monarchy. It was the old plan which had failed twice or thrice already, but this time they were to profit by past experience, and on no account to loiter on their way in besieging towns and castles: and yet the very first thing which Henry did was

¹ *Raumer.*² *State Papers; Godwin; Du Bellay.*

to sit down with the mass of his army before the town of Boulogne, and to swear one of his biggest oaths, amidst the roar of his biggest guns, that he would do nothing else until he had taken it. In vain Charles implored him to advance: he justified his delay by saying that the emperor, on his side, had stopped to take some castles; and he continued burning an enormous quantity of gunpowder before Boulogne, which badly-fortified city detained him and his great army for nearly two months! When the garrison of Boulogne at last capitulated, and marched out with bag and baggage, "the king's highness having the sword borne naked before him by the Lord Mar-

riages. Having garrisoned Boulogne, and destroyed the church of "Our Lady" there, Henry returned to England sorely impoverished. Nor did Henry gain more glory by his lieutenants in Scotland than he had gained personally on the Continent. Some time before his departure for Boulogne he sent the Viscount Lisle, Admiral of England, and the Earl of Hertford, uncles of Prince Edward, and brothers of the late Queen Jane Seymour, with a fleet of 200 sail, having on board an army of 10,000 men, to make a sudden attack upon Leith and Edinburgh, and to demand the immediate surrender of the young queen and of sundry fortresses. Arran, as regent, had made

no suitable preparations; and Cardinal Beaton, by burning some poor people at Perth (for denying the efficacy of prayer to the saints and the Virgin, for treating an image of St. Francis irreverently, for breaking the fast of Lent, and for other heresies), had revived the keen hostility of the reforming party. At the same time the noble pensioners of England were not idle, and there was nothing but division or distrust at a moment when all Scotsmen ought to have been united by the common danger. On the 4th of May the English landed at Leith, which they plundered and occupied with



THE CASTLE OF BOULOGNE.—From a drawing on the spot by T. S. Boys.

quis Dorset, like a noble and valiant conqueror rode into the town, and all the trumpeters, standing on the walls of the town, sounded their trumpets at the time of his entering, to the great comfort of all the king's true subjects."¹

Before Henry had made this solemn entrance Charles had very wisely opened negotiations with the French king, and shortly after (in the month of September) the treaty of Crespi was signed, and fully ratified. His majesty of England, who had refused to be included in it, was left to carry on the war by himself; and Francis and the emperor agreed to forget all former grievances, and to unite their families and their politics by inter-

little opposition. Though left almost entirely to themselves, the citizens of Edinburgh barricaded their gates, and determined to defend their ancient town. When Otterburn of Reid Hall, their provost, went with a flag of truce to remonstrate with the English commander, and to propose an amicable adjustment, Hertford told him that he came as a soldier, not as an ambassador—that they must instantly deliver up their young queen; for, if they did not, he was commanded to ravage their country with fire and sword.² Otterburn thought proper to remain in the English camp, but the people of Edinburgh chose a new provost, and held out. They even compelled Hertford to re-

¹ *Holl; Du Bellay; Godwin; Rymer.* Rymer gives Henry's own journal, which is a curious document.

² Here is part of the infernal commission given by the king to the Earl of Hertford:—"You are there to put all to fire and sword; to burn Edinburgh town, and to raze and deface it, when you have sacked it, and gotten what you can out of it, as that it may remain for ever a memory of the vengeance of God alighted upon it, for their falsehood and disloyalty. . . . Do what you can out of hand, and, without long tarrying (it was felt that this would not be safe with 10,000 men), to beat down and overthrow the castle, sack Holyroodhouse, and as many towns and villages about Edinburgh as ye conveniently can;

sack Leith, and burn and subvert it, and all the rest, putting man, woman, and child to fire and sword, without exception, when any resistance shall be made against you; and this done, pass over to the Fife land, and extend like extremities and destructions in all towns and villages whereunto ye may reach conveniently, not forgetting, amongst all the rest, so to spoil and turn upside down the cardinal's town of St. Andrews, as the upper stone may be the nether, and not one stick stand by another, sparing no creature alive within the same, specially such as either in friendship or blood be allied to the cardinal. . . . This journey shall succeed most to his majesty's honour."—Hamilton MSS., as quoted by Mr. Tytler.

treat to Leith, but, when he brought up his heavy artillery, they found it a hopeless attempt to defend their wooden gates; and, removing as much of their property as they could, the citizens for the most part evacuated the town during the night, leaving the brave Hamilton of Stenhouse to hold the castle. The English entered the Canongate, put a few stragglers to the sword, and plundered such property as was left. But Hertford was foiled before Edinburgh Castle; his guns were dismounted by a sure fire from the ramparts, and he beat a retreat, which was covered by the smoke and flame of the city, to which he barbarously set fire. Being reinforced by a motley host of 4000 Borderers, partly English and partly Scots, the retainers of the house of Douglas, he employed himself in executing his king's commission to the letter, burning and destroying all the open country round the Scottish capital. In the vain hope of reconciling that faction, the Earl of Angus and his brother Sir George Douglas, who had been arrested, were set at liberty; upon which Sir George forthwith repaired to Leith, and had a private interview with the Earl of Hertford, to whom he betrayed all that he knew concerning the plans adopted by his countrymen. But the English soon perceived that they could not maintain their ground even at Leith, which they had fortified; and, in the middle of May, as Arran and Cardinal Beaton were marching towards them with a superior force, they abandoned the shores of the Forth, part sailing away with the fleet, and the rest, under Hertford, marching rapidly along-shore towards Berwick. Seton, Haddington, Dunbar, and Renton—all the towns between Edinburgh and Berwick—were plundered and burned, and every village and cottage near the road partook of the same fate. This was too much even for the traitors, and for those Scots who had wished for the presence of an English army in order to curb the fierceness of the Catholic party. The Earl of Angus joined the cardinal, who was the real director of the campaign; and even his brother, Sir George Douglas, was induced to pursue the same course, apparently giving up his English treaties and pensions. Indeed, in a very short time Henry had no traitorous ally in Scotland except Lennox and Glencairn; and the popular feeling of hatred against him and the English amounted almost to a frenzy. Glencairn was defeated in a sanguinary battle near Glasgow; and Lennox, having delivered the castle of Dumbarton into his keeping, fled by sea into England. Lennox soon returned from England with a fleet of eight ships; and, "hanging over the coast of Scotland, like a cloud uncertain where to disburden itself, he deterred the Scots from undertaking anything against England during the absence of the king in France." He took

the isles of Arran and Bute; and, according to agreement, delivered them up to Sir Rice Mansel and Richard Broke, who accompanied him in the expedition with a small force of English archers and pikemen. He plundered Cantyre, Kyle, and Carrick, and returned loaded with booty and disgrace to an English port. While he had been plundering like a pirate by sea, Sir Ralph Evre, and other English officers, ravaged the Scottish borders in their whole length, and with a fury that but too plainly showed the intention of making those parts a desert. At the same time the two factions disagreed on every important point, and it was soon discovered, or suspected upon very good grounds, that the Douglasses had renewed their plots with the English. Confidence disappeared—the men could not trust their officers—and when Arran took the field, with 6000 men, Angus, Cassillis, and others of the lords who had formerly bound themselves to Henry, would not fight; and the whole force fled disgracefully before 2000 English troops. But Angus and the Douglasses were now made really patriotic and true to the national cause, by a report that Henry had promised all their hereditary estates to Sir Ralph Evre, if that officer could conquer them. Angus swore a great oath, that he would give Sir Ralph his *seisin*¹ on his skin, with sharp pens and bloody ink. Nothing deterred, the fierce Englishman in the following year re-entered Scotland, making all the country a desert about Jedburgh and Kyle. His host consisted of English archers, foreign mercenaries collected during the late expedition into France, and 700 or 800 freebooters from the Scottish borders—in all, about 6000 men. They burned the tower of Broom House, and in it a noble old lady with her whole family. They penetrated to Melrose, where they vented their barbarous spite on the beautiful old abbey and the tombs of the Douglasses within it.

Angus' temporary patriotism was increased by the last-mentioned deed, and he joined the Regent Arran with all the vassals he could collect. Yet even at this moment his brother, Sir George Douglas, was corresponding with Sir Ralph Evre, and is supposed to have betrayed the movement of his countrymen to the English, who surprised Arran and Angus in an unfavourable position, and forced them to retreat with some loss. After burning Melrose, Sir Ralph Evre turned down the Tweed, being followed or watched in flank by Arran and Angus, who had re-collected their forces behind the Eildon Hills. Their recent successes had made the English

¹ A *seisin*, in the Scotch law, is the instrument or attestation of a notary, that possession of the land has been actually given by the superior to the vassal: it is the evidence or record of the infeftment or investiture.

commanders confident and careless. They marched upon Jedburgh with very little precaution; but when they came to Ancrum Moor, on the Teviot, they found the Scots drawn up in order of battle. On a near approach, Arran and Angus were disposed to decline battle, on account of the great inequality in numbers; but Sir Walter Scott, the veteran Laird of Buccleuch, galloped up to announce that his followers were close at hand; and Norman Lesly arrived on the field with 800 spears. Still, however, the Scots were very inferior in number, and they had recourse to some skilful manœuvring, which was recommended and directed by Walter Scott. A part of their army was concealed; their horses, mounted by the camp-boys, were posted on the crest of a hill, so as to look like a second army; and every fighting-man put his foot to the heather, having both sun and wind at his back, and in the faces of the enemy. The English advanced in a great hurry on horseback, as if loath to let the Scots escape them: the foremost line of the Scots retreated, but only for a few yards, when the assailants found themselves suddenly chased by a dense phalanx of Scottish pikemen, with spears an ell longer than those of the English.¹ Sir Brian Latoun and Sir Robert Bowes, who led the English van, were thrown back in disorder upon the main body, which was charging up the hill with great assurance under Sir Ralph Evre; and then the battle became general. It was, however, short: as soon as the English began to give way, the Scottish borderers, who had followed their standard, threw away their red crosses and fell upon their former allies. Upon this there ensued a general panic; the English fled in the greatest confusion, and the Scots pursued them with great slaughter. Wherever the fugitives turned, they found infuriated enemies in the peasantry, who had suffered so sorely from their recent excesses. Even the women and children joined in the carnage, and all pity was dismissed by their cries of "Remember their cruelty at Broom House!" Eight hundred of the English were killed in this battle, and a thousand, maimed and wounded, were taken prisoners. The joy of the Scots was at its height when they discovered among the dead the bodies of Evre and Latoun.²

A.D. 1545.
Henry's great conquest of Boulogne, achieved at an expense of £400,000 of English money, was very nearly lost almost as soon as won, and the place was only

saved by the gallantry and skill of Sir Thomas Poynings. Francis saw how greatly the English pale in France would be strengthened by the addition of Boulogne, and he made great efforts, both by sea and land, to retake it. Large galleys were built at Rouen, others were ordered round from Marseilles and the French ports on the Mediterranean, and all manner of great ships—Venetians, Aragonese, Italians, or whatsoever they might be—were pressed into the French service either by fair means or foul.³ When Francis saw this formidable navy safely collected on the coasts of Brittany and Normandy, he conceived the bold notion of striving for the mastery of the sea, and seizing upon the Isle of Wight. Henry received timely warning that Francis intended to attempt an invasion, but he did not know where the blow might fall. His exchequer was very bare, but the people hastened to fortify the banks of the Thames, the coasts of Kent, Sussex, and Hampshire; and sixty ships of war were collected at Portsmouth under the flag of Dudley Lord Lisle, the high-admiral. On the 16th of July, the French fleet, amounting to 136 sail, under the command of Annebaut, put to sea, and two days after, they fell down the channel that separates the Isle of Wight from the main, and cast anchor at St. Helen's. These were not days for heroical achievements: Lisle, after a distant cannonading, retired into Portsmouth harbour, where the king then was, and whence he saw a foreign fleet insulting him to his face, and riding triumphant in the Channel. The next day Annebaut put out his flat-bottomed galleys and vessels that drew little water; and, while these went up to the very mouth of the port, he ravaged the coast and did whatever he could to provoke the English to come out and give battle; but, by Henry's orders, the lord-admiral stirred not. After holding a council of war, the French admiral determined to attack the Isle of Wight, and a descent was made in three several places; but the brave inhabitants drove the invaders back to their ships, though not before much of their property had been plundered or given to the flames. Annebaut sailed away towards Dover, landing occasionally to burn and destroy. In some places, however, his men got worse than they gave, being cut to pieces by the inhabitants, who lay in ambush to receive them. It was now the object of the French admiral, who stood off-and-on in the narrow part of the Channel, to prevent the

now broken and defaced. The inscription is said to have run thus:—

Fair maid Lylliard lies under this stane;
Little was her stature, but great was her fame.
Upon the English lions she laid many thumps,
And when her legs were cutted off, she fought upon her stumps."

³ *State Papers.*

¹ The length of the Scottish pike or spear was fixed, by act of parliament, in 1471, at 6½ ells—that is, eighteen feet and a half.

² The place where the battle was fought received the name of Lilliard's Edge, "from an Amazonian Scottish woman of that name," says Sir Walter Scott, "who is reported by tradition to have distinguished herself in the same manner as Squire Witherington at Chery Chase. The old people point out her monument,

English from victualling Boulogne, and from sending reinforcements of ships from the Thames to Portsmouth; but he executed his commission with very indifferent success: provisions were thrown into Boulogne, which greatly wanted them, almost under the shadow of his own flag; and the lord-admiral at Portsmouth was reinforced with thirty sail. When Dudley received the king's orders to put forth against the enemy, he said, with proper spirit, that he would lose no time in so doing—that he was grateful for being restored to his liberty, having never thought himself in prison till now, since the time of his lying there doing nothing. The watch-word for the fleet in the night was, "God save King Henry!"—to which the answer was, "And long to reign over us!" The two fleets were soon in presence between Brighton and the French coast, but "thought it best to eschew the fight that day for a better day," and, in the end, they did nothing but exchange a few long shots. The English commander went back to Portsmouth, the French withdrew to Brest.¹

Henry's father had left him the richest sovereign in Europe, but that money had long been gone. The seizure of the church property, after all deductions, had furnished him with immense sums, but they, too, were all gone. The parliament had voted such subsidies as had never been voted before, but they were all spent as soon as raised. In his constant and recurring need he had already adopted all kinds of illegal measures to extract more money from his people. His officers had obtained returns which showed the value of each man's estate; and with this clue he now addressed a royal letter to every person rated at £50 per annum, requesting a certain sum by way of loan. To refuse was dangerous: in most cases he got the money he asked for, and then he made parliament vote him a grant of all the money so raised, as well as whatever sums he had borrowed from any of his subjects since 1539, or the thirty-first year of his reign! After this he had recourse to a benevolence, and the people, who had made a spirited opposition to that illegal mode of raising money in the time of Cardinal Wolsey, were now fain to submit and pay. Henry had long since adopted the common but ruinous system of adulterating the coinage: now he debased it to such an extent that what was called the silver shilling contained twice as much alloy as silver. This practice greatly embarrassed the trade of the country, and tended to dry up his resources at the fountain head. In the month of November he made a very tender appeal to parliament, explaining his increasing wants; and parliament not only

voted him an enormous subsidy, but also granted him the disposal of all colleges, charities, and hospitals in the kingdom, with all their manors, lands, and hereditaments, receiving, in return, his gracious promise that they should all be employed to the glory of God and the public good. This was the last grant the tyrant got from his slaves, and he did not live to employ the whole power the act gave him. Had he survived a little while longer, he would not have left an hospital for the cure of the sick, or a school for the instruction of youth.

A great deal of the money thus wrung from the loyal English was spent among the traitors of Scotland. The victory of Ancrum had raised the spirits of the Scottish people. It was scarcely gained, however, when Angus, his brother George, Glencairn, Cassillis, and the rest of that vile league, renewed their intercourse with Sir Ralph Sadler, who was appointed treasurer of an army that was levying in the north of England, under the Earl of Hertford. On the 17th of April, Cassillis endeavored to induce the convention of the Scottish nobility, held at Edinburgh, to ask pardon of the King of England, and to solicit a renewal of the treaty of marriage; but Cardinal Beaton, encouraged by assurance of assistance from Francis, who was then preparing his great naval expedition, kept alive the spirit of the more patriotic among the nobles; the proposals were rejected; the treaty of marriage was declared to be at an end for ever; upon which, Cassillis advised Henry to try a fresh invasion of his native land. But Henry, as we have seen, found other business of more urgency; and fancying that all opposition in Scotland would cease if he could only remove Beaton, he entertained the project for assassinating the cardinal. In the month of May, Cassillis, acting with the other noble traitors, sent a letter to Sir Ralph Sadler, very coolly making an offer "for the killing of the cardinal, if his majesty would have it done, and promise, when it was done, a reward." These high-born villains never moved a step without bargaining beforehand. Sadler showed the letter to the Earl of Hertford and the council of the north, who evidently thought the plan a good one, and transmitted it to the king. Henry's reply was worthy of Cassillis' proposal. On the 30th of May, his privy council wrote to the Earl of Hertford—"His majesty hath willed us to signify unto your lordship, that his highness, repeating the fact not meet to be set forward expressly by his majesty, will not seem to have to do in it; and yet, not misliking the offer, thinketh good that Mr. Sadler, to whom that letter was addressed, should write to the earl, of the receipt of his letter containing such an offer, which he thinketh not convenient to be communicated to

¹ *State Papers; Du Bellay; Holinshed; Godwin; Southey; Naval Hist.*

the king's majesty. Marry to write to him what he thinketh of the matter, he shall say, that if he were in the Earl of Cassillis' place, and were as able to do his majesty good service there, as he knoweth him to be, and thinketh a right good will in him to do it, he would surely do what he could for the execution of it; believing verily to do thereby not only an acceptable service to the king's majesty, but also a special benefit to the realm of Scotland, and would trust verily the king's majesty would consider his service in the same; as you doubt not, of his accustomed goodness to them which serve him, but he would do the same to him."¹ Sir Ralph Sadler accordingly wrote, in the indirect manner pointed out by Henry, to Cassillis; and Thomas Forster, an Englishman of some note, who had recently been a prisoner-of-war in Scotland, at the request of the Scottish conspirators, and by order of Henry, who commanded that no time should be lost, was sent across the Borders, to consult with Cassillis, Angus, and Sir George Douglas. Forster entered Scotland at Wark, and, without provoking much suspicion, reached Dalkeith, where he had an interview with Sir George, who wished him to go to Douglas, where he would cause the Earls of Cassillis and Angus to meet him; for he (Sir George) said he could not get them to Dalkeith without great suspicion. These secret agents, going towards Douglas, met the Earl of Angus at Dumfries, where, as he was hunting, he gave Forster welcome, saying that he would give him hawks and dogs, and he caused him to pass that night with him. And on the morrow, Angus conducted him to Douglas, and that afternoon sent for the Earl of Cassillis, who, riding all night, came thither the next day early in the morning; upon which he and the Earl of Angus went into a chamber together, and called Forster to them, who then declared the "occasion of his coming, by whom he was sent, and the full of his instructions." But Angus and Cassillis were as cunning and cautious as their English friends; and, as Sadler had made no specific proposal and fixed no certain reward, they would not speak to Forster of the murder,² but kept to the grand treason of co-operating with the English army of invasion. Cassillis said that he was still the same true man to Henry as he was at parting with his majesty; and Angus promised his cordial assistance, declaring that he would either go to the field or stay at home, as Henry judged it best. But on his departure, Cassillis gave Forster a letter, in cipher, to Sir Ralph Sadler; and Sir George Douglas, in his heat, was betrayed

into the following expressions, which he sent as a message from himself to the Earl of Hertford:—"He willed me," says Forster, "to tell my lord-lieutenant, that if the king would have the cardinal dead, if his grace would promise a good reward for the doing thereof, so that the reward were known what it should be, the country being lawless as it is, he thinketh that that adventure would be proved; for he saith, the common saying is, the cardinal is the only occasion of the war, and is smally beloved in Scotland; and then, if he were dead, by what means that reward should be paid." The revelation of these atrocious secrets, which had been concealed for centuries amidst the dust and cobwebs of the State Paper Office, is enough to make the villains turn in their graves! As his majesty of England had still some sense of shame, he hesitated at committing himself so far as to make a direct bargain: he wished the deed done, but in such a manner, that it could never be brought clearly to his own door; and as the most noble Scots would not commit murder otherwise than as they had bargained, Beaton was permitted to live a few months longer, when he was taken off by less conspicuous assassins. Before the journey of Forster into Scotland, the Sieur Lorges de Montgomerie had arrived from France, with a body of 3000 infantry and 500 horse; and in the month of August these foreign auxiliaries, well appointed and disciplined, took the field with an army of about 25,000 Scots. By the advice of Beaton, the whole of this force was thrown across the English borders; but the vanguard was commanded by Angus, who, not a month before, had promised Forster to do what King Henry might think best; and after two days, which were ingloriously employed in plundering and burning a few villages, the army returned, through the deceit of George Douglas and the vanguard.³ That there might be no mistake in the matter, the lords in the interest of England wrote a letter to claim the whole credit of the failure of the expedition, and to advise the instant advance of an English army.⁴

On the 5th of September, the English put themselves in motion under the Earl of Hertford; but the money-chests were empty; and, at the moment of crisis, several of the Scottish traitors hung back, and, instead of joining the English with all their retainers, they began to think of opposing them. They had requested that the old system of warfare might this time be abandoned; but Hertford burned and destroyed even more savagely than before, employing on this work a vast number of Irish kerns, who had been brought over for the purpose.

¹ *State Papers.*

² Sir Ralph Sadler, in obedience to Henry's orders, recommended the assassination as if of himself, and told them that the project had not been communicated to King Henry.

³ *State Papers.*

⁴ *Diurnal Occurrences.*

⁵ This letter appears in the *State Papers.*

At Kelso the poor monks attempted to defend their abbey, and boldly repulsed some adventurers; but Hertford brought up his heavy guns, made a breach, and carried the church. Retreating to the tower or belfry, the monks there prolonged the struggle, but the tower was battered and stormed, and every monk butchered. As the savage invaders poured through Tweeddale, the abbays of Melrose and Dryburgh were again plundered and fired, and every village, every farm, castle, or mansion on the pleasant banks of the Tweed was sacked and burned. All this havoc was grateful to the sight of the noble Seymour, who wrote boastingly to his royal master, that he had done more damage in Scotland by fire than had been done for the last 100 years.¹ But this ruthless destroyer could not maintain himself even on the Borders; his army soon felt the effects of the ruin they had spread around them; the country was become a desert, furnishing no food for man or horse; the impoverished government could forward no adequate supply of provisions; and in less than three weeks Hertford retreated and disbanded his starving forces.

The cardinal did not lose heart in the midst of these difficulties. After the retreat of Hertford, he held a parliament at Stirling, and suggested several energetic measures for the defence of the national independence. Seeing, however, the impoverishment and exhaustion of the country, he proposed passing over to France, in order to procure a fresh supply of money and troops. This project was communicated to Henry by one of the most unscrupulous of his agents, Crichton, the laird of Brunston, in a letter dated from Ormiston House, the 6th of October. After mentioning what is in the wind, the laird expresses some hopes that the intended journey of the cardinal may be cut short; for, that at no time were there more Scottish gentlemen desirous of doing his highness good service. A day or two after, this cautious assassin wrote to Lord Wharton, one of the English wardens, that he was very anxious for a private interview with him, that he might know whether his majesty would be plain with them *what he would have them do, and as to what reward they might count upon*. On the 20th of October he wrote to King Henry himself, requesting a private conference with Sadler at Berwick, where he would communicate such things as should be greatly to the advancing of his majesty's affairs.² From all this, it is very evident that the project for murdering Cardinal Beaton had been resumed. It has been usual for historians, wanting the light which has been recently thrown upon these long-hidden transactions, to attribute the assassination of Beaton

solely to the fanaticism of certain converts to the new religion, and their desire of avenging the cruelties he had committed upon their persecuted sect; but it now appears very evident that the deed was undertaken and done from baser motives, though some who engaged in the plot at its last stage may have been moved by a desire of destroying the arch-enemy of their faith.

George Wishart, commonly called the Martyr, was a man of obscure or uncertain birth, but of considerable learning. He had been patronized in his youth by John Erskine of Dun, provost of Montrose, one of the first Scotchmen that declared against the Church of Rome. Wishart kept a school at Montrose, where he introduced the teaching of Greek, and made his pupils read the New Testament in the original language. On account of some persecution to which this exposed him, he fled into England, where, in 1538, in the city of Bristol, he preached against the worship paid to the Virgin Mary. In consequence, he was thrown into prison, and he only escaped the penalties of heresy by openly recanting, upon which a fagot was burned instead of himself, and he disappeared from that part of the country. When he next attracted attention it was at Cambridge, where he was admired for his learning, and hated for his zeal and strictness. Some time in 1543, he returned to his native country, where he denounced the Popish doings of Cardinal Beaton, and most closely connected himself with those chiefs who leaned towards the Reformation, namely, the Earls of Cassillis and Glencairn, the earl-marischal, Sir George Douglas, and the lairds of Brunston, Ormiston, and Calder. Protected by these great lords and lairds, Wishart preached publicly against the errors of Popery and the wickedness of the monks; and his fiery eloquence inflamed the people in sundry places. At Dundee his converts or audience destroyed the houses of the Black and Gray friars; and when he preached at Edinburgh the religious houses were only saved by the prompt interference of the civil authority. In the ears of the people his denunciations of coming vengeance sounded very like prophecy; and when the Earl of Hertford set the south of Scotland in a blaze, it was remembered how the preacher had predicted that event.

For two years the preacher was left at large, for it was not easy to seize one who seldom moved anywhere without being preceded by a trusty disciple bearing a two-handed sword, and watched by other followers with pikes, halberds, and morions. It is said that Cardinal Beaton was, to a certain degree, aware of the plot laid against his own life, and that, in dread of Wishart, he attempted to anticipate him, and laid plots for murdering Wishart. After a time the

¹ *State Papers.*

² *Tytler*, from the originals in the State Paper Office.

preacher's popularity declined. Some of his great friends fell from his side, and he was obliged to take refuge in West Lothian with the Laird of Brunston, Sandilands of Calder, and Cockburn of Ormiston, who concealed him by turns in their houses. One night when he was at Ormiston with his friends, expecting the arrival of the Earl of Cassilis, the house was suddenly surrounded by a party of soldiers led by the Earl of Bothwell, who was then devoted to the cardinal. Upon an assurance that his life would be spared, Wishart surrendered. Bothwell took the preacher to his own house of Hailes; but soon after he sold him to Beaton, who summoned a council of the bishops and abbots at St. Andrews, and brought him to trial as an heretic. The assembled clergy found him guilty, and sentenced him to be burned, and he was burned accordingly at St. Andrews. This execution was impolitic as it was barbarous: the dead Wishart became more formidable than the living preacher; many of his converts, quoting the Old Testament, showed how it would be a virtue to avenge his death, and cut off his wicked persecutor and destroyer; and Cassilis, Glencairn, Sir George Douglas, and their fellow-conspirators, derived great strength from the popular feeling excited against the cardinal, which feeling, however, was confined to certain towns and districts, the vast majority of the nation being as yet attached to the old religion, and seeing nothing very remarkable in the burning of a man who attacked its dogmas.

Being alarmed at the threats of his enemies in Scotland, and rumours of a fresh invasion, Beaton immediately employed masons and carpenters to strengthen his castle of St. Andrews. He also called around him the gentlemen of Fife, to concert means for the defence of the coast. At one of these meetings he had a violent quarrel about a piece of land with Norman Lesly, commonly called the Master of Rothes. After using language not likely to be forgiven, Norman hurried to his uncle, John Lesly, who had already declared that Beaton's blood ought to be shed for the blood of the martyr Wishart. Both uncle and nephew consulted with William Kirkaldy, the Laird of Grange, with James Melville, a religious enthusiast, with Carmichael, and with several others; and at a secret conclave it was determined that the cardinal should die forthwith. On the evening of the 28th of May, Norman Lesly rode into the town of St. Andrews, and in the course of the night he was followed by a whole troop, who stole into the town in small parties, without being perceived, or without exciting any suspicion. At an early hour on the following morning, they surprised the castle by entering with the workmen, and the cardinal was

roused from his sleep to meet his death. John Lesly and Carmichael appear to have been the first to stab him, and then Melville, with great gravity, advanced to execute what he called "the judgment of God," and passed his long sword through the body of the unresisting victim several times. Then, covered with the blood of the cardinal, the conspirators, who had taken care to raise the drawbridge and close the gates, ascended to the battlements to address the people of the town, who now, headed by their provost, crowded in alarm around the castle, and shouted that they must restore the lord-cardinal. Norman Lesly dragged up the body, and suspended it by a sheet over the wall. "There," said he, "there is your god; and now that ye are satisfied, get home to your houses!" Kirkaldy of Grange, Norman Lesly, and others of the conspirators, were at the moment receiving pensions from the English king—were described by Henry as his good friends and supporters; and almost as soon as the murder was finished, they opened communications with the king, offered to hold the castle for his behoof, and received from him assurances of assistance and support.¹

But though the death of Cardinal Beaton was fatal to the Roman church in Scotland, the event was not followed by all that Henry had fondly expected from it. The embarrassments of his government increased daily; and in the month of June he was glad to conclude a treaty of peace with the French king, who insisted that Scotland should be comprehended in it.

The six remaining months of Henry's life were occupied by vile attempts at devising reasons for excluding the Scots from the benefit of the treaty of peace, by the intrigues and struggles of the two great religious factions, and by more executions for treason. The most wretched being, in this most wretched state of things, was the king himself, whose mind and body were alike diseased. In the absence of other pleasures he had given himself up to immoderate eating, and he had grown so enormously fat that he could not pass through an ordinary door, nor could he move about from room to room without the help of machinery, or of numerous attendants. The old issue in his leg had become an inveterate ulcer, which kept him in a constant state of pain and excessive irritability. It was alike offensive to the senses, and dangerous to life and property, to approach this corrupt mass of dying tyranny. The slightest thing displeased him, and his displeasure was a fury and a madness, and nothing on earth could give him a wholesome pleasurable feeling. How his last wife, Catherine Parr, escaped destruction appears almost miraculous; she was more than once in imminent peril

¹ Tytler.

The court, which no longer presented any of the pageantries and gaieties of earlier days, had become a gloomy conventicle, where men, and women too, gave themselves up to polemics. Catherine ventured to read some of the prohibited works put forth by the Reformers, and as the king grew worse and worse, and more and more helpless, she took courage to dispute with him upon faith and doctrine. Henry was greatly exasperated. "A good hearing this," cried he, "when women become such clerks, and a thing much to my comfort, to come in mine old age to be taught by my wife." Gardiner, it is said, took advantage of this state of mind, and received orders, with Wriothesley the chancellor, to prepare articles of impeachment against her. But Catherine was warned in time, and adroitly recovered by flattery the ground she had lost by venturing upon polemical controversy. On the following morning, when the Chancellor Wriothesley came with forty men of the guard to take Catherine into custody, the king's majesty called him knave, an arrant knave, a fool, and a beast, and so dismissed him.¹

There had long been a bitter rivalry between the old house of Howard and the new house of Seymour, which owed its sudden exaltation to the king's third marriage and the birth of a son, Prince Edward, by Jane Seymour. The Duke of Norfolk, the head of the Howards, was, as we have repeatedly noticed, a zealous Papist: Lord Hertford, the uncle of Prince Edward, and the real founder of the greatness of the Seymours, almost as a natural consequence, leaned towards the Reformation, though he took good care to conceal this fact from the king. The two names became rallying points to the two rival sects. With the evidence we have before us we may confidently pronounce them both to have been men of a cruel and base character, ready to execute if not to suggest some of the worst actions of the king,

and to crawl in the dust at his feet at the slightest sign of his displeasure; but the real nature of both has been overlooked by their respective sects. Hertford, in family alliances, connections,



THOMAS HOWARD, Duke of Norfolk.—After Holbein.

and landed property, was far the inferior of Norfolk, but he had the grand advantages of being uncle of the heir to the throne, and of being almost constantly about the court. Favoured by these circumstances, he already aspired to the protectorship of the kingdom during the minority of his nephew; for, though the fact was concealed from the public with all possible care, it was evident that the king was hastening to the grave.²

Hertford felt that the grand obstacle to his promotion would be found in the Duke of Norfolk and his son, the accomplished and poetical Earl of Surrey; and mere self-preservation gave him a strong motive to destroy both father and son while there was yet time. Henry, Earl of

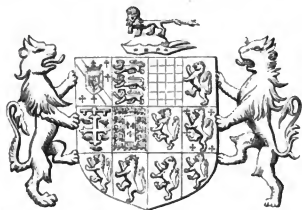
¹ Lord Herbert.

"It would have been pleasing could we have dwelt on this escape made by the queen as one of the last transactions which illustrate the personal character of this monarch. But short and dark as was the period of life now allotted him, it was to be lighted up by the flames of martyrs, and stained by the blood of the noblest and the most accomplished of his victims. About this time Mrs. Anne Askew, a lady of ancient family, remarkable accomplishments, and great beauty, had embraced the Reformed opinions. Her chief offence seems to have been a denial of transubstantiation; upon which point she was repeatedly brought before the council. Of her examinations, on these occasions, she herself has left a pathetic and interesting account, which has been preserved by Fox, and presents a picture of religious persecution which it is impossible to read without horror. On finding her fixed in the resolution to maintain her belief, the next object of the inquisitors was to discover her accomplices, as the king had been informed she could name, if she were willing, a great number of her sect. Strong suspicions were even entertained that she was secretly encouraged by some of the privy council: this, however, she positively denied; upon which, Gardiner and Wriothesley, the lord-chancellor, ordered Knevett, the lieutenant of the Tower, to put her on the rack. She

was then let down into the lower dungeon, where she beheld that dreadful instrument, and the jailer standing beside it, his sleeves tucked up, and ready for his office. Still, her courage was unshaken; and the lieutenant, although compelled by his office to obey, was anxious to spare her the extremity of the torture. He commanded the jailer to stretch her on the iron platform, but only to 'pinch' her; after which, being about to take her down, he was reprimanded by Wriothesley and ordered to proceed. This he refused although threatened with the royal displeasure; upon which the other threw off his gown and drew the rack himself, till her bones and joints were almost plucked asunder. She was then untied, and having fainted away from the excess of torture inflicted on her by this legal monster, was removed from the dungeon in a chair or litter. No persuasions, not even the offer of her life, could prevail on her to recant, and she was soon after, with three other Sacramentarians, publicly burned at Smithfield."—Tytler, *Life of King Henry VIII.*, p. 453.

² The first notice of the king's falling health—a subject on which Henry was so jealous that those around him seem to have been afraid of mentioning it in writing to their colleagues—occurs in a letter from Yetaweit to Sir William Paget, dated the 17th of September, 1546. But, in this letter, it is added that his majesty was recovered.—*State Papers*.

Surrey, upon being superseded in a military command in France by the new man Hertford (and Surrey always expressed a great contempt of the new nobility), was excessively irritated; and it is said that he vowed revenge upon Hertford as soon as the king should be dead. Nothing was so easy as to excite the jealousies and fears of Henry—fears probably increased by the reflection that Hertford, who would be in a manner the natural guardian of his son, was without influence among the high nobility, and was at enmity with Norfolk, the most powerful of them all. There were also men in the king's council, who were Protestants in their hearts, and (as such) ready to go great lengths against the champions of the rival faith. The first blow was struck at Bishop Gardiner, but it was warded off by that prelate. A few days after, on the 12th of December, the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Surrey, "upon certain surmises of treason," were sent to the Tower, the one by water, the other by land, and neither aware of the apprehension of the other. From his dungeon, Norfolk, ignorant of the cause of his sudden seizure, wrote to the king. "Undoubtedly," said the duke, "I know not that I have offended any man, or that any man was offended with me, unless it be such as be angry with me for being quick against such as have been accused for sacramentaries." On the 13th day of January, when the king was lying dangerously sick, the gallant and accomplished Surrey, who appears to have been dreaded more than his aged father, was arraigned at Guildhall on a charge of treason, for having borne the royal arms of Edward the Confessor mixed and quartered with the coat of his own family. It may



SURREY'S AUTOGRAPH OF HIS ARMS, quartered with those of the Confessor.—Arundel MS.

seem strange that no more serious charge should be produced; but even this much had been obtained in the most nefarious manner, and in part by means which are not calculated to raise our very low estimate of the domestic virtues of those times. The court, preparatory to the trial, had tampered with and terrified the women of the Howard family. The Duchess of Norfolk had

long been on bad terms with her husband, living separated from him; and one of her daughters, the Duchess of Richmond, bore an unnatural hatred to her brother Surrey. On Sunday night, the 12th of December, immediately after the arrest of the duke and his son, Gate, Southwell, and Carew were despatched with all haste to Kenninghall (seven miles from Thetford), the principal house of the Howards, and they arrived there by break of day on Tuesday, "so that the first news of the Duke of Norfolk and the son came thither by them."¹ After taking care "of all the gates and back-doors," they desired to speak with the Duchess of Richmond and her sister, Mrs. Elizabeth Holland, who were found "at that time newly risen, and not ready." The two ladies, however, appeared in the dining-chamber without delay, and the court agents imparted to them "the case and condition wherein the duke and his son, without the king's great mercy, did stand." "Wherewith," continue these respectable gentlemen, "we found the Duchess of Richmond a woman sore perplexed, trembling, and like to fall down; but, coming unto herself again, she was not, we assure your majesty, forgetful of her duty, and did most humbly and reverently, upon her knees, humble herself in all unto your highness; saying that, although nature constrained her sore to love her father and also to desire the well-doing of his son, her natural brother, whom she noteth to be a rash man, yet for her part she would, nor will, hide or conceal anything from your majesty's knowledge, specially if it be of weight, or otherwise, as it shall fall in her remembrance; which she hath promised, for the better declaration of her integrity, to exhibit in writing unto your highness and your honourable council." They then tell the king, whom they address directly, that they desired sight of the chambers and coffers, and got the keys from the Duchess of Richmond. They go on to express their disappointment at the poorness of the prize; but we suspect that, in all these domiciliary visits, the agents concealed a portion of the spoils, and kept it for themselves. "Her coffers and chambers be so bare as your majesty would hardly think; her jewels, such as she had, sold, or lent to gage (pawn), to pay her debts, as she, her maiden, and the almoner do say. We will, nevertheless, for our duty, make a further and more earnest search." When they had done with the duchess' chambers and coffers, they searched those of Mrs. Elizabeth Holland, her sister, where they found divers girdles, beads, buttons of gold, pearls, and rings set with stones of divers sorts, whereof with all other things, they were, they say, making inventories to be sent to his highness. They also report that, hav-

¹ State Papers.

ing made sure of the house and property at Kenninghall, they with all speed, and at one instant, sent some of their most discreet and trusty servants to all the other houses of the duke in Norfolk and Suffolk, not omitting the house of his daughter, Elizabeth Holland, "newly made in Suffolk, which was thought to be well furnished with stuff." The duke's almoner had engaged to deliver into their hands all, or the greater part, of the family plate, "but money of the duke had none, but supposes that the steward upon his last account had such as did remain." As another important duty, the agents had informed themselves as to the clear value of the duke's possessions, and all other his yearly revenue, as near as they could learn, by his books of account and other his records. The Duchess of Richmond and Mrs. Elizabeth Holland they had taken into custody, and would send on their journey towards London on the morrow; but they represented that there remained unattached in the house the Earl of Surrey's wife and children, with certain women in the nursery attending upon them, and they humbly besought his majesty to signify what they were to do with the servants, seeing that the said earl's wife was near her time, and expecting to lie in at Candlemas.¹

The Duchess of Norfolk was arrested near London, and the three ladies were "travailed with" and examined by some of the council. But though the wife was ready to speak against the husband—the sister against the brother—their depositions amounted to almost nothing. The Duchess of Richmond said that she had heard her brother Surrey speak bitterly against the Earl of Hertford; and these women also stated (what was notorious to all) that Norfolk and his son had quartered the arms of the Duke of Buckingham, a lineal descendant from Edward III.² When the council could get no more from the women, they set forward the evidence of two obscure men, who asserted that the Earl of Surrey had entertained certain Italians who were suspected of being spies; that the Duke of Norfolk had expressed great dissatisfaction at the changes in the church, had spoken about the king's diseases, and greatly abused some of the new nobility.

Before the court at Guildhall, Surrey, who, in the words of Lord Herbert, "was a man of deep understanding, sharp wit, and high courage," made a most spirited and eloquent defence. And the cause he had to plead was most simple. He admitted that he had borne the arms of Edward the Confessor, but he exhibited a decision of the

heralds which allowed him so to do; and he told them (what most of them must have known perfectly) that he had borne those arms for years, even in the king's presence, without giving any offence. Notwithstanding all this, the court pronounced that there was proof sufficient, in the fact of his wearing the arms, that he had aspired to the throne; and the jury, doing their duty as usual, found him guilty. "And so the flower of the English nobility was, on the 19th of January, beheaded, the king being then in extremity, and breathing his *last* in blood."³

Norfolk, from his cell in the Tower, repeatedly requested to be confronted with his accusers, either before his royal majesty, or, if his pleasure should not be to take that pains, then before his council. But it may be questioned whether his letters ever reached the king, who, at the moment (though not aware of it), "was feeling the inevitable necessity of death;" and it had been fully determined by the Seymours and others who surrounded the bed of the expiring tyrant, that no more justice or leniency should be shown to the duke, than *he*, in his days of favour and night, had meted out to others. After several private examinations, the duke, upon some promises tendered to him in the name of the king, consented to write or sign a confession. But even in this document there was nothing that could reasonably be construed into treason; for he only admitted that, during his long and difficult services, he had occasionally communicated to others some of the secrets of the privy council, contrary to his oath; that he had concealed the treasonable act of his son, in assuming the arms of Edward the Confessor; and that he had himself treasonably borne on his shield the arms of England, with the difference of labels of silver, which of right belonged only to Prince Edward. The Seymour party, who had got from Henry a promise that the spoils of Howard should be shared amongst them, and whose promises to the duke were only meant to extract the confession, thought this matter sufficient upon which to proceed to judgment. Norfolk, however, who was well practised in business of this kind, knew perfectly well that, if his estates were divided among many, his family would find a great difficulty in getting them back in case of a reversal of his attainder, and he sent a petition to the king, to implore, as a favour, that all his "good and stately gear" might be settled on Prince

¹ *State Papers.*

² Norfolk had done this in right of his wife, who was daughter of the unfortunate Duke of Buckingham, executed in the early part of this reign.

³ *Godwin.* There were other grounds of suspicion against Surrey which it was thought proper to suppress in public. He was suspected of a design upon the king's daughter, the Princess Mary! In the *State Papers* there is a remarkable document, without title or date, in the hand-writing of Wriothesley, the chancellor, with interlineations written by the king himself, in a tremulous hand. It consists of a set of queries evidently preparatory to the prosecution of the Howards.

Edward. This petition was not likely to disarm the enmity of the rival party. Instead of arraigning him before his peers, they proceeded by the system which Cromwell had introduced, and by which Cromwell had himself suffered. A bill of attainder, founded on the confession, was brought into the House of Lords, and read three times on three successive days. The commons did their work with equal despatch—returning the bill, passed, in three days more. It had been usual, even in these murderous times, to wait till the close of the session for the royal assent to such bills of attainder; but two days after the bill had passed, the king grew so much worse, that Norfolk's enemies saw there was no time to lose; and accordingly, on the 27th of January, Wriothesley, the chancellor, informed the two houses of parliament that his majesty had been pleased to appoint certain lords to signify his assent to the bill. And thereupon the commission, under the sign-manual, was read; the royal assent was given by the lords appointed; and, without losing precious moments, an order was despatched to the lieutenant of the Tower to execute the Duke of Norfolk at an early hour on the following morning.

But by the good fortune of Norfolk, and many a better man, the tyrant died in the palace of Whitehall in the intervening night. His last scene of all has been very differently represented by the opposite sects; but the account usually inserted in our histories is supported by respectable authority, and is—at least in part—very like truth. As several persons had been put to death at various times for saying the king was dying or likely to die, the people about him were afraid to tell him of his true condition; and the Seymour party had strong motives for concealing his danger both from himself and the public as long as possible. The physicians, on the approach of certain symptoms, wished his courtiers—friends he had none—to warn him of his state; but they all hung back in affright, like unarmed men in the presence of a wounded and dying beast of prey. At last Sir Anthony Denny undertook the task, and, going directly to the bedside of the fainting monarch, told him that the hope of human help was vain, and recommended him to turn his thoughts to heaven,—an advice not very acceptable to him: but finding it was grounded upon the opinion of his

physicians, he submitted to the hard law of necessity, and, reflecting upon the course of his life, which he much condemned, he still professed himself confident that, through Christ, all his sins, though they had been more in number and weight, might be pardoned. He was then asked whether he desired to confer with any divines? "With none other," said he, "but the Archbishop Cranmer, and not with him yet; I will first repose myself a little, and, as I then find myself, will determine accordingly." After a sleep, or stupor, of an hour or two, he felt that he was going; and then he commanded that the archbishop should be sent for in all haste. Cranmer, after being present in the House of Lords on the three several days on which the iniquitous bill of attainder against the Duke of Norfolk was read, had retired for quiet to Croydon, where he was on the evening when he received the royal summons. He posted to court with all possible speed, but before he arrived the king was speechless. It is added that, when he bent over the bed, Henry grasped his hand; that then Cranmer exhorted him to hope for God's mercy, through Christ, on which the king grasped his hand as hard as he could, and expired a few moments after, having lived fifty-five years and seven months, and reigned thirty-seven years, nine months, and six days.

It is generally set down, somewhat vaguely, in our annals, that the party which succeeded to power did not think it advisable to begin a new reign by shedding the blood of the first nobleman of England; but, from the character of the majority of those men, we are inclined to believe that they were deterred merely by the dread of consequences to themselves in case of a failure of their schemes. If Henry had lived two or three hours longer the head of Norfolk would have been upon the block; but then it might have been made to pass as the act of a living king. As it was, Norfolk was respited, and the sentence was never carried into effect, although the aged duke remained in confinement till the accession of Queen Mary. If, in the course of this narrative, our views of certain historical characters, and of their motives of action, be found to vary somewhat from those of preceding writers, the reader should bear in mind that those views have been opened to us and illuminated by the unerring light of the STATE PAPERS.

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